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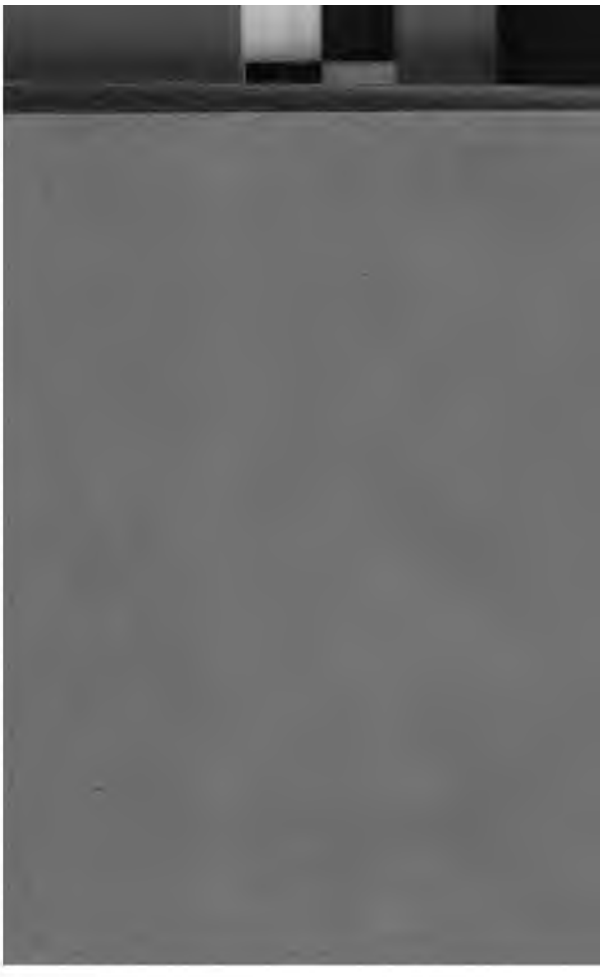

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# TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

M.S
no 15

# Literary and Historical Society

# OF QUEBEC

SESSIONS OF 1880-81

QUEBEC:
PRINTED AT THE "MORNING CHRONICLE" OFFICE.

1881.

Reprinted by Le Soleil, January 1927.

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# Inaugural Lecture of the Season 1880-81,

By J. M. LeMOINE,

*President of the Literary and Historical Society,*

Read 19th November, 1880.

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# THE SCOT IN NEW FRANCE,

## 1535-1880.

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Before opening as President the winter course of lectures, I have a pleasant communication to make. Since we last met, His Excellency, Lord Lorne, has honored this Society, by becoming its Patron, during his term of office.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—In a paper headed "The Component Parts of our Nationality," we strove some time since to place on record, the results of our researches in Canadian History, calculated to dispel some of the prejudices, entertained as to the origin of the first settlers on Canadian soil. We felt a sincere pleasure in laying before an enlightened public, the evidence which reliable historians furnish, as to the birth and formation of the nationality of the majority, in the old Province of Quebec, in order to demonstrate that the colonists sent out by the French Monarchs and French Companies, unlike those of St. Christophe and other French Islands, were singularly free from blemish.

These ethnological studies, superficial as they may be, we intend to prosecute, with respect to other factors, in

our nationality: this evening we have selected one branch of the subject, which though less familiar to us, is quite as worthy of your attention: the Scottish element in and round Quebec.

A mark of distinction, as unexpected as it was unsolicited recently bestowed on your humble servant, by the Ethnographical Society of Paris,* renders still more appropriate he imagines, the selection of an Ethnographical subject, like the one which will engage our attention this evening; without further preamble, we will venture to discuss this subject.

Under the title "Les Ecossais en France," &c., there appeared, some time since, a French work, in two robust quarto volumes—the result of twenty-five years of conscientious research by a French savant, *Monsieur* Francisque Michel. It purports to recapitulate, among other things, the career on French soil, &c., of Scotchmen, ever since the days of Wallace, ambassador to France, down to modern times. *Monsieur* Michel, of a certainty, has succeeded in investing, with deep interest, the enquiry he has originated.

With your permission, we will, to-night, attempt to investigate a cognate portion of his subject, from an ethnological point of view, using the light he has thrown on the aims and aspirations of Scotchmen in old France, to follow the footsteps of their compatriots in New France! we mean, in the present Province of Quebec—heretofore, that of Lower Canada.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—It shall be our aim to point out to you the traces left by Scotchmen, in Canadian history,

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* Mr. LeMoine, the bearer of a Diploma, as "Délégué Régional" for Quebec, of the *Institution Ethnographique de Paris*, wore, for the first time, the *Insignia* of this learned Society.

in and round Quebec, from the dawn of Canadian history to modern times. In those sanguinary passages-at-arms, by land and by sea, which have made of our town and its environs, classic ground, oft' shall we meet with the brawny descendant of Bruce and of Wallace, fearlessly brandishing dirk or claymore in the busiest part of the fray,

"Let us do or die"

his motto.

Sandy, full fledged, is a many-sided individual. A man of war—we will also find him a successful tiller of the soil—leading in the mart of commerce—in the bank parlor—at the head of powerful trading ventures—in the wilds of Hudson's Bay—in the Editor's sanctum—in the groves of "Academe"—in the forum—in the Senate ; more than once " the observed of all observers"—at the top of the social ladder—his sovereign's trusted representative.

For all that, we dare not promise you, for the frugal, self-reliant Scot transplanted to the green banks of the St. Lawrence, such a seductive portraiture—such a glamour of romance—as surrounds the persevering and oft', adversity taught soldier—successful diplomat—scholar—artist, &c., to whom *Monsieur* Michel introduces his readers, on the vine-clad hills and sun-lit valleys of the Loire, the Garonne, and the Seine.

The arena of the Scot in Canada is more limited ; less attractive, the prizes rewarding success ; less far-resounding, the clarion of his fame on Canadian soil.

With every desire to enlarge our canvass to its utmost, we must be content to rest our enquiry, at the arrival on our shores of the first Europeans, in 1535,—that hardy band of explorers sent out by Francis I, and who claimed the soil by right of conquest, from the *véritables enfants du sol*,—the Hurons, Iroquois or Algonquins, of Stadaconé.

A crew of one hundred and ten, manned Jacques Cartier's three vessels : the *Grande Hermine*, the *Petite Hermine*, and the *Emerillon* ; out of this number, history has preserved the names of eighty-one persons.*

Were Cartier's followers all French ? One can scarcely arrive at that conclusion, judging from the names and surnames of several. You cannot mistake, where William of Guernesey " Guillaume de Guernese, " hailed from. There is equally, an unfrench sound about the name of Pierre Esmery dict Talbot. "Herué Henry," seems to us an easy transmutation of Henry Herué or Hervey. We once knew at Cap Rouge, near Quebec, a worthy Greenock pilot whose name was Tom Everell ; in the next generation, a singular change took place in his patronymic ; it stood transformed thus : Everell Tom. Everell Tom, in the course of time, becaume the respected sire of a numerous progeny of sons and daughters : Jean Baptiste Tom—Norbert Tom—Henriette Tom, and a variety of other Tom.

An ingenious Quebec Barrister, in a curious paper, read at the annual Concert and Ball of the St. Patrick's Society at Montreal, 15th January, 1872, has pointed out much more startling transformations in some unmistakable Irish names, to be met with in the Church Registers.

"Who could guess, asks John O'Farrell, that 'Tec Corneille Aubry,' married at Quebec, on the 10th September, 1670, was an Irishman ? Yet the Register leaves no room nor doubt upon the subject; he was the son, says the Register, of "Connor O'Brennan," and of Honorah Janehour, of St. Patrick's (Diasonyoen), Ireland, his real name being "Teague Cornelius O'Brennan." In this connection, I may mention that, when I was pursuing my studies in the College at Quebec, our Rector was the Rev. Dr. Aubry, a worthy and pious Divine, and one of three brothers in the Priesthood in Lower Canada, and the uncles of two other young Canadian clergymen. Dr. Aubry, until quite recently, lived in the firm belief that he was of purely French extraction ; in fact, if

* The remainder having died, chiefly from scurvy, during the winter of 1535-6, on the banks of the River St. Charles. (See Appendix, Letter A.)

my memory serves me right, he used playfully, at times, to pull my little ears for being, as he used playfully to say, such a wicked little *Irlandais*. Now the researches of Father Tanguay, in the musty old Church Registers of Lower Canada have revealed the astounding fact that Dr. Aubry is, after all, a countryman of our own, an *Irlandais*, a lineal descendant of that Teague Cornelius O'Brennan ; another of this decendants is Parish Priest in the town of St. John's, near this city, Montreal.

Who, again, I ask, but one able to answer the sphinx, could fancy that Jean Houssye *dit* Bellerose was an Irishman. He was so nevertheless ; was married here on the 11th October, 1671 ; and as the Register attests, he was born in the Parish of St. Lawrence O'Toole, Dublin, and he was the son of Matthew Hussey and of Elizabeth Hogan, his wife, both Dubliners and both under the protection of that Irish saint, O'Toole. If I mistake not, Mr. Bellerose, the member for Laval, can trace back his pedigree to our friend Jack Hussey, from Dublin.

Thus also we find Jean Baptiste Reil, married at Isle du Pads, on the 21st January, 1704 ; he is surnamed "*Sansouci*," which we may translate either "*careless*" or "De'il may care" as we please ; this "Reil" is described in the Register as having been a native of St. Peter's Parish, in the City of Limerick, in Ireland ; from the closeness of the dates, 1698 and 1704, from the singular *nick*-name (*sansouci*) he bore with his comrades, and from the consonance, "Reil" and Rielly, I should be inclined to think that our Isle du Pads friend was Jack Rielly, the de'il-may-care, all the way from Limerick, and that he must have taken and given some hard knocks under Sarsfield. This "Riel" or Rielly, as he should be called, is the direct ancestor of "Louis Riel" of Red River fame ; and this fact may serve to account for the close friendship subsisting between Riel and O'Donohoe."—(*O'Farrell's Address*, 1872.)

It only remains to our antiquarian confrère to present Senator Bellerose and Louis Riel, with a shamrock on each St. Patrick's Day, so that they may not forget their newly fledged nationality.

Another of Cartier's companions rejoices in the name of " Michel Herué, " this mightily sounds in our ears like Michael Harvey, one of the Murray Bay Harvey, of Major Nairn ; amidst these now silent and shadowy discoverers of 1535, several names impress us, as not being French. None remained in Canada, except those whom scurvy or accidental death struck down in their ice-bound quarters at Stadaconé,—opposite to where our city now stands.

Did any, and if so, how many hail from the Highlands or Lowlands of " auld Scotia " ? Would you be surprised to find, in the days of Champlain, a full fledged Scot—an extensive landed proprietor—the father of a large family ?

Who has not heard of the King's St. Lawrence pilot—Abraham Martin dit l'Ecossais ? "Abraham Martin *alias* the Scott." Can there be any room for uncertainty about the nationality of this old salt*, styled in the Jesuits' *Journal*, "Maître Abraham," Master Abraham, and who has bequeathed his name to our world-renowned battle-field—the Plains of Abraham ? Mr. O'Farrell, however, patriotically claims Martin as a fellow-countryman. When Admiral Kirke's squadron † in the name of Charles I took possession of Quebec, on the 9th August, 1629, Abraham Martin, did not desert the land of his adoption, to return to France. He manfully stuck to the old rock. With his wife, Marie Langlois, his children and a few others—twenty-two all told, he seems to have cheerily accepted the new *régime* which lasted three years.

Master Abraham, the Scot, for ought we know to the contrary, may have experienced but mild regret at seeing a new Governor of Scotch descent, Louis Kirke, the Calvinist, hoist his standard on the bastions of Fort St. Louis, evacuated by Governor de Champlain, who, on the 24th July, 1629, had sailed for England; "more than one hundred of his French followers also sailed in a ship of 250 tons," provided by Capt. Louis Kirke, the new master of Quebec.

Whether he fraternised in any way with the new Governor or his protestant Chaplain, history fails to say : the

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* Louis Kirke, was a brother to Sir David Kirke, William and Thomas Kirke. Louis, a former wine Merchant at Bordeaux, was, by his father's side, of Scottish origin; his mother was a native of Dieppe.

† The First English Conquest of Canada, by Henry Kirke, M. A., B. C. L., Oxon, London, 1871.

"ancient Mariner" Abraham, a species of practical "Captain Cuttle," having like the rest of the French garrison, lived "on roots for months" previous to the capitulation, no doubt he took his fair share of the good things distributed—the food and raiment—liberally given out by Kirke, to that degree, adds Kirke's biographer, "that many of the poor French and half castes, chose to stay under his command at Quebec, rather than undergo the horrors of an Atlantic passage," (*Page* 74). Scanty, however, are the annals of Kirke's administration, at Quebec, (1629-32).

His Reverence, the Chaplain, pays a visit to the Jesuits' residence, opposite Hare Point, on the St. Charles. They present him with paintings and books; a mutiny breaks out; the Chaplain was suspected of having a finger in it; Governor Kirke has him committed to prison.

In 1631, his services are sought to christen *Monsieur* Couillard's little daughter—the disciple of Luther performs the ceremony. Henry Kirke, the historian and descendant of Governor Louis Kirke, quotes from English State Papers, a curious Inventory of the armament of the Fort (St Louis) sworn to, on the 9th Nov., 1629, at London, by Samuel de Champlain, before the Right Worshipful Sir Henry Martin, Knight, Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, (*Page* 75): there were, it seems, Martins in London as well as at Quebec in those days. We shall reserve this Inventory for another occasion.

The exhaustless research of our antiquarians have unearthed curious particulars about this Scotch sea-faring man—the number,* sex and age of his children—his speculations

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|---|---|---|---|
| * Anne, | born in | 1614. | |
| Marguerite, | " | 1621. | |
| Hélène, | " | 1627. | |
| Marie, | " | 1635. | |
| Adrien, | " | 1638. | |
| Magdeleine, | " | 1640. | |
| Barbara, | " | 1643. | |
| Charles Amador, | " | 1648, | the first Canadian ordained as a Priest. |

in real estate † —his fishing ‡ ventures in the lower St. Lawrence sometimes, we light on tid bits of historical lore, anent Master Abraham, not very creditable to his morality; once, he gets "into chancery;" § as there is no account of his being brought to trial, let us hope the charge was unfounded ; a case of blackmail, originated by some "loose and disorderly" character of that period or by a spiteful policeman! On the 8th Sept., 1664, the King's Pilot closed his career, at the ripe age of 75.

Were Cartier's, were Champlain's Scots, the descendants of those adventurous sons of Caledonia, who, at an earlier date, had sought their fortunes in France, and had so materially, helped to turn the scale of victory, at the battle of Beauge, under Charles VII ? Who can ever tell.

Those familiar with the history of the colony since its foundation, have doubtless noted the studied and uniform policy which once provided Quebec with French laws, French fashions, French officials, French soldiers and settlers, making it a species of close borough to other races: the natural result of the colonial policy of the period. They can scarcely expect to find many foreigners among its denizens, under Champlain. Few indeed there were. Wolfe's conquering legions inaugurated an entirely new order of things. A Scotch face however might have been

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† A bequest in his favor of a lot of land at Quebec, on the 15th August, 1646, by Adrien Duchene, surgeon on board of M. de Repentigny's ship, which lot of land, of twenty arpents, (afterwards named the Plains of Abraham,) has been conceded by the Company of New France, to Adrien Duchense, on the 5th April, 1639.

‡ "Ce moys (juin 1648), Mre. Abraham, auec deux de ses gendres, s'en alla pour la 1ère fois à la pêsche des loups-marins; il en prit la veille de la St. Jean 42, à l'Isle Rouge, proche de Tadoussac, dont il fit 6 bariques d'huile."—(*Jesuits' Journal*, p. 111.)

§ "Le 19 (janvier 1649) première exécution de la main du bourreau sur vue créature de 15 ou 16 ans, laronesse. On accusait en même temps M. Abraham de l'auoir violée; il en fut en prison, et son procès différé à l'arrivée des vaisseaux. . . . . ."—(*Jesuits' Journal*, p. 120.)

met with in our streets, before that era, and a pleasant one too. Five years previous to the battle of the Plains of Abraham, one comes across three genuine Scots, in the streets of Quebec—all however prisoners of war, taken in the border raids—as such under close surveillance. One, a youthful and handsome officer of Virginia riflemen, aged 27 years, a friend of Governor Dinwiddie, had been allowed the range of the fortress, *on parole*. His good looks, education, *smartness* (we use the word advisedly) and misfortunes seem to have created much sympathy for the captive, but canny Scot. He has a warm welcome in many houses—the French ladies even plead his cause; *le beau capitaine* is asked out; no entertainment at last is considered complete, without Captain—later on Major Robert Stobo. The other two are: Lieutenant Stevenson, of Rogers' Rangers, another Virginia corps, and a Leith carpenter, of the name of Clarke. Stobo, after more attemps than one, eluded the French sentries, and still more dangerous foes to the peace of mind of a handsome bachelor—the ladies of Quebec. He will re-appear on the scene, the advisor of General Wolfe, as to the best landing place round Quebec:* doubtless, you wish to hear more about the adventurous Scot.

A plan of escape between him, Stevenson and Clarke, was carried out on 1st May, 1759. "Major Stobo met the fugitives under a wind-mill, probably the old wind-mill on the grounds of the General Hospital Convent. Having stolen a birch canoe, the party paddled it all night, and, after incredible fatigue and danger, they passed Isle-aux-Coudres, Kamouraska, and landed below this spot, shooting two Indians in self-defence, whom Clarke buried after having scalped them, saying to the Major: "Good sir, by your permission, these same two scalps,

* He pointed out," say the Memoirs, "the place to land, where afterwards they did, and were successful."—(Page 70.) Stobo was a native of Glasgow.

when I come to New York, will sell for twenty-four good pounds: with this I'll be right merry, and my wife right beau." They then murdered the Indians' faithful dog, because he howled, and buried him with his masters. It was shortly after this that they met the laird of the Kamouraska Isles, le Chevalier de la Durantaye, who said that the best Canadian blood ran in his veins, and that he was of kin with the mighty Duc de Mirapoix. Had the mighty Duke, however, at that moment seen his Canadian Cousin steering the four-oared boat, loaded with wheat, he might have felt but a very qualified admiration for the majesty of his stately demeanor and his nautical *savoir faire*. Stobo took possession of the Chevalier's pinnace, and made the haughty laird, *nolens volens*, row him with the rest of the crew, telling him to row away, and that, had the *Great Louis* himself been in the boat at that moment, it would be his fate to row a British subject thus. "At these last mighty words," says the Memoirs, "a stern resolution sat upon his countenance, which the Canadian beheld and with reluctance temporized." After a series of adventures, and dangers of every kind, the fugitives succeeded in capturing a French boat. Next, they surprised a French sloop, and, after a most hazardous voyage, they finally, in their prize, landed at Louisbourg, to the general amazement. Stobo missed the English fleet; but took passage two days after in a vessel leaving for Quebec, where he safely arrived to tender his services to the immortal Wolfe, who gladly availed himself of them. According to the Memoirs, Stobo used daily to set out to reconnoitre with Wolfe; in this patriotic duty, whilst standing with Wolfe on the deck of a frigate, opposite the Falls of Montmorency, some French shots were nigh carrying away his " decorated " and gartered legs.

We next find the Major, on the 21st July, 1759, piloting the expedition sent to Deschambault to seize, as prisoners, the Quebec ladies who had taken refuge there during

the bombardment—"Mesdames Duchesnay and Decharnay; Mlle Couillard; the Joly, Malhiot and Magnan families." "Next day, in the afternoon, *les belles captives*, who had been treated with every species of respect, were put on shore and released at Diamond Harbour. The English admiral, full of gallantry, ordered the bombardment of the city to be suspended, in order to afford the Quebec ladies time to seek places of safety."* The incident is thus referred to in a letter communicated to the Literary and Historical Society by Capt. Colin McKenzie. (1)

Stobo next points out the spot, at Sillery, where Wolfe landed, and soon after was sent with despatches, *via* the St. Lawrence, to General Amherst; but, during the trip, the vessel was overhauled and taken by a French privateer, the despatches having been previously consigned to the deep. Stobo might have swung at the yard-arm in this

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* See *Journal du Siège de Québec*, 1759; J. G. Panet: p. 15.

(1) Extract from a Letter of a Volunteer in Wolfe's army, presented to the LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, by Captain Colin McKenzie, of H. M. 78th Rosshire Buffs-Highlanders.

"STIRLING CASTLE, two miles below Quebec, 1759."

"The ravages of war are truly terrible, but may be rendered still more so, if cruelty grows wanton. Happily this is not the temper of Britons, whose natural humanity forbids their sporting with real distress. Some severity became necessary to curb the pride of an insulting enemy, and to convience them we were actually in earnest.

Hence proceeded those devastations already mentioned, which drew from the Governor of Quebec a sort of remonstrance, addressed to our commanding officer, with a menace to this effect. "That if the English did not desist from burning and destroying the country, he would give up all the English prisoners in his power to the mercy of the Indian savages." To this threat, our spirited commander is said to have sent a reply to the following purport: "That His Excellency could not be unapprized of his having in his possession a considerable number of fair hostages; that as to the prisoners he might do as he pleased; but, at the same time, he might be assured, that the very instant he attempted to carry his threats into execution, all the French ladies, without distinction, should be given up to the delicate embraces of the English tars.

N. B.—We have at least three, if not four transports, full freighted with French females; some of them, women of the first rank in this country."

new predicament, had his French valet divulged his identity with the spy of Fort du Quesne; but fortune again stepped in to preserve the adventurous Scot. There were already too many prisoners on board of the French privateer. A day's provision is allowed the English vessel, which soon landed Stobo at Halifax, from whence he joined General Amherst, "many a league across the country." He served under Amherst on his Lake Champlain expedition, and there he finished the campaign; which ended, he begs to go to Williamsburg, the then capital of Virginia."

It seems singular that no command of any importance appears to have been given to the brave Scot; but, possibly, the part played by the Major when under *parole* at Fort du Quesne, was weighed by the Imperial authorities. There certainly seems to be a dash of the Benedict Arnold in this transaction. However, Stobo was publicly thanked by a committee of the Assembly of Virginia, and was allowed his arrears of pay for the time of his captivity. On the 30th April, 1756, he had also been presented by the Assembly of Virginia with £300, in consideration of his services to the country and his sufferings in his confinement as a hostage in Quebec. On the 19th November, 1759, he was presented with £1,000 as "a reward for his zeal to his country and the recompense for the great hardships he has suffered during his confinement in the enemy's country." On the 18th February, 1760, Major Stobo embarked from New Yerk for England, on board the packet with Colonel West and several other gentlemen. One would imagine that he had exhausted the vicissitudes of fortune. But no. A French privateer boards them in the midst of the English channel. The Major again consigns to the deep his letters, all except one, which he forgot, in the pocket of his coat, under the arm pit. This escaped the general catastrophe; and will again restore him to notoriety; it is from General A. Monckton to Mr.

Pitt. The passengers of the packet were assessed £2,500 to be allowed their liberty, and Stobo had to pay £125, towards the relief fund. The despatch forgotten in his coat, on delivery to the great Pitt, brought back a letter from Pitt to Amherst. With this testimonial, Stobo sailed for New York, 24th April, 1760, to rejoin the army engaged in the invasion of Canada; here, end the Memoirs.

Though Stobo's conduct at fort du Quesne and at Quebec, can never be defended or palliated, all will agree that he exhibited,during his eventful career, most indomitable fortitude, a boundless ingenuity, and great devotion to his country—the whole crowned with final success.

"It has been suggested," say the Memoirs, "that Major Stobo was Smollet's original for Captain Lismahago, (the favored suitor of Miss Tabitha Bramble) in the adventures of Humphrey Clinker. It is known, by a letter from David Hume to Smollet, that Stobo was a friend of the latter author, and his remarkable adventures may have suggested that character. If so; the copy is a great exaggeration."

The Memoirs of Major Robert Stobo, printed at Pittsburg in 1854, were taken from the copy in the British Museum, chiefly through the instrumentality of Mr. James McHenry, an enterprising Liverpool merchant. Mr. James McHenry is a son of Dr. McHenry, the Novelist and Poet, formerly of Pittsburg."—(*Maple Leaves*, 1873.)

*Monsieur* Michel tells us that the Scots, in 1420, landed by thousands in France, to fight the English. In 1759, we shall also find some thousands in America, enlisted to fight the French. About that time great changes had taken place in Scotland. The disaster of Culloden, in 1745, had opened out new vistas. Fate had that year set irrevocably its seal on a brave people; the indifference of France had helped on the crisis. Scotchmen had had occasion to test the

wise saying, "Put not your faith in Princes." The rugged land of the Gael had been left to itself to cope with the Sassenach. Old France was forgetful of her pledged friendship—of her treaty of 1420; what was worse—of more recent promises. This memory had rankled in the breast of the fierce "children of the mist," remarkable for their short tempers and long rapiers. Vain had been the appeal for assistance, of the Scot, so liberal himself in the past of his blood on French battle-fields, to uphold the French banner; —vain the cry for help, uttered by the descendants of those faithful life-guards of Charles VII. Sandy has got the cold shoulder, from his once cherished ally; his Highland blood is up : revenge, he will have. Where is the time, when one of the royal line of Stewarts, John Stewart, Earl of Bucan, at the head of 7,000 Scots and some French, landed at incredible hazards, at Rochelle, at the call of an ally, to meet the English, at the battle of Beaugé, killing the English King's brother? where, in the words of John's Monstrelet, "the Duke of Clarence, the Earl of Kyme? the Lord Roos, Marshal of England, and in general the flower of the chivalry and esquiredom were left dead on the field, with two or three thousand fighting men." France, in those days, knew how to prize the warlike Mountaineers. Bucan became a *Grand Connétable* of France—as high in fact as a Luxembourg or a Montmorency. In remote times, "next to the Royal family in France, were the houses of Hamilton and of Douglas, who almost rivalled them at home."—(Blackwood.) Scotch names abound on French soil, and Mr. Rattray notices some odd transformations.*

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*"Of the Darnley Stewarts, there were Sir John, founder of the D'Aubigny's, and Sir Alexander, who figures as "Vice-roy of Naples, Constable of Sicily and Jerusalem, Duke of Terra Nova," &c., also Matthew, Earl of Lennox, who sought the hand of Mary of Guise, widow of James V, and mother of Mary Stuart. His rival, oddly enough, was the father of that Bothwell "who settled all matters of small family differences, by blowing his son into the air." Of the nobility closely allied to royalty, there were the Earls of Douglas, Lords of Tourriane, and the Dukes of

A desire for revenge—such after the defeat of Culloden, was one of the motives stimulating the conduct of Highlanders with regard to France. Trusting to their swords and well-tempered dirks, they sought their fortunes on American soil, readily entering into the scheme to dislodge the French from Louisbourg and Quebec; in this deadly encounter, the ardent Scot shewed himself as true in his allegiance to Britain, as he had been to France, when his faith was plighted and his arm raised, to smite the then

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Hamilton and Chatelherault. The Dukes of Richmond, Lennox and Gordon are, of course, entitled to the D'Aubigny dignity. Michel and the chroniclers give a host of Scottish names, most of them long since sunk in territorial titles, some of these may be noted as proof of the vast influence of the Scot upon the destinies of France. There are Guillaume Hay, Jacques Scrimgour, Helis de Guevremont (Kinrinmond) Andrien Stievart Guillebert, Sidrelant (Sutherland), Alexandre de Jervin (Girvin) Jehan de Miniez (Menzies), Nicholas Chambers, Sieur de Guerche, Coninglant) (Cunningham), Jean de Hume, George de Ramesay, Gohory (Gowrie or Govrie) DeGlais (Douglas), D'Hendresson,Mauriçon,Dromont (Drummond) Crafort (Crawford) Leviston (Livingstone) Bercy, Locart, Tournebulle, Moncrif, (Devillencon or D'Aillençon (Williamson) Maxuel, Herrison (Henryson), Doddes, DeLisle, (Leslie) DeLauzun (Lawson), D'Espence (Spence), Sinson (Simpson), &c., &c. The Blackwoods play a distinguished part, and there are also Thomas de Houston, seigneur and Robert Pittcloch, a Dundee man, and many others. These exiles from their native land, in fact regenerated France, at a time when the national pulse beat so feebly as to forbode dissolution, the hardy sons of the north impregnated the veins of France with their own vigorous Scotch blood. Like the Normans of England centuries before, the Scot colony "was received as a sort of aristocracy by race or caste; and hence it became to be a common practice for those who were at a loss for a pedigree to find their way to some adventurous Scot, and stop there just as, both in France and in England, it was sufficient to say that one's ancestors came in with the Normans."—(*The Scot Abroad*, Vol. 1, page 93.)

"In all biographies of the great Colbert, he is said to be of Scottish descent. Morer says that his ancestor's tomb is at Rheims ; Sully, whose family name was Bethune, Scottish enough of itself, thought to trace relationship with the Beatons. Molière, to disguise the vulgarity of his patronymic which was Poquelin, suggested noble descent from a Scot. Mr. Burton mentions that some Scots, who were petty landed proprietors in later times, found it to their advantage to use the prefix "de" before the name of their petty holding. John Law, of Lauriston, is a case in point, and the most ludicrous was an invented title palmed off upon Richelieu. Monteiths' father was a fisherman upon the Forth, and when the Cardinal asked him to what branch of the Monteith's be belonged, the candidate for patronage boldly replied "Monteith de Salmonet."—RATTRAY'S *Scot in British North America, page* 213.)

traditional enemy of France—England. We are not however here to sing the praises of the Scot, but merely to take a glimpse of history.

Strange results flowed from the national disaster: a few years subsequent to 1745, we find Scotchmen arrayed under different banners. Whilst the Highlanders of the Master of Lovat took a pride and a pleasure in striking for King George II in New France, their brethren-at-arms accepted commissions under the King of France, in Canada. Thus Tryon—McEachren and the Chevalier Johnstone had sought safety in France against Tower Hill, and sailed (the latter as an Ensign) in 1748, from Rochefort, with French troops destined for Cape Breton. The Chevalier bears a name too well known in history for one to pass him over without a word of notice. *Two Siege Diaries and a Dialogue on the Campaign of 1759-60, in Canada, printed by this Society, are ascribed to Chevalier Johnstone; his confidential appointment as Aide-de-camp to General de Levi, at Beauport, during the summer of 1759, and the share he had in the engagement of the 13th Sept. of that year, afforded him special facilities to see and describe the incidents of that memorable defeat. The previous career of the Scotch Jacobite had been exciting and full of adventure. William Howitt furnishes the following pen-and-ink photo of the luckless Scot, who is, as you are aware, the author of an interesting account of the disaster of Culloden.

"The Chevalier Johnstone's history is a romance of real life, to the full as interesting, and abounding with hairbreadth escapes, as the tales of the author of Waverly; and, indeed, frequently reminds you of his characters and

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* The campaign of Louisbourg, 1750-58—Quebec, 1867.

A Dialogue in Hades, a parallel of military errors, of which the French and English armies were guilty, during the campaign of 1759, in Canada—Quebec, 1866.

The Campaign of 1760 in Canada—1866.

incidents. The chevalier was the only son of James Johnstone, merchant in Edinburgh. His family, by descent and alliance, was connected with some of the first houses in Scotland. His sister Cecilia was married to a son of Lord Rollo, who succeeded to the title and estate in 1765. The chevalier moved in the best society of the Scottish capital, and was treated by the then celebrated Lady Jane Douglas with the tenderness of a parent. Educated in Episcopalian and Jacobite principles, on the first intelligence of the landing of Prince Charles Edward, he made his escape from Edinburgh to the seat of Lord Rollo, near Perth, where he waited the arrival of the Prince, and was one of the first low-country gentlemen that joined his standard. He acted as aides-de-camp to Lord George Murray, and also to the Prince; and after the battle of Preston-Pans, he recived a Captain's commission, and bore a part in all the movements of the rebel army till the defeat at Culloden. From Culloden, he escaped with the utmost peril to Killihuntly, where Mrs. Gordon, the lady of the house, offered to build him a hut in the mountains, and give him a few sheep to look after, so that he might pass for a shepherd; but the uneasiness of his mind would not allow him to adopt such a life. He fled to Rothiemurchus, where the young laird advised him to surrender himself to the Government, as he had advised others, particularly Lord Balmerino advice which, had he adopted it, would have caused his destruction, as it did theirs. From house to house, and place to place, he escaped by the most wonderful chances and under all sorts of disguises. He passed continually amongst the English soldiers busy at the work of devastation, his blood boiling with fury at the sight, but instant death his fate if he gave one sign of his feelings. Seventeen days he remained in the house of a very poor peasant, named Samuel, in Glen-Prossen; Samuel's daughter watching at the entrance of the glen. He was determined to reach Edinburgh if possible, and thence escape to England,

and so to the Continent; but the chances were a hundred to one against him. Every part of the country was overrun with soldiers, every outlet was watched, and heavy penalties denounced on any boatman who conveyed a rebel across the Tay and Forth. He prevailed, however, with two young ladies to ferry him over the Tay; but after a dreadful journey on foot into Fifeshire, he found the utmost difficulty in getting across the Forth to Edinburgh. The account of all his negotiations and disappointments at Dubbiesides, where no fishermen would carry him over; but where he did at length get carried over by a young gentleman and a drunken fisher, is very much of the Waverly manner. After being concealed with an old nurse at Leith, and partly with Lady Jane Douglas at Drumsheagh—he set out for England as a Scotch pedlar, on a pony. On his way he encountered a Dick Turpin sort of gentleman, and again a mysterious personage, who entered the inn where he was near Stambold, seated himself at table with him, and after playing away heartily at a piece of cold veal, began to interrogate him about the rebels in Scotland. Escaping from this fellow by the sacrifice of some India handkerchiefs, he got to London, where he lay concealed for a long time amongst his friends —fell into a very interesting love adventure—and saw many of his comrades pass his window on their way to execution. On one occasion he was invited by his landlord as a relaxation, to go and see two rebels executed on Tower Hill, Lords Kilmarnock and Balmerino ! He finally escaped to Holland, in the train of his friend Lady Jane Douglas; entered into the service of France, (in 1748) went to Louisbourg in America, and returned to France to poverty and old age ! Such is one recorded life of a Jacobite of the expedition of forty-five" !

Chevalier Johstone's Siege narratives also mention a French post on the Sillery Heights (at Marchmont, Wolfe-

field or at Samos), commanded by an officer of the name of Douglas—apparently a Scotchman. You will no doubt be surprised to hear of another Scotch name, within the precincts of the city before the capitulation, a high, very high official—in fact, the French Commandant of Quebec, Chevalier de Ramezay.

Ladies and Gentlemen, there is no mistaking, the Scotch descent of the French commandant at Quebec, before the city capitulated. The *Lieutenant du Roy*, was Major de Ramezay, one of four brothers serving the French King, three of whom had devotedly fallen in his service. Major de Ramezay, for his services had been decorated by Louis XV with the cross of St. Louis. His father, Claude de Ramezay, of the French Navy(*Capitaine d'une compagnie de troupes de la Marine*) had been two years Governor of Three Rivers and twenty years Governor of Montreal, under French rule: he died Governor of that city. More than three centuries back, the Scotch Ramsays had settled in France. The name of Ramsay is now well represented on our Judicial Bench. It will later on, again reappear among the Governors of Quebec. In 1820, the ancient Capital will welcome, to the *Château St. Louis*, George Ramsay, Earl of Dalhousie, a patron of education, a lover of history, and a friend to progress.

Nor was there any thing unsoldierlike in the Ramezay's surrender on the 18th Sept., 1759—It saved the despairing, devoted inhabitants from starvation, and the dismantled city from bombardment—from sack and pillage. The proceedings of the French Council of war, held before the capitulation and published under the auspices of this Society, has done the French Commandant effectual, though tardy, justice. ‡

‡ MÉMOIRE DU SIEUR DE RAMEZAY, *Commandant à Québec, au sujet de la reddition de cette ville, le 18 septembre 1759, d'après un manuscrit aux archives de la marine à Paris; publié sous la direction de la Société Littéraire et Historique de Québec. Québec—Des Presses de John Lovell*, 1843.

The first British Governor of Quebec, a Scotchman, General James Murray, as it were, took loyally and bravely the keys of the city gates from the last French Commandant of the place, Major de Ramezay, of Scotch ancestry. There were more Scotch associated to the destinies of the old rock in those remote times than you are aware of.

Let us hurry on.

We feel as if we should never be forgiven were we to delay unfolding the warlike record of those terrible mountaineers, of Fraser, at Quebec in 1759, so earnest in avenging on France's pet colony, France's indifference to the fate of their own country in its hour of trial.

> "Quebec and Cape Breton, the pride of old France,
> In their troops fondly boasted till we did advance,
> But when our claymores they saw us produce,
> Their courage did fail, and they sued for a truce.
>
> THE GARB OF OLD GAUL."

List of officers of Fraser's Highlanders, commissions dated, 5th January, 1757:

Lieut.-Col. Commandant.—Honorable Simon Fraser, died Lieutenant-General in 1782.

Majors.—James Clephane; John Campbell, of Dunoon, afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel Commanding the Campbell Highlanders in Germany.

Captains.—John MacPherson, brother of Clunie.‡ John Campbell, of Ballimore; Simon Fraser, of Inverlochy, killed on the Heights of Abraham in 1795; Donald Macdonald, brother of Clanronald, killed at Sillery 1760; John Macdonnell, of Lochgarry, afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel of the 76th, or Macdonald's Regiment died in 1789, Colonel; Alexander Cameron, of Dungallon; Thomas Ross, of Culrossie, killed on the Heights of Abraham; Alexander Fraser, of Culduthel; Sir Henry Seton, of Abercorn, Baronet; James Fraser, of Belladrum; Simon Fraser, *Captain-Lieutenant*, died a Lieutenant-General in 1812.

Lieutenants.—Alexander MacLeod, Hugh Cameron, Ronald Macdonald, of Keppoch; Charles Macdonnell, of Glengarry, killed at St. John's; Roderick Macneill, of Bara, killed on the Heights of Abraham; William Macdonnell; Archibald Campbell, son of Glenlyon; John Fraser, of Balnain; Hector Macdonald, brother to Boisdale, killed in 1759; Allan Stewart, son of Innerhaheill; John Fraser: Alexander Macdonell, son of Borrisdale, killed on the Heights of Abraham; Alexander Fraser, killed at Louisbourg; Alexander Campbell, of Aross; John Douglas; John Nairn; Arthur Rose, of the family of Kilravoch; Alexander Fraser; John Macdonell, of Leeks, died at Berwick, 1818; Cosmo Gordon, killed at Sillery in 1760; David Baillie killed at Louisbourg; Charles Stewart, son of Colonel John Ray Stewart; Ewen

‡ See Appendix Letter B, Clunie MacPherson.

Cameron of the family of Glenevis ; Allan Cameron; John Cuthbert, killed at Louisbourg; Simon Fraser, Archibald Macalister, of the family of Loup ; James Murray, killed at Louisbourg; Donald Camèron, son of Fassafearn, died on half pay 1817.

Ensigns.—John Chisholm; John Fraser, of Errogie; Simon Fraser; James Mackenzie; Malcom Fraser, afterwards Captain 84th Regiment, or Royal Emigrants ; Donald MacNeill, Henry Munro; Hugh Fraser, afterwards Captain 84th Regiment; Alexander Gregorson, Ardtornish ; James Henderson ; Robert Menzies ; John Campbell.

Chaplain, Reverend Robert MacPherson ; Adjutant, Hugh Fraser ; Quartermaster, John Fraser; Surgeon John McLean.

"Without estate, money, or influence, beyond the hereditary attachment of his clan, the Master of Lovat found himself in a few weeks at the head of eight hundred men, entirely recruited by himself. His kinsmen, officers of the regiment and the gentlemen of the country around, added seven hundred more. The battalion was thus formed of thirteen companies of one hundred and five men each, numbering in all one thousand four hundred and sixty men, including sixty-five sergeants, and thirty pipers and drummers—a splendid body of men, who afterwards carried the military reputation of the nation to the highest pitch. In all their movements they were attended by their chaplain, the Reverend Robert MacPherson, who was called by them *Caipal Mor*, from his large stature. They wore the full Highland dress, ‡ with musket and broadsword. Many of the soldiers added, at their own expense, the dirk, and the purse of Otter's skin. The bonnet was raised or

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‡ William Skene, F.S.A. Scot, quotes *desly* (A. D. 1578) in speaking of the Highlanders, ability to stand cold when clad in kilt and plaid.—"*His solis noctu involuti suaviter dormiebant. Reliqua vero vestimenta erant brevis ex lana tunicella manicis inferius apertis, uti expeditius cum vellent jacula torquerent, ac fœmoralia simplicimma, pudori quam frigori aut pompæ aptioræ.*" Wrapt up in these for their only covering, they would sleep comfortably. The rest of their garments consisted of a short woollen jacket, with the sleeves open below for the convenience of throwing their darts, and a covering for their thighs of the simplest kind, *more for decency than for show or a defence against the cold.*"

cocked on one side, with a slight bend inclining down to the right ear, over which were suspended two or more black feathers. Eagle's or Hawk's feathers were worn by the officers. During six years in North America, Fraser's

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In a lively newspaper discussion with the late Dr. W. J. Anderson, P. L. & H. S., the question of the effects of climate on the kilted "Scots" in Canada in 1759 was discussed ; we held forth as follows:

"Highland regiments as late as 1780, not only wore the kilt by choice, but exchanging it for any other dress, was in their eyes, positive degradation. Regiment orders were found insufficient to do away with it. Nothing short of an act of Parliament would effect it, and even that in some cases failed. They appear to have held more staunchly to the kilt than to the Stuart dynasty. An instance of this powerful national feeling of the Highlanders occurred at Leith, about 1780. "Two strong detachments of recruits belonging to the 42nd and 71st Regiments, arrived at Leith from Sterling Castle, for the purpose of embarking to join their respective regiments in North America. Being told that they were to be turned over to the 80th and 82nd,—The Edinburgh and Hamilton regiments who wore the Lowland dress, they declared openly and firmly they had not been enlisted for such regiments, and refused to join them. Troops, were sent down, but the Highlanders flew to arms; a desperate conflict ensued, in which Captain Mansfield, of the South Fencible Regiment, and nine men were killed, and thirty-one soldiers wounded. Being at last overpowered, the mutineers were carried to the castle ; three of them were tried for mutiny. At their trial, they pleaded first the difference of their language, the Gaelic, and also that they had been accustomed to the Highland habit, so far as never to have worn breeches, a *thing so inconvenient and even so impossible* for a native Highlander to do, that when the Highland dress was prohibited even by act of Parliament, though the philebeg was one of the forbidden parts of the dress, yet it was necessary to connive at the use of it, provided only that it was made of stuff of one color and not of tartan, as is well known to all acquainted with the Highlands, particularly with the more mountainous parts of the country."

The prisoners were sentenced to be shot, but the King subsequently granted them a free pardon. It was stated in the work to which we refer that "‡ a great number of the detachments represented, without any disorder or mutinous behavior, that they were altogether unfit for service in any other corps than Highland ones, particularly that they were incapable of wearing breeches as part of their dress."

Are we not, therefore, justified in replying to Lieut. Fraser, who, on the 20th December, 1759, appears to have been so concerned lest the stalwart mountaineers might catch cold, by reason of the winds' rude pranks with

‡ Browner's History of the Highland Clans, p. 183.

Highlanders continued to wear the kilt both winter and summer. They, in fact, refused to wear any other, and these men were more healthy than other regiments which wore breeches and warm clothing."*

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their kilts, in the words of one of the veterans, who had seen six North American winters, "Thanks to our gracious chief, (Col. Fraser,) we were allowed to wear the garb of our fathers, and, in the course of six winters, showed the *doctors* that they did not understand our constitution ; for, in the coldest winters, our men were more healthy than those regiments that wore breeches and warm clothing."

A Canadian peasant aptly remarked of the kilt that he considered it *"trop frais pour l'hiver, et dangereux l'été à cause des maringouins."*

J. M. L.

* THE KILT SUITABLE FOR WINTER .

(*Quotations from the "Scottish Gael" by James Logan, Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.*)

" The hardihood of the Celtic race has been before noticed. Their dress inured them to the vissicitudes and severity of the climate. The lusty youth, says Marcellinus, had their limbs hardened with the frost and continued exercise."

"Pelloutier relates an anecdote, which shews how little this people regarded exposure to cold. One of their Kings, who was well clothed, one morning that the snow lay deep on the ground, perceiving a man laying down naked, asked if he was not cold. 'Is your face cold?' replied he—'No' said the King, 'Neither' returned the man, 'do I fell cold, for I am ALL FACE.'*

" The Highlanders, before the subversion of their primitive institutions, were indifferent to the severity of a winter night, resting content in the open air, amid rain or snow. With their simple breacan (plaid) they suffered 'the most cruel tempest that could blow, in the field, in such sort that under a wreath of snow they slept sound.' The advantage of this vesture was almost incalculable. During rain it could be brought over the head and shoulders, and while other troops suffered from want of shelter, the Highlander carried in his mantle an ample quantity of warm covering. If three men slept together, they were enabled to spread three folds of warm clothing under, and six over them. The 42nd, 78th and 79th Highlanders who marched thro' Holland in 1794, when the cold was so severe as to freeze brandy in bottles, SUFFERED INCOMPARABLY LESS THAN OTHER CORPS WHO WORE PLENTY OF WARM APPAREL.

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" In order to fully illustrate the national dress and weapons, several members of the St. Andrew's Society having kindly offered the relics in their possession, of yore the property of Fraser's Highlanders, in 1759, advantage was taken of their kindness Hon. D. A. Ross's dirk and skenedhu were conspicuous, among other antique curiosities. The sword produced by Mr. J.B.Dubeau, was of a slighter make than those of 1759—It dates back to 1776. Together with the sword of Brigadier General Richard

* Tome II, c. 7, from Ælian. Var. Hist. VII.

During the winter of 1759-50, a portion of Fraser's Highlanders were quartered in the Ursulines Convent. Whether the absence of breeches, on the brawny mountaineers was in the eyes of the good ladies a breach of decorum, or whether christain charity impelled them to clothe the naked—especially during the January frosts, is hard to determine at the present time: certain it is, that the Nuns generously begged of Governor Murray, to be allowed to provide raiment for the barelegged sons of Caledonia.

*Fraser's Highlanders* distinguished themselves at the capture of Louisbourg, in 1758; at the battle of Montmorency, 31st July, 1759; and at that of St. Foye or Sillery, 28th April, 1760; a fitting tribute was rendered to their, bravery on this occasion by the Hon. P. J. O. Chauveau, at the inauguration, in 1855, of the statue of Bellona, sent out by Prince Napoleon to crown the monument on the celebrated battle-field.

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Montgomery, Mr. James Thompson Harrower produced a Scotch blade—which had been the property of old James Thompson, his grandfather. It had on it seven heads of kings, wearing crowns. On the hilt of the dirk, was carved in the wood-work, the emblens of the Masonic craft. Mr. Thompson was very high in the craft. Among his papers there is one with an entry to the effect that a most cold-blooded murder was committed with this dirk, when his grandfather was at Rhode Island. It would appear that this Highlander had lent this dirk to an officer, who, happening to enter the guard room, was abused and violently assailed by one of his corps, a sergeant, who was intoxicated. The sergeant ended by seizing hold of his captain—throwing him on the ground, and before help came, despatching his superior officer with the officer's dirk, which he had plucked from its sheath."

Much discussion took place after the meeting, whether any of these swords were Andrea Ferraras—this style of sabre being common in 1759. After the lecture was over, some Highland "chiel" called on Mr. J. Doig, who had kindly consented to attend in full Highland costume, with the bagpipes. Mr. Doig played the "Reel of Tullochgorum" with great spirit, having next to him a gillie in full Highland, costume, Mr. A. Watters's little son, Frank Stewart. These little incidents heightened the interest in a subject discussed on the eve of St. Andrews' Day. The lecture room was crowded to that degree, that for many, there was but standing room. —(*Morning Chronicle* Report of Lecture, 1st Dec. 1880).

A singular incident marked the engagement at Carillon* on the 8th July, 1758, where a Scotch Regiment suffered fearfully.

"At the battle of the Plains, the loss of *Fraser's Highlanders* amounted to three officers, one sergeant, and fourteen rank and file, killed; ten officers, seven sergeants, and one hundred and thirty-one rank and file, wounded. The disproportion in the number of the killed to that of the wounded must be ascribed to the irregular and unsteady fire of the enemy, which was put a stop to on the charge of the British. Of the conduct of the Regiment on that eventful 13th September, an eye witness, Malcolm Fraser, then a Lieutenant in this corps, has left an excellent (2) narrative. From it we give the following extracts : "After pursuing the French to the very gates of the town, our Regiment was ordered to form, fronting the town on the ground whereon the French formed first ; at this time, the rest of the army came up in good order. General Murray having then put himself at the head of our Regiment, ordered them to fall to the left and march through the

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* We read in Garneau, respecting the Battle of Carillon, on the 8th July, 1758:

"It was the right of the trench works that was longest and most obstinately assailed; in that quarter the combat was most sanguinary. The British Grenadiers and Highlanders there persevered in the attack for three hours, without flinching or breaking rank. The Highlanders above all, under Lord John Murray, covered themselves with glory. They formed the troops confronting the Canadians, their light and picturesque costume distinguishing them from all other soldiers amid the flames and smoke. The corps lost the half of its men, and twenty-five of its officers were killed or severely wounded." (*Garneau's History of Canada.*)

"Some Highlanders taken prisoners by the French and Canadians huddled together on the battle-field, and expecting to be cruelly treated, looked on in mournful silence. Presently a gigantic French officer walked up to them, and whilst exchanging in a severe tone some remarks in French with some of his men, suddenly addressed them in Gælic. Surprise in the Highlanders soon turned to positive horror. Firmly believing no Frenchman could ever speak Gælic, they concluded that his Satanic Majesty in person was before them—it was a jacobite serving in the French army." (*Maple Leaves*, 1864, p. 102.)

(2) Manuscripts published under the auspices of the LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY of Quebec, 1867-8.

bush of wood towards the General Hospital, where they got a great gun or two to play upon us from the town, which, however, did no damage, but we had a few men killed and officers wounded by some skulking fellows, with small arms, from the bushes and behind the houses in the suburbs of St. Louis and St. John."

We shall interrupt this quotation of Lieutenant Fraser's journal, to insert some details, very recently furnished to us, by our respected townsman, John Fraser, Esq., better known as Long John Fraser ; * his memory is still green, despite the frost of many winters. "In my youth," says Mr. Fraser, "I boarded with a very aged militiaman, who had fought at the battle of the Plains ; his name was Joseph Trahan. In 1759, Trahan was aged eighteen years. Frequently has this old gossip talked to me about the incidents of the fight. I can well recollect, old Trahan used to say, how Montcalm looked before the engagement. He was riding a dark or black horse in front of our lines, bearing his sword high in the air, in the attitude of encouraging the men to do their duty. He wore a uniform with large sleeves, and the one covering the arm he held in the air, had fallen back, disclosing the white linen of his risband. When he was wounded, a rumor spread that he was killed; a panic ensued, and the soldiers rushed promiscuously from the *Buttes à Nepveu* (near where the *Asyle Champêtre,*—now Mr. Dinning's house—stands), towards the *Côteau Sainte Geneviève*, thence towards the St. Charles, over the meadow (on which St. Roch has since been built.) I can remember the Scotch Highlanders flying wildly after us, with streaming plaids, bonnets and large swords—like so many infuriated demons, —over the brow of the hill. In their course, was a wood,

* Our esteemed fellow townsman, now in years close on four score and ten, we regret to hear, lies on a bed of anguish at Savannah, S. C., with a fractured thigh.

in which we had some Indians and sharpshooters, who bowled over the *Sauvages d'Ecosse* in fine style. Their partly naked bodies fell on their face, and their kilts in disorder left exposed a portion of their thighs, at which our fugitives on passing by, would make lunges with their swords, cutting large slices out of the fleshiest portion of their persons. I was amongst the fugitives and received in the calf of the leg a spent bullet, which stretched me to the ground. I thought it was all over with me; but presently, I rose up, and continued to run towards the General Hospital, in order to gain the Beauport camp over the bridge of boats. On my way, I came to a bake house, in which the baker that day had baked an ovenful of bread. Some of the exhausted fugitives asked him for food, which he refused, when in a fit of rage at such heartlessness, one of them lopped off his head with his sword. The bloody head was then deposited on the top of the pile of bread. Hunger getting the better of me, I helped myself to a loaf all smeared with gore, and with my pocket-knife removing the crust, I greedily devoured the crumb. This was in the afternoon, and the sun was descending in the West."

The countless clan of the Frasers, in the length and the breadth of our land, retrace back to this grand old *corps*, their kinsfolks across the sea, and Simon Fraser's, companions-at-arms, the McDonalds–Campbells–McDonnells – McPhersons – Stewarts – Rosses – Murrays – Camerons – Menzies – Nairns † – Munros – McKenzies – Cuthberts, so deeply rooted in our soil. A descendant, the Honorable John Fraser de Berry, of St. Mark, near Montreal, in 1868, carried away by his gushing love of country, set to work to reorganize the Clan, notwithstanding the inroads committed

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† One of his descendants, the late seigneur of Murray Bay, John Nairn, Esquire, married Miss Leslie, a daughter of the Hon. James Leslie, one of our most respected public men. (See Appendix Letter C.)

by time, intermarriages with other races, loss of language, &c.† The scheme did not succeed, and gave rise to many humorous comments.

The "Frasers" of 1759 and of 1775 readily courted danger or death in that great duel, which was to graft progress and liberty on that loved emblem of Canada, the pride of its forests—the Maple Tree. If at times, one feels pained at the ferocity which marked the conflict and which won for

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† FRASER CLAN.

" THE " FRASERS " of the Province of Quebec, are respectfully requested to meet at the OFFICE of Messrs. THOMAS FRASER & CO., at the Lower Town, Quebec, on SATURDAY, the twenty-fifth day of January, 1868, at TEN o'clock, A.M., to take into consideration the advisability of organizing the " CLAN " for the Dominion of Canada.

| | |
|---|---|
| JOHN FRASER DE BERRY, | A. FRASER, |
| A. FRASER, SENR., | A. FRASER, JR., |
| J. R. FRASER, | FRED. FRASER, |
| JOHN FRASER. | J. FRASER. |

Jany. 21, 1868. (*Morning Chronicle, January, 1868.*")

THE CLAN OF THE FRASERS.

" At a meeting of the " Frasers " of the Province of Quebec, held at Mrs. Brown's city hotel, Garden St., on the 8th February, 1868, Alexander Fraser, Esq., notary, ex-Member for the county of Kamouraska, now resident in Quebec, in the chair ; Mr. Omer Fraser, of St. Croix, acting as Secretary.

1. It was unanimously resolved:

That it is desirable that the family of " Frasers " do organize themselves into a clan with a purely and benevolent, social object, and, with that view, they do now proceed to such organization, by recommending the choice of

A Chief for the Dominion of Canada ; A Chief for each Province ;
A Chief for each electoral division ; A Chief for each County :
A Chief for each locality and township.

2. That the Chief of the Dominion of Canada be named "The Fraser," and that he be chosen at the general meeting of the " Frasers " of all the provinces ; the said meeting to be held on the second Thursday in the month of May next, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, in such place in the City of Ottawa, as will then be designated.

To be the chief of the Province of Quebec :

The Honorable JOHN FRASER DE BERRY, Esquire, one of the members of the Legislative Council of the said Province, &c., being the fifty-eighth descendant

Fraser's Highlanders at Quebec, the name of *Les Sauvages* d'Ecosse,† one feels relieved, seeing that the meeting was inevitable, that, the sturdy sons of Caledonia in Levi's heroic Grenadiers,* did find a foe worthy of their steel. Scotchmen, on the field of Ste Foye, in deadly encounter with France's impetuous warriors, doubtless acknowledged that the latter were not unworthy descendants of those whom they had helped to rout England's soldiery at the fields of Beaugé, Crevant and Verneuil.

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of Jules de Berry, a rich and powerful lord (seigneur) who feasted sumptuously, the Emperor Charlemagne, and his numerous suite, at his castle in Normandy in the eighth century.

II. For the following electoral divisions ;

LAUZON,—THOMAS FRASER, Esquire, farmer, of Pointe Levis.

KENNEBEC,—SIMON FRASER, Esquire, of St. Croix.

DE LA DURANTAYE,—ALEXANDER FRASER, Esquire, farmer, of St. Valier.

LES LAURENTIDES,—WILLIAM FRASER, Esquire, of Lake St. John, Chicoutimi

GRANDVILLE,—JEAN ETIENNE FRASER, Esquire, Notary.

GREEN ISLAND, STADACONA,—ALEXANDER FRASER, Esquire, Notary, St. Roch, Quebec.

The meeting having voted thanks to the president and secretary, then adjourned.

ALEX. FRASER,
President.

OMER FRASER,
Secretary.

(*Morning Chronicle, February 8*, 1868.")

† The kilted Highlanders of 1759 were popularly known among the peasants as "*Les Petites Jupes.*" Most exaggerated stories were circulated as to their ferocity. The following was one of the most accredited opinions:—"The Highlanders would neither give nor take quarter; they were so nimble that no man could catch them, so nobody could escape them, no one had a chance against their broad swords. With the ferocity natural to savages they made no prisoners, and spared neither man, woman, nor child."

* A curious hand to hand fight between the Highlanders and French Grenadiers took place on the 28th April, 1760, at Dumont's Mill, on the site adjoining Mr. Dunscomb's house, on the St. Foye Road.

"With this old windmill is associated one of the most thrilling episodes of the conflict. Some of the French Grenadiers and some of Fraser's Highlanders took, lost and re-took the Mill three times, their respective officers looking on in mute astonishment and admiration ; *whilst a Scotch piper, who had been under arrest for bad conduct, ever since the 13th Sept.*, 1759, *was piping away within hearing*:—so says an old Chronicle—(*Maple Leaves*, 1873, p. 182.

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See Appendix Letter D.

Scurvy and salt provisions had decimated the ranks of Fraser's men, during that same winter of 1759-60. The regiment went into action on 28th April, 1760, under very depressing circumstances; still the martial ardour of other days burned fiercely in their breasts.

As previously stated, Fraser's 78th Highlanders after the war was over, were disbanded, in 1764 ! the Volunteers had settled here in 1762, and, later, in the Maritime provinces.

You think, perhaps, you have seen the last of the *Sauvages d'Ecosse.* Far from it : a new opportunity for the display of their martial qualities is close at hand. Barely sixteen years will suffice to bring it round.

Across our borders a great agitation reigned in 1775. An unwise, nay, an unjust policy: taxation without representation—has roused all New England ; the wave of invasion threatens Canadian homes. King George calls to arms all his Canadian lieges, the *old* as well as the *new* subjects, whose allegiance barely counts sixteen summers. One and all respond, despite threats or seductive promises ;—none more so, than the gallant Fraser's Highlanders settled in Canada.

In an incredible short delay, as if by magic, a Regiment, the 84th of *Royal Emigrants,* with recruits from Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland, &c., sprung up, under Lt.-Colonel Allan McLean, of the late 104th* Highland Regi-

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* Two Battalions—Embodied in 1775—Regimented in 1778.

" 1st battalion was to be raised from the Highland Emigrants in Canada, and the discharged men of the 42nd, of Fraser's and Montgomery's Highlanders who had settled in North America after the peace of 1763. Lieut.-Colonel Allan MacLean (son of Forlish) of the late 104th Highland Regiment was appointed Lieut.-Colonel Commandant of the 1st battalion. The men of the 1st battalion settled in Canada ; those of the 2nd in Nova Scotia, forming a settlement which they named Douglas. Many of the officers, however, returned home."—(Brown's History of the Highlands, vol. IV, p. 309.

ment, Captains, Malcolm and Hugh Fraser, late of the 78th. This corps were installed in our "grim and stern keep, which watches over the city." Such is the confidence placed in the skill and bravery of Colonel McLean that the staunch little garrison, 1,800 strong, is placed under his orders by Sir Guy Carleton. During the agony of that dreadful winter of siege, famine, small pox, with traitors in and out of the city ; with Crown Point, Forts St. John, Chambly, Montreal, Sorel, Three Rivers, in fact, every foot of ground round Quebec (except that enclosed by the walls) in the possession of the New England and New York soldiery, &c., the Scotch commander was found to be "the right man in the right place." Aided by the Regulars—by the Canadian Militia, under brave Colonel Dupré,—by the English Militia under Col. Henry Caldwell,—by British seamen, Masters and Mates, led by Capt. McKenzie and Hamilton, Col. McLean under the eye of Guy Carleton, proudly upheld the banner of Merry England, on the bastions of Quebec, but there only, in all New France. Once the flag of Britain was firmly implanted in Canada, the Scot turned his mind to new fields of enterprise—to commerce and the tillage of the soil.

'Tis a pleasing spectacle to witness, later on, the substantial acknowledgment of services rendered, made by the British Government, in grants of land to Scotch soldiers. Valuable seigniories are conceded to their officers; thus, Major Nairn, of the *Royal Emigrants*, received a patent for the *Fief* of Murray Bay, on the Lower St. Lawrence, while his companion-at-arms, Lieutenant Malcolm Fraser, had, on 27th April, 1762, obtained the adjoining seigniory, Mount Murray, bounded to the west by the river Murray or Mal Baie, to the east by the Rivière Noire—running three leagues in the interior.

Their followers and retainers, crowded around them; soon a whole Scotch colony, flourished round the bay or on the highlands of this picturesque spot, which in many particulars reminds one of the glens and gorges of Scotland: to this day many hamlets resound with the names of McLean, McNichol, Blackburn, Warren, Harvey, McNiell, old 78th men albeit the name only now survives. Alliances with the French Canadian peasantry, has obliterated all trace of a Celtic nationality, though the descendants of the famous Lairds of 1762, Major Nairn and Lieut. Fraser still hold their own in their snug and solid old Manors. Fraser's Highlanders, settled all over Lower Canada; their descendants now number (it is said) more than 3,000. Scarcely a parish in the Lower St. Lawrence without some off-shoot from the parent tree: at Levi, Beaumont, St. Michel, St. Vallier, St. François, St. Thomas, St. André, Rivière-du-Loup, Restigouche, Matapedia, &c.

There are, however, populous settlements of Scotch—such as that of Metis—which do not hail from the Fraser's Highlanders. This colony was formed in 1823, by the late J. McNider, of Quebec. There are wealthy Scots in the Baie des Chaleurs, who do not trace either to Fraser's Highlanders or to the U. E. Loyalists of 1783—such as the Laird of Cluny Cottage, Wm. McPherson, Esq., for thirty-three years Mayor of Port Daniel, and who settled there in 1838.

Several Scotch United Empire Loyalists, in 1783, coming from the adjacent United States Provinces, settled at the Baie des Chaleurs, as well as at New Carlisle, under the predecessors of Lieut.-Governor, Major Nicholas Cox; at Sorel—on the Bay of Quinté, at Douglas Town, Gaspé Bay; at the later place, the seignior of Crane Island, in 1803, Daniel McPherson,* Esq., settled with the Annetts, Coffins, Murisons, Kennedys, and other U. E. Loyalists.

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*Daniel McPherson, a noted U. E. Loyalist, born at Inverness, Scotland, in 1752, resided at Sorel first, where he married a Miss Kelly : he left Sorel some time about 1790 for Douglastown, Gaspé: engaged in the fisheries and in agricultural pursuits with

Many are the ethnological changes, in Lower Canada, ushered in by British rule: and with the experience of the past, varied indeed will be in a hundred years hence the rich concrete, composing our nationality, if the blind god of hymen should continue to shoot his darts, in defiance of race, language or creed.

If Sandy shewed a *penchant* for the bright eyed Josettes of New France, French families even those with the bluest blood, were not averse to Scotch or English alliances; in proof whereof, you will find at the end of this paper a list of military marriages and some ethnological notes which may startle you.

The widow of the third Baron de Longueuil, Charles Jacques LeMoine, gave her hand in marriage at Montreal, on the 11th September, 1770, to the Hon. William Grant, Receiver General of the Province, while on the 7th May, 1781, Capt. David Alexander Grant, a nephew of the Hon. W. Grant, led to the altar, her daughter, who subsequently assumed the title of Baroness de Longueuil; the Grants of Scotland, their descendants, now claim the Baronial title in Canada.

Later on, we find the haughty Scotch family of Lennox* connected by marriage with the proud and warlike family of LaCorne de St. Luc.

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success, opened subsequently a large fishing establishment at Point St. Peter, Gaspé; he died at St. Thomas, Montmagny, in June, 1840, aged 88 years. The lecturer, on his mother's side, Miss M. McPherson, is the grand son of this respected old U. E. Loyalist, after whom he was named James McPherson LeMoine : his French ancestors hailed from Pistre, near Rouen, in Normandy, and were closely connected with the other celebrated Norman family, LeMoine de Longueuil.

* Miss M. Lennox was a daughter of Major the Hon. Earl of Lennox, son of the Duke of Richmond and Aubigny, and of Mademoiselle Marguerite Lacorne de Chapt de St. Luc—a family equally distinguished on Canadian battle fields and among the French noblemen : her mother had remarried Le Commandant Jacques Viger, the Montreal antiquarian ; a detailed obituary notice of Miss Lennox, appeared at the time, in the Montreal "Minerve."

It furnishes quite a curious study to follow the chain of events, and to see how antipathies of race fade away before the harmonizing influence of hymen. Scotch as well as English officers, of Montreal and Quebec, are united to the best French blood in the colony: thus we have the DeGaspé, Duchesnay, de St. Ours, DeSalaberry, Panet, LeMoine, de Longueuil, de Montenack, Coursol, Sicotte, Duval, Chauveau, changing their old names to that of Stuart, Fraser, Campbell, Hatt, Herbert, McPherson, Shakespeare, Symthe, White, Kane, Worseley, Serocold, Glendonwyn.

So far, it has been our task to sketch the career of Scotchmen in Canada, placed in subordinate positions; we will now, with your leave, view them in those exalted offices to which their sovereign may call them. We shall therefore point out a few only of our Rulers, of Scotch nationality: the first was General James Murray, fourth son of Lord Elibank, and first British Governor of Quebec, by the departure of the Marquis of Townshend.

General Murray, by his cool bravery, had won the respect of all parties. If the check his impetuous valor at the battle of Ste. Foye, subjected him to, for a time earned for him the epithet of "rash,"* it never cast a slur, either on his courage in action, or wisdom as an able and humane administrator. Murray seems to have made the same mistake as Montcalm had done; rushing out with inferior forces to meet the enemy, not trusting to the fortifications of Quebec. Though he was much out numbered, on the 28th April, 1760, it must not be forgotten, that he occupied a good position on the Ste. Foye and St. Louis heights, with an excellent park of artillery, in all twenty-two guns, while the French had but two. Here again, Fraser's Highlanders previously decimated by famine and scurvy,

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* See Appendix Letter E.

but unsubdued, shed liberally their life blood. For the French it was a brilliant, but bootless victory, and which merely allowed them, on leaving the country, to shake hands as equals, with their brave opponents.

Murray held his own in the city despite the pursuit of a valiant foe, flushed with victory. Relief came early in May following; and with Lord Amherst, on the 8th September, 1760, he completed the subjugation of Canada, by the capitulation of Montreal.

On his return to England, he was rewarded by a higher command. "General Murray, says his biographer, was subsequently distinguished for his gallant, though unsuccessful defence of Minorca, in 1781, against the Duc de Crillon, at the head of a large Spanish and French force. De Crillon, despairing of success, endeavored to corrupt the trusty and gallant Scot, offering him the sum of one million sterling for the surrender of the fortress. Indignant at this attempt, General Murray immediately addressed the following letter to the Duke :

"Fort St. Philip, 16th October, 1781.

When your brave ancestor was desired by his sovereign to assassinate the Duke de Guise, he returned the answer which you should have thought of, when you attempted to assassinate the character of a man whose birth is as illustrious as your own, or that of the Duke de Guise. I can have no further communication with you but in arms. If you have any humanity, pray send clothing for your unfortunate prisoners in my possession; leave it at a distance to be taken up for them, because I will admit of no contact for the future, but such as is hostile in the most inveterate degree."

There is the true ring here ! One feels better after reading such sentiments. You cannot mistake that proud

sense of duty, which had actuated the Scot on French soil, three centuries previous,—death preferable to dishonor—a sentiment which had won for them the well known epithet, "Fier comme un Ecossais."

Duke Crillon's reply was characteristic:

"Your letter, said he, restores each of us to our places: it confirms me in the high opinion I have always had of you. I accept your last proposal with pleasure."

General James Murray, closed his career in 1791 and was buried in Westminster Abbey. Haydyn, adds, that after his death, on his corpse being opened for the purpose of being embalmed, many bullets by which he had been wounded last in Germany and Canada, were extracted.

"Of the Scots connected with Canada during the period from the conquest to the war of 1812, there are some who seem to require special notice. One of these was Sir William Grant, the third Attorney General of Quebec, born in 1754, at Elchies on the Spray, in the North of Scotland. His distinguished judicial career has no connection with Canada, and he was only temporarily a resident in this country, during a brief period from 1776. When he returned home, Lord Thurlow said of him: "Be not surprised if that young man should one day occupy this seat," —and it is stated that he might have occupied the woolsack but refused it. He filled high judicial offices in England, being successively Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas and Master of the Rolls."

(RATTRAY'S *Scot in British North America, P.* 313.)

Later on, two eminent Scotchmen found a resting place in the vaults of the English Cathedral at Quebec. Lieut.-Governor Peter Hunter, in 1805, the brother of two celebrated physicians, John and William Hunter; and our Governor-in-Chief, the Duke of Richmond, on 4th September, 1819.

In that long list of Viceroys charged with the administration of Canada from out first Scotch Governor Murray, to our present, the Marquis of Lorne, more than one exhibited the distinctive, the most commendable traits of the Scotch character. In the critical times of the first Empire, in 1807, when England, in addition to her gigantic struggle with Napoleon I, expected (and was not disappointed) a foreign war—with the United States, the reins of office, in Canada, were confided to a Scotchman, General Sir James Craig; and if there were faults in the tried old soldier, it was not want of nerve, want of back-bone, in the hour of danger.†

Later on, when the ashes of insurrection were still hot, and the commonwealth required a firm but humane hand to allay civic strife; another Scot—a descendant of the Bruce—James, Earl of Elgin, was sent out. This‡ brilliant orator and

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† See Appendix Letter F.

‡ In September, 1851, in company with a much respected friend, F. X. Garneau, the Canadian historian, and a crowd of other guests invited to the Boston Jubilee, it was our good fortune to attend the great civic entertainment tendered in the Boston Common, by the hospitable city Government of Boston to Lord Elgin, his Cabinet and twenty thousand of guests. Though many of the master minds of the Great Republic, Hon. Daniel Webster, Hon. Mr. Everett, Mr. Putnam and others, entranced their many hearers by their powerful or graceful oratory, we can yet recall the sentiments of pleasure with which the audience, the pride with which ourselves in particular, listened to the flowing periods of our Vice-Roy. It was not the first, nor the last triumph his eloquence achieved on United States Territory. His able biographier furnishes the following anecdote: "Some years afterwards, says Walrond, when speaking of these festivities, the Mayor of Buffalo said: "Never shall I forget the admiration elicited by Lord Elgin's beautiful speech on that occasion. Upon the American visitors (who, it must be confessed, do not look for the highest order of intellect in the appointees of the Crown) the effect was amusing. A sterling Yankee friend, while the Governor was speaking, sat by my side, who occasionally gave vent to his feelings as the speech progressed, each sentence increasing in beauty and eloquence, by such approving exclamations as "He's a glorious fellow! He ought to be on our side of the line! We would make him mayor of our city!" As some new burst of eloquence breaks from the speaker's lips, my worthy friend exclaims "How magnificently he talks! Yes, by George! we'd make him governor, governor of the State!" As the noble Earl, by some brilliant hit, carries the assemblage with a full round of applause. "Ah!" cries my Yankee friend, with a hearty slap on my shoulder, by Heaven, if he were on our side, we'd make him President—nothing less than President!"

(LETTERS AND JOURNALS *of James, Eighth Earl of Elgin, edited by Theodore Walrond, C. B.*, 1873, *P.* 160. (See Appendix Letter G.)

successful statesman, lived to see his arduous mission, on Canadian soil, rewarded by his Sovereign; high diplomatic functions were entrusted to him in China and Japan; his courage and foresight, on the breaking out of the Indian mutiny in 1857, by daring in the nick of time, to divert from China the British expeditionary forces sent out and ordering them to Calcutta, 'twas thought, saved India to England.

It is not always an easy task to summon, by name, from the mysterious shadowy land, the actors of a distant past, and marshall them instinct with life before succeeding generations; this felicity has befallen us to-night by the discovery of two authentic records, one of 1802, the other of 1835, unexpectedly placed in our hands. The signatures affixed thereto, enable us to reconstruct the little Scottish world of Quebec, for both these periods; let us raise a slight corner of the veil !

Several of the bearers of these names, respected professional men or leading merchants, &c., in 1802, are tenderly remembered by their grandsons to this day; some have left foot-prints "on the sand of time."

The first of these documents is a Memorial to His Majesty George III., signed at Quebec, on the 5th October, 1802, by the Rev. Dr. Sparks' congregation and by himself. You are aware that the first Incumbent of St. Andrew's Church—commenced in 1809, and opened for worship on the 30th November 1810—was the Reverend Doctor Alexander Sparks, who had landed at Quebec in 1780, became tutor in the family of Colonel Henry Caldwell, at Belmont, St. Foy road, and who died suddenly, in Quebec, on the 7th March, 1819. Dr. Sparks had succeeded to the Rev. George Henry, a military chaplain at the time of the conquest; the first Presbyterian minister, we are told, who officiated in the Province, and who died on the 6th July, 1795, aged 86 years.

One hundred and forty-eight signatures are affixed to this dry-as-dust document of 1802, which we now hold in our hands. It was recently donated to our Society. Strangely indeed, it reads, in 1880.

A carefully prepared petition—it seems—to the King, asking for a site in Quebec whereon to build a church—and suggesting that the lot occupied by the Jesuits' Church, and where, until 1878, stood the Upper Town market shambles, be granted to the petitioners, they being without a church, and having to trust to the good will of the Government for the use, on Sundays, of a room in the Jesuits Barracks, as a place of worship.*

*Signatures to Memorial addressed to George III, asking for land in Quebec, to build a Presbyterian Church :*

* Alex. Sparks, Minister;
* Jas. Thompson, Jnr.,
Fred. Grant,
* Jno. Greenshields,
* Chas. G. Stewart,
James Sinclair,
John Urquhart,
William Morris,
Jno. Eifland,
John Barlie,
Geo. McGregor,
Wm. Holmes,
James Ward,
Jno. Purss,
Ann Watt,
J. Brydon,
Jno. Fraser,
* James Somerville,
J. A. Thompson,
Wm. Hall,
Wm. Thompson, Sr.,
* D. Monroe,
* J. Blackwood,
* M. Lymburner,
Francis Hunter,
John McLeod,
Hugh Munro,
Geo. Geddes,
Archd. Donaldson,
Sandford Hoyt.
Robert Haddan, Sr.,
Robert Hadden, Jr.,
Alex. Hadden,
William Brown,
Geo. Morrison,
Jno. Goudie,
G. Sinclair,
Walter Carruthers,
* Wm. Petrie,
* John Ross,
Wm. McKenzie,
Thos. Saul,
* J. Ross, Jr.,
* Ann Ross,
* James Mitchell,
Geo. King,
Alex. Thompson,
* James Orkney,
* J. Neilson,
Daniel Fraser,
Wm. Anderson,
Hugh McQuarters, Jr.,
W. Norris,
John McClure,
* Hugh McQuarters,
Alex. Gibney, Sr.,
Jas. Gibney.
Thos. Ewing,
John Glass,
James Tulloch,
Samuel Brown,
Isaac Johnstone,
Peter Leitch,
Henry Baldwin,
Daniel Forbes,
William Jaffray,
J. Hendry,
John Thompson,
George Smith,
Wm. Reed,
Alexander Harper,
Robert Marshall,
William White,
Thomas White,
John Taylor,

* Quebec Past and Present, p. 104.
See Appendix Letter H.

W. Rouburgh,
John McCord,
* J. G. Hanna,
* J. McNider,
* Adam Lymburner,
Jno. Lynd,
Peter Stuart,
* William Grant,
J. A. Todd,
John Mure,
* John Paterson,
* John Crawford,
John Hewison,
David Douglas,
George Wilde,
Fred. Petry,
James Ross,
* David Stewart,
John Yule,
Angus McIntyre,
John Mackie,
John Purss. Johnston,
Wm. Thompson, Jr.,
Con. Adamson,
A. Ferguson,
Robert Eglison,
Robt. Cairns,
William A. Thompson,
Wm. McWhirter,
John McDonald,
John Auld,
Bridget Young,
Jno. Shaw,
Charles Hunter,
Geo. Black,
W. G. Hall,
* J. Gray,
F. Leslie,
* Robt. Wood,
Lewis Harper,
Mary Doyle,
A. Anderson,
John Anderson,
* Robt. Ross,
Wm. Fraser,
Wm. Hay,
Wm. McKay,
* Robert Harrower,
Adam Reid,
* James Irvine,
John Munro,
* Alexander Munn,
Alexander Rea,
James Elmslie,
* Charles Smith,
* Ebenezer Baird,
Lawrence Kidd,
* James McCallum,
* John Burn,
* Joanna George,
* Maya Darling,
* William Lindsay,
* Janet Smith,
* William Smith,
* Henrietta Sewell,
* Jane Sewell,
C. W. Grant,
Robert Ritchie,
* George Pyke,
Joseph Stilson,
Henry Hunt,
George Thompson,

Quebec, 5th October, 1802.

Some of these signatures are quite suggestive, and will add materially to the Autograph Album of the Society. The most notable is probably that of old Adam Lymburner, the cleverest of the three Lymburner, all merchants at Quebec in 1775.† Adam, according to the historian Garneau, was more distinguished for his forensic abilities and knowledge of constitutional law than for his robust allegiance to the Hanoverian succession at Quebec, when Colonel Benedict Arnold and his New Englanders so rudely knocked, at our gates for admission, in 1775.

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† Adam, the oldest ; John lost at sea on his voyage to England, in the fall of 1775 ; and Matthew, who, later on, we think was a partner in the old firm of Lymburner & Crawford, came to his end, in a melancoly manner, at the Falls of Montmorency, about 1823. Were they all brothers? we cannot say. Adam and John were.

According to Garneau and other historians, in the autumn of that memorable year, when the fate of British Canada hung as if by a thread, Adam Lymburner, more prudent than loyal, retired from the sorely beset fortress, to Charlesbourg, possibly to Château Bigot, a shooting box then known as the "Hermitage," to meditate on the mutability of human affairs. Later on, however, in the exciting times of 1791, Adam Lymburner was deputed by the colony to England to suggest amendments to the project of the constitution to be promulgated by the home authorities. His able speech may be met with in the pages of the *Canadian Review*, published at Montreal in 1826. This St. Peter street magnate attained four score and ten years, and died at Russell Square, London, on the 10th January, 1836.

Another signature recalls days of strife and alarm : that of sturdy old Hugh McQuarters, the brave artillery sergeant who, at *Près-de-Ville* on that momentous 31st December, 1775, applied the match to the cannon which consigned to a snowy shroud Brigadier-General Richard Montgomery, his two *aides*, McPherson and Cheeseman, and his brave, but doomed followers, some eleven in all; the rest having sought safety in flight. By this record, it appears Sergeant McQuarters had also a son, in 1802, one of Dr. Sparks' congregation. Old Hugh McQuarters lived in Champlain street and closed his career there, in 1812.

Another autograph, that of James Thompson, one of Wolfe's comrades—"a big giant," as our old friend, the late Judge Henry Black, who knew him well, used to style him, awakens many memories of the past. Sergeant James Thompson, of Fraser's Highlanders, at Louisbourg, in 1758, and at Quebec, in 1759, came from Tain, Scotland, to Canada, as a volunteer to accompany a friend—Capt. David Baillie, of the 78th. His athletic frame, courage, integrity and intelligence, during the seventy-two years of his Canadian

career, brought him employment, honor, trust and attention from every Governor of the colony from 1759 to 1830, the period of his death; he was then aged 98 years. At the battle of the Plains of Abraham, James Thompson, as hospital sergeant, was intrusted with the landing, at Pointe Lévi, of the wounded, who were crossed over in boats; he tells us of his carrying some of the wounded from the crossing at Levi, up the hill, all the way to the church at St. Joseph converted into an hospital and distant three miles from the present ferry : a six foot giant alone could have been equal to such a task. In 1775, Sergeant Thompson, as overseer of Government works, was charged with erecting the palisades, fascines and other primitive contrivances to keep out Brother Jonathan, who had not yet learned the use of Parrot, Gatling guns, and torpedoes. Later on, we find the sturdy Highlander a subject of curiosity to strangers visiting Quebec–full of siege anecdotes and reminiscences–a welcome guest at the Château in the days of the Earl of Dalhousie. In 1827, as senior Mason, he was called on by His Excellency to give the three magic taps with the hammer, when the corner stone of the Wolfe and Montcalm's monument was laid, in the presence of Captain Young, of the 79th Highlanders, and a great concourse of citizens. About New Year's day, 1776, Mr. Thompson became possessed of Gen. Montgomery's sword; it has since passed to his grandson, James Thompson Harrower, whom I see here present, and to whose kindness we are indebted for exhibiting it to you to-night. You will also, no doubt, learn with pleasure that the Society has become possessed of the Thompson M.S.S. letters and papers. Mr. James Thompson left several sons, some of whose signatures are affixed to the document before us. John was Judge for the District of Gaspé from 1828 to 1855; George received a commission in the Royal Artillery; a third was Deputy Commissary General James Thompson, who died in this city in 1869, and whom many can recall.

Old James Thompson expired in 1830, at the family mansion, St. Ursule Street, now occupied by his grandson, Mr. James Thompson Harrower.

When we name *John Greenshields, D. Monro* (the partner of the Hon. Matthew Bell) *J. Blackwood, Matthew Lymburner, Peter Stuart, William Grant, John Mure, John McNider, J. G. Hanna, John Crawford, David Stewart,* (the David Stewart of "Astoria" described by Washington Irving?), *James Orkney, Robert Wood, Alexander Munn, James McCullum, Thomas White, Fred. Petrie, Robert Ritchie,* we recall many leading merchants in St. Peter, Notre-Dame Street and the old *Cul-de-Sac.*

"Jane Sewell," was the wife of Stephen Sewell, Solicitor-General of Lower Canada, brother to Chief Justice Sewell.

"Henrietta Sewell," one of the signers, survived ten years her husband, the late Jonathan Sewell,* Chief Justice for Lower Canada, who died in Quebec, in 1839. Chief Justice Sewell left a numerous progeny:

John Sewell, Capt. in 49th (Brock's Regiment) and Lt.-Col. Volunteer in 1837.
William Smith Sewell, late Sheriff of Quebec, died 1st June, 1866.
Edmund Willoughby Sewell, Clerk in Holy Orders.
Robert Shore Milnes Sewell, Advocate, died 9th May, 1834.
Maria May Livingstone Sewell widow of Major Henry Temple, 15th Regiment
Henrietta Sewell, wife of Rev. Dr. Frs. J. Lundy, died 17th Nov., 1847.
Henry Doyle Sewell, Clerk in Holy Orders.
James Arthur Sewell, M.D., Professor of Laval University.
Montague Charles Sewell, died 28th February, 1859.
Charlotte De Quincey Sewell, died 31st December, 1826.
Fanny Georgiana Sewell, wife of Capt. Trevor Davenport, 1st "Royals."
Eliza Janet Sewell, wife of John Ross, Fsq., died 8th May, 1875.
Algernon Robinson Sewell, Lt.-Col. 15th Regiment, died 10th January, 1875.

"Ebenezer Baird," we take to have been the progenitor of a well-remembered Quebec Barrister, James E. Baird, Esq., the *patron* of our city member, Jacques Malouin, Esquire.

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* See Appendix Letter I.

"William Lindsay," was the father of the late William Burns Lindsay, for years Clerk of the Legislative Assembly of Lower Canada and of our venerable fellow citizen Errol Boyd Lindsay, Esq., Notary Public, now more than four score years of age.

"William Smith," one of the last among the signers of the memorial, the brother of Henrietta Smith, wife of the Chief Justice Sewell, was the Hon. William Smith, Clerk of the Legislative Council and who in 1815 published his HISTORY OF CANADA, in two volumes, a standard work: he was a descendant of the Hon. William Smith, a noted U. E. Loyalist, who wrote the history of the State of New York and landed at Quebec, 23rd October, 1786. As a reward for his loyalty he was made Chief Justice of Lower Canada, 1st September, 1785; he died, at Quebec, 6th December, 1793. H. R. H. Prince Edward, followed his remains to the grave.

The names of six signers of the MEMORIAL TO THE KING, appear on the list of the jury, impanelled to try, in 1797 before Chief Justice Osgood, David McLane for high treason, viz: "John Blackwood," "John Crawford," "David Munro," "John Mure," "James Irvine," "James Orkney," "George Pyke" was the Council named *ex officio*, together with M. Franklin, to defend the misguided Yankee.

The Jury stood thus:

| | |
|---|---|
| * John Blackwood. | * James Irvine. |
| * John Crawford. | * James Orkney. |
| John Painter. | James Watson Goddard. |
| * David Monro. | Henry Cull. |
| * John Mure. | Robert Morrogh. |
| John Jones. | George Symes. |

The early records of the St. Andrew's Society, founded here in 1835, and kindly submitted for our inspection by Mr. A. Robertson, its Secretary, contain the autographs of many well remembered citizens of Quebec. The first, that

Memorial, and who afterwards settled in Upper Canada, was a son of "Joanna George" by another marriage; the eccentric and clever Quebec Merchant, Mr. James George, was another son. He was the first who suggested, in 1825, the plan of the St. Charles River Docks —the first who took up the subject of rendering the St. Lawrence Rapids navigable higher than Montreal. The idea seemed so impracticable, and what was still worse, so new, that the far-seeing Mr. George, was at the time branded as *non compos* ! and still for years the "Spartan," "Passport," "Champion" and other steamers have safely ran these rapids daily every season !

James George had also suggested the practicability of Wooden Railways or Tramways, with horses as locomotive power, forty years before the Civil Engineer, Hulburt built the Gosford Wooden Railway, with steam as locomotive power.

"William Grant," of St. Roch's after whom Grant street was called, was member for the Upper Town of Quebec, during our two first Parliaments, from 17th December, 1792, to 29th May, 1800, and from 9th January, 1805 t 14th April, 1808.

"John Mure" represented the County of York, (Vaudreuil ?) in three Parliaments, from 9th January, 1805, to 26th February, 1810, and was member for the Upper Town of Quebec, from 1810 to 1814. A man of intelligence, he also, though a Presbyterian, became a benefactor to the R. C. Church, having in 1812, given to the parishioners of St. Roch's, whereon to erect their church, the site of the R. C. Temple of Worship, in that thriving suburb.

"John Blackwood," also represented the Upper Town in two Parliaments, from 9th April, 1809, to 20th February, 1810.

'On the crest of Abram's heights,
'Victorious in a thousand fights,
'The Scottish broad-sword won our rights
"Wi' fatal sweep.

Then when the Gaul shall ask again,
*Who* called us here across the Main?
Each Scot shall answer, bold and plain,
"Wolfe sent me here!"

Be men like those the hero brought,
With their best blood the land was bought;
And fighting as your fathers fought,
Keep it or die!

A Saint Andrew's Dinner here brings to mind the famous National Banquet, at Halifax, in 1814, at which the sturdy Haligonian Scots sat out, *mirabile dictu*, fifty-two toasts. Some of these toasts were very apposite, others sound strangely to us, after a lapse of sixty-six years.

We subjoin some of the most singular healths drank: to understand the pith of which, one has to recall the warlike era of 1814.

11th. To Alexander, the Emperor of the Russians.....
12th. " The Emperor of Austria.....
13th. " the King of Prussia.....
14th. " Louis XVIII. May he recollect the nation which afforded him protection during the unprecedented trouble of his country, and was the chief cause for restoring him to the throne of France. Air—"The White Cockade."
15th. " Congress of Vienna.....
22nd. " British Commissioners at Ghent.....
26th. A rather humorous one. "May James Madison and all his faction be soon compelled to resign the reins of Government in America, and seek a peace establishment with their friend Bonaparte at Elba." Airs—"The Rogue's March" and "Go to the Devil and shake yourself." (Such sentiments have long since passed away.)
29th. To General Count Platoff and his brave Cossacks. Air—"The Cossack."
31st. " the Gallant Veteran Blucher.
36th. " the memory of General Moreau.
40th. " " " of Prince Kutusoff and all those who have fallen in the defence of the liberties of Europe.
43rd. Typefies commerce—"Horn, Corn, Fish and Yarn"—"Reel of Tulloc-gorum."
48th. " Robert Gibb's contract, "Johnny Grey's Breeks." (Some good hit made here no doubt sixty-six years ago.)
50th. " the Beggar's Benison. Air—"The Rogue's March."
51st. May Great Britain never resign the right of search while she has a sailor or a soldier to defend "it." (This toast would cause a smile at the present day.)

(ANTIQUARIAN for Oct., 1880, p. 67.)

THE QUEBEC CURLING CLUB—1838.

"The annual match between the married men and bachelors of the Quebec Curling Club was played on the 1st of March, for "beef and greens," when the following was the result of the game;

Married men, 17; Bachelors, 31.

of the Manager of the Montreal Bank, Alexander Simpson, who describes himself as "Farmer," of Thornhill,—Thornhill the country seat of our friend, Archibald Campbell, Esquire, P. S. C., eldest son of Col. Chs. Campbell,* late of 99th Regiment.

Mr. Simpson, as Manager of the Bank, had succeeded Mr. Sutherland, for many years Postmaster General of Lower Canada.

This roll of Scotch worthies reminds us each year of the recurrence of the annual dinner in November and of sundry "Beef and Greens" and "hagis" entertainments given by jolly Curlers, the promoters of the "roaring game."

History has even handed down a glowing account of the St. Andrew's Dinner, in the stormy days of 1837, given at Schluep's, in St. Louis Street, the *Globe* Hotel, since the St. Louis Hotel. It was presided over by that eminent patriot and jurist, the late Andrew Stuart, the father of the present Mr. Justice Andrew Stuart : the Hon. Francis Ward Primrose, for years a leading member of our Bar, was the Vice-President, when the bard and seer of the society, our well remembered old friend, the late Archibald Campbell, usually styled "Her Majesty's Notary," in a clear and mellow voice, poured forth the stirring words of the patriotic lines he had himself composed.

ORIGINAL SONG,

*As sung by Archibald Campbell, Esq., at St. Andrew's Dinner,* 1837.
AIR : "*Scots wha Hae,*"

Men of Scotia's blood or land,
No longer let us idly stand,
Our "origin" while traitors brand
As "foreign" here.

"By gallant hearts those rights were gain'd,
"By gallant hearts shall be maintain'd,
E'en tho' our dearest blood be drain'd
"Those rights to keep."

* See Appendix Letter H.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| J. B. Edie, | L. Ballingall, | John Fife, | A. Simpson, |
| D. Burnet, | T. A. Young, | L. J. McNair, | J. Bruce, |
| J. Thompson, | Jas. Burns, | D. Fraser, | D. Wilkie, |
| R. MacLellan, | R. H. Gairdner, | W. K. Rayside, | James Dean, |

Andrew Paterson in the Chair.

Moved by A. Simpson, seconded by A. Gilmour,—"That it is expedient to form a Society in this city, to be called the Saint Andrew's Society of Quebec."

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ELECTION OF OFFICERS FOR YEAR ENDING 30TH NOV., 1836.

Andrew Paterson.....President.
John Neilson.....1st Vice-President.
The Hon. John Stewart.....2nd Vice-President.

MANAGERS :

James Dean, George Black, Donald MacLellan, Allan Gilmour, Lewis J. McNair, Hon. F. W. Primrose, Samuel Neilson, Robert Pope Ross, Donald Fraser, Thomas Ainslie Young.

CHAPLAINS :—Rev. John Clugeston, and Rev. Daniel Wilkie.

PHYSICIANS :—Joseph Morrin, James Douglas.

Alex. Simpson, Treasurer. : John Bruce, Secretary. : Jas. Gillespie, Asst.-Secretary.

COMMITTEE OF INSTALMENT :

William McTavish, : Robert H. Gairdner.

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OFFICERS OF ST. ANDREW'S SOCIETY FOR 1880.

PRESIDENT—W. D. Campbell. FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT—Wm. Rae.
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT—D. R. McLeod. TREASURER—Jas. McNider.

SECRETARY—A. Robertson.

COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT—Messrs. Wm. Brodie, D. H. George, P. Johnston, Wm. Sutherland and D. Kerr.

CHAPLAINS—Rev. Dr. Cook and Rev. W. B. Clark.

PHYSICIAN—Dr. Rowand.

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Out of the population of the City of Quebec—per Census of 1871..... 59,699
The Scotch element stands thus..... 1,861

The Quebec Press owes its origin to two Scotchmen, from Philadelphia, Messrs. Brown & Gilmore, who printed * on the 21st June, 1764, in this city, the first number of the *Quebec Gazette*, the oldest paper in the Dominion, the Montreal *Gazette* having been founded fourteen years later by Fleury Mesplet, in 1778. When the *Gazette* was bought up in 1864, and merged into the *Quebec Morning Chronicle*, founded in 1847, it had existed 110 years.

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* The handle or lever of this press I now hold in my hand.

William Brown was succeeded in the editorship and proprietorship of this venerable sheet, by his nephew Samuel Neilson, the elder brother of John Neilson, who for years was the trusted Member for the County of Quebec ; as widely known as a Journalist—a Legislator—in 1822, our worthy Ambassador to England—as he was respected as a patriot.

Samuel Neilson had died in 1793 ;—his young brother and *protégée* John, born at Dornald, in Scotland, in 1776, being in 1793, a minor, the *Gazette* was conducted by the late Rev. Dr. Alex. Sparks, his guardian, until 1796. When John Neilson became of full age, he assumed the direction of the paper for more than half a century, either in his name or in that of his son Samuel. Hon. John Neilson, closed his long and spotless career, at his country seat (Dornald,) at Cap Rouge, on the 1st February, 1848, aged 71 years. Who has not heard of the Nestor of the Canadian Press, honest John Neilson? May his memory ever remain bright and fragrant—a beacon to guide those treading the intricate paths of Journalism—a shining light to generations yet unborn !

In a pretty rustic cemetery, the site of which was presented by himself to the Presbyterian Church of Valcartier, near Quebec, were laid, on the 4th February, 1848, the remains of this patriotic man—escorted by citizens of every origin, after an eloquent address had been delivered by the Rev. Dr. John Cook, the present pastor of St. Andrew's Church.

We are indebted to his son John Neilson, of Dornald, for this relic, the iron lever of the first Press used at Quebec in 1764—a precious one to Canadian Journalism.

There are indeed many Scotch names associated with our press. Space precludes us from enlarging more on

this subject. We cannot, however, close this portion or our enquiry, without naming the editor of the Quebec *Star*,—a literary gazette—Daniel Wilkie, LL.D., in 1818—still better remembered as the esteemed instructor of Quebec youth for forty years.

Dr. Wilkie was born at Tollcross, in Scotland, in 1777, one year later than John Neilson: he settled in Quebec in 1803, and died here on the 10th May, 1851.

Among those present this evening, I see some of his former pupils. Alas ! the frost of years has silvered their locks ! Dr. Wilkie "broke the bread of science" to several youths, who subsequently won honor among their fellow men : among the illustrious dead, might be recalled, the former able member for Birmingham, England, John Arthur Roebuck ? Mr. Roebuck was indentured, in 1818, as law student to Thos. Gugy, Esq., Barrister, a brother of Col. B. C. A. Gugy, late of Darnoc, Beauport. A favorite pupil of the Doctor, was the late Hon. Judge Black, as well as that eminent jurist and scholar, Alex. C. Buchanan, Q.C., late of Montreal; Hon. Mr. Justice T. C. Aylwin, Judge Chs. Gates Holt. Among those still moving in our midst, one likes to point out to Chief Justice Duval; Judges Andrew Stuart, George Okill Stuart, and Hon. J. Chapais, Hon. David A. Ross, Messrs, Francis and Henry Austin, Daniel McPherson, N.P., R. H. Russell, M.D., and John Russell, of Toronto, M.D.

Dr. Wilkie's pupils had the following truthful words inscribed, on the monument they erected to their patron in Mount Hermon cemetery:

"He was a learned scholar
And indefatigable student of philosophy and letters
An able and successful instructor of youth,
Of genuine uprightness and guileless simplicity
A devout, benevolent and public spirited man."

Some Scotch names are still remembered in Montreal Journalism, such as that of Robert Weir—of Daniel Kinnear—of James Moir Ferres.

Not many years back, the editorial pen of our leading Journal, the *Morning Chronicle*, was held by a Scotch writer of distinction Daniel C. Morrison; a cultured Scotchman, George Stewart, Jr., wields it still—the able historian of Lord Dufferin's administration. May that upright spirit, that proud regard for duty, infused into our press by such master minds as John Neilson and Daniel Wilkie, still continue to inspire the "Fourth Estate," whether confided to Scotch or other hands.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we have uttered the word "education" in connection with the Scotch element in the Province of Quebec and space commands us to be brief. Rest assured that the love of instruction, which as in the past so powerfully helped to mould the popular mind, north of the Tweed and found a vent in the Scotch parochial school system, had also its votairies on our shores.

Who has not heard of the liberal endowments made by Scotchmen, in our commercial metropolis, Montreal? of fortunes spent in founding seats of learning or building up that proud city? fortunes accumulated in Montreal or in those great trading companies of the Hudson Bay and the lone land of the North. Scotch capital and enterprise formed colonies and settlements, in this Northern latitudes, such as Selkirk's; Lord Selkirk was ably seconded by another Scotchman knighted for his services and public spirit, Sir George Simpson, who died in Montreal, in 1860; monuments most creditable to the cause of education were erected by them also. Who has not heard of the McTavishes, McGillivrays, McLeods, McKenzies, McGills, McLaughlins and their successors, as discoverers, merchants, travellers, barons in the bank parlor, patrons of education.

That noble seat of learning in Montreal, the University of McGill College, who imparted to it the breath of life? a Scotchman, the Hon. James McGill !* Who again was one of its truest friends and most useful Presidents? another Scotchman, the Hon. Peter McGill ! who in September last, so munificently endowed its Museum ? a Scot, Mr. Redpath ! —men distinguished, for their benefactions, wealth and intelligence. If you should long for more proof of the feelings of Scotchmen towards mental culture and education? Look round ! Reflect on the spot where you stand ! To whom does Quebec owe this roof which shelters us to night, the Morrin College ! To the thoughtful munificence of a Scotchman, Dr. Joseph Morrin. Honor to his name. (*Loud applause.*)

On every side we look, some memento recalls for Scotia's sons, a glorious career. Before you, there, stands the quaint model of the first steamship which crossed with steam the Atlantic : the "Royal William," manned by a Scot, Capt. John MacDougall. A Scot, at Quebec, in 1831, George Black, laid her keel in the shipyard at *Ance des Mères*, owned by Messrs. Sheppard & Campbell.

To whom does the Literary and Historical Society owe its origin? To a progressive and public spirited Viceroy of Canada, George Ramsay, Earl of Dalhousie, a Scotch nobleman.

Would you like to hear how it originated? We will briefly tell you. In the autumn of 1823, His Excellency, the Governor General of Canada, assembled round him the *élite* of Quebec Society and invited their co-operation, to a literary project over which he had long meditated. On the 6th January, 1824, we next find him, surrounded

* Born at Glasgow in 1744, a successful merchant, a member of Parliament, subsequently, a member of the Legislative Council ; finally, an Executive Councillor, he served in the war of 1812, when he became a Brigadier-General.

by the most distinguished citizens of Quebec, of all origins, at the Chateau Saint Louis, yonder, his official residence: the Sewells, Stuarts, Aylwins, Bayfields, Sheppards, Wicksteads, Mountains, McCords, McKenzies, Morrins, Wilkies, Henrys, Blacks, Primroses—join hands with the Vallières, the Signaï, the Demers, the Caron, the Garneau, the Bouchette, the Faribault, the Taschereau, the Perrault; the Charter of the Society is drafted, with the able assistance of Dr. John Charlton Fisher, exEditor of the New York *Albion*, recently settled in Quebec, and subsequently sanctioned by His Majesty, George IV.

It was stated, in the earlier part of this paper, that Scotchmen, in this Province, have made their mark in the marts of commerce, as well as in the loftier regions of thought and statecraft.*

As to the first, the array of names on the Exchange Register is so ample, that it is quite sufficient to mention a few of the best known, such as that of Allan, Edmonstone, Ross, Young, Thomson, McPherson, Gibb, McGill, Redpath, McTavish, Anderson, Dow, Angus, Ferrier, Torrance.

Literary Canada is proud of its Stuarts, Logans, Wilsons, Dawsons, Murdocks, Lyalls, Campbells, Rattrays, Evan McCall, Alexander McLaughlin, W. and Alex. Garvie, Robert Murray, and a host of others.

The voice of a Neilson, a Galt, a Robertson, a Ross, an Ogilvie, in our Commons at Quebec, has responded to that of a Morris, a MacDougall, a Brown, a McKenzie, a MacDonald in the Supreme Council of the nation, at Ottawa.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I am not here to sing pœans to Scottish success, I stand before you to-night merely to notice the relative position the race occupies, as a notable

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* See Appendix Letter K.

... in those fertile, nortl
England's gentle Queen, the con
commonwealth, which will gradua
the modifications time may bring, i
tion, under which Canadians of a
1867, associated, in a vast and liber
(*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

# APPENDIX.

## A.

[See Page 6.]

### Jacques-Cartier's Officers and Crew.

*Liste de l'Equipage* de Jacques-Cartier, conservée dans les archives de St. Malo, France—revue avec soin sur le *fac-similé*, par C. H. Laverdière, Ptre., Bibliothécaire de l'Université Laval, 22 novembre 1859.

Jacques Cartier, capne.
Thomas Fourmont, Me. de la nef.
Guille. Le breton Bastille, capne. et pilote du Galion.
Jacq Maingar, me. du Galion.
Marc Jalobert, capne. et pilote du Courlieu.
Guille. Le Marié, me. du Courlieu.
Laurent Boulain.
Estienne Nouel.
Pierre Esmery dict Talbot.
Michel Heruré.
Estienne Reumevel.
Michel Audiepore.
Bertrand Samboste.
Richard Lebay, Faucamps.
Lucas père Sr., ou Lucas, Jacq., Sr., Fammys.
Françoys Guitault, Apoticaire.
Georges Mabille.
Guillme. Sequart, charpentier.
Robin Le Fort.
Sampson Ripault, barbier.
Françoys Guillot.
Guille Esnault, charpentier.
Jehan Dabin, charpentier.
Jehan Duuert.
Jullien Golet.
Thomas Boulain.
Michel Philipot.
Jehan Hamel.
Jehan Fleury.
Guille. Guilbert.
Colas Barbe.
Laurens Gaillot.
Guille Bochier.
Michel Eon.
Jean Anthoine.
Michel Maingard.
Jehan Margen.
Bertrand Apurii.
Gilles Staffin.
Geoffroy Olliuier.
Guille de Guernezé.
Eustache Grossin.
Guillme. Allierte.
Jehan Ravy.
Pierres Marquier, trompet.
Guille. Legentilhomme.
Raoullet Maingard.
Françoys Duault.
Heruré Henry.
Yvon Legal.
Anthoine Alierte.
Jehan Colas.
Jaco Poinsault.
Dom Guille. Le Breton.
Dom Antoine.
Philipe Thomas, charpentier.
Jacq. Duboys.
Julien Plantiruet.
Jehan Go.
Jeham Legentilhomme.
Michel Douquais, charpentier.
Jehan Aismery, charpentier.
Pierre Maingart.
Lucas Clauier.
Goulset Riou.
Jehan Jacq. de Morbihan.
Pierre Nyel.
Legendre Estienne Leblanc.
Jehan Pierres.
Jehan Commuyres.
Anthoine Desgranches.
Louys Douayrer.
Pierre Coupeaulx.
Pierres Jonchée.

*74 signatures, the subsequent seven signatures were added in the answer to the Quebec Prize Historical Questions, submitted in* 1879.

Jean Gouyon.
Charles Gaillot.
Claude de Pontbrians.
Charles de la Pommeraye.
Jean Poullet.
Philippe Rougemont.
De Goyelle.

# B.

[See Page 22.]

## CLUNIE MACPHERSON.

Capt. John Macpherson, of Fraser's Highlanders, wounded 25th July, 1759, was brother to Duncan Macpherson, the head of the Clan, the Laird of Cluny, generally known by the nane of Clunie Macpherson. The melancholy end of this brave chieftain places in a most favorable light, the fidelity of his followers towards their chief mixed up in the rebellion of 1715 and also in the rising of 1745. The battle of Colloden brought ruin on all the Clan : Clunie Macpherson was, however, appointed to a company in Lord Loudon's Highlanders, and had taken the oath to the Government. His Clan men impatient to join the adventurous descendants of their ancient sovereign, when he came to claim what they supposed his right. While he hesitated between duty and inclination, his wife, a daughter of Lord Lovat, and a staunch jacobite, earnestly dissuaded him from breaking his oath, assuring him nothing could end well that began with perjury. His friends reproached her for interfering and hurried on the husband to his ruin."—*Sketches of the Highlanders*, Vol. I, P. 60.

His life was thus forfeited to the laws, and much diligence was exerted to bring him to justice. He lived nine years in a cave, at a short distance from his house, which had been burned to the ground by the King's troops. "This cave, says General Stewart" was in the front of a woody precipice, the trees and shelving rocks completely concealing the entrance. It was dug out by his own people, who worked by night, and conveyed the stones and rubbish into a lake in the neighborhood, that no vestige of their labor might betray the retreat of their master. In this sanctuary he lived secure, occasionally visiting his friends by night, or when time slackened the vigor of the search. Upwards of a hundred persons knew where he was concealed and a reward of L1,000 was offered to any one who should give information against him ; and as it was known that he was concealed on his estate, eighty men were constantly stationed there, besides the parties continually marching into the country to intimidate his tenantry, and induce them to disclose the place of his concealment.

Sir Hector Munro, at that time a Lieutenant in the 34th Regiment, was entrusted with the command of a large party, and continued two whole years in Badenach, for the purpose of discovering Clunie's retreat. The unwearied vigilance of the Clan could alone have saved him from the vigilance of this party, directed as it was by an officer equally remarkable for his. zeal, and his knowledge of the country and people The slightest inattention, even a momentary want of caution or presence of mind on the part of the Macpherson, would infallibly have betrayed his retreat ; yet so true were the Clan, so strict in the observance of secrecy and so dexterous in conveying to him unobserved the necessaries he required that although the soldiers were animated with the hope of reward and a step of promotion was promised to the officer who should apprehend him, not a trace of him could be discovered, nor an individual found base enough to give a hint to his detriment. Many anecdotes have been related of the narrow escapes which he made including the vigilance of the soldiery, especially when he ventured to spend a few of the dark hours conversably with his friends ; and also of the diligence, fidelity and presence of mind displayed by the people in concealing his retreat, and baffling the activity of his pursuers, during a

period of no less than nine years. At length, however, wearied out with this dreary and hopeless state of existence, and taught to despair of pardon, he escaped to France in 1755, and died there the following year. Clunie had become so cautious, whilst leading the life of an outlay that, on parting with his wife, or his most attached friends, he never told them to which of his places of concealment he was going, nor suffered any one to accompany him. Not that he had any suspicion of the fidelity of his family, his friends, or his Clan; their attachment and devotion had been too well tried to admit of so injust and ungrateful a thought entering his mind. His object was that when questioned by his pursuers they might be enabled to answer, that they knew not whither he had gone, or where he lay concealed."

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## THE KILT WORN BY CHOICE.

[See Page 25.]

"It is extraordinary that there are two Regiments (the 71st and 72nd) the oldest embodied Clan corps, should wear trousers or trews, a dress formerly confined to lame, sick or aged Highlanders. IT HAS BEEN A SOURCE OF GREAT VEXATION TO THEM, THEIR CLAN AND THEIR COUNTRY. Assuredly, Lord McLeod, the eldest son of Mackenzie, Earl of Cromarty, who raised the 73rd, now the 71st, and Mackenzie, Earl of Seaforth, who embodied the old 78th, now the 72nd, would never have thought of AN ALTERATION, SO UNNECESSARY & SO UNCONGENIAL TO CELTIC FEELING. WHOEVER HAS THE HIGH HONOUR TO COMMAND THE BRITISH ARMY, SHOULD NOT FORGET HOW STRONGLY THE HIGH-MINDED AND BRAVE GAEL, ARE ATTACHED TO THEIR NATIONAL COSTUME; and as these regiments have still the name of Highlanders, and are composed of them, it is to be hoped their appropriate military costume will be yet restored to them."

"While on this subject I cannot avoid noticing an unaccountable practice in some Highland regiments where the officers seldom appear in the feilabeag except on Field day and particular occasions! It is from an idea that it is unbecoming, or that the privates are only obliged to wear the kilt? It is a strange inconsistency and a very unmilitary custom, for which I presume the respective Colonels or Adjutants are answerable. Having some time since lived four or five years where the 78th Rosshire Buffs were stationed, I MUST EXONORATE THAT CORPS FROM THE ABOVE REFLECTIONS, officers and men being always dressed in proper regimentals.

I know, from my own experience, that all the men being Scotch, and all the Scotch officers are deeply attached to the kilt, and would not change it for any other uniform, however splendid—A few English officers, on joining Highland regiments, are apt to ridicule the kilt, and thus foster an idea that the five kilted regiments, do not wear the feilabeag by choice, but I have uniformly observed, that after serving a short time amongst the Highlanders, these would-be critics, become the most enthusiastic admirers of the dress. I have worn the kilt myself as child, boy and man, and maintain that a warmer, a more comfortable dress could not have been invented for the Highlands of Scotlands, the tartan being three ply thick round the body, and the feet encased in thick stockings, vital heat is kept in two of the most important parts of the human frame, while the knees after a time become hardened

and capable of bearing any exposure. How far the kilt is adapted to the climate of Canada, is not in my province to say, and I believe that the authorities intend ordering the 78th to discontinue the kilt for the winter, but of this I am certain, were a stipulation made to discontinue the dress for good, the Rossshire Buffs would sooner be frozen on their posts than discard forever their national costume.

COLIN MACKENZIE, Capt. 78th Rosshire Buffs.

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# C.

[See Page 29.]

## HON. JAMES LESLIE.

(1786-1873.)

"Another veteran has been removed from the political arena. The Hon. James Leslie, Senator, whose death is reported from Montreal, has at one time played a conspicuous part in the affairs of the country, though of late years he had been content to rest on his laurels. He was the son of Capt. James Leslie, 15th Regiment, who was Assistant-Quarter-Master to the army of General Wolfe at the capture of Quebec, and who claimed descent from a junior branch of the family of Rothes, and on his mother's side from John Stuart, of Inchbreck in the Mearns, lineally descended from Murdock, Duke of Albany. The subject of the present notice was born at Kair, Kincardine, on the 4th September, 1786, and was educated at the Aberdeen Grammar School, and afterwards at Marischal College and Aberdeen University. He married, in 1815, a daughter of Patrick Langan, Seigneur of Bourchemin and De Ramsay, formerly an officer in the British army. Mr. Leslie was for many years an extensive merchant in Montreal. He served in the Volunteers in the war of 1812, and retired from the Militia many years afterwards with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. He was a member of the Executive Council of Canada and President of that body from March to September, 1848; and Provincial Secretary and Registrar from 1848 to October, 1851. He sat as a representative from Montreal, in the Lower Canada Assembly, from 1824 until the Union of that province with Upper Canada in 1840. He represented Verchères in the Assembly of Canada from 1841 to March 1848, when he was summoned to the Legislative Council, of which he remained a member until the Confederation, in 1867. He had been an unsuccessful candidate for the country of Montreal at the general elections of 1841. He was appointed a Senator by Royal Proclamation in 1867, and remained a member of that body until his death, which took place at the advanced age of eighty-seven in 1873. Mr. Leslie had always acted with the Conservatives."

# D.

[See Page 31.]

The following anecdote, taken from the "*Letters of a Volunteer*," communicated by Capt. Colin Mackenzie, appears worthy of being remembered :

"On board of the STIRLING CASTLE, in the River St. Lawrence,
two miles below Quebec,
Sept. 2, 1759.

" Notwithstanding the check we received in the action (at Beauport), of the 31st of July, it must be admitted our people behaved with great vivacity. I cannot omit being particular with respect to a singular instance of personal bravery and real courage.

Captain Ochterlony and Lieutenant Peyton (both of general Moncton's regiment) were wounded, and fell before the breast-work near the Falls.—The former, mortally, being shot through the body; the latter was wounded only in the knee. Two savages pushed down upon them with the utnost precipitation, armed with nothing but their diabolical knives. The first seized on Captain Ochterlony, when Mr. Peyton, who lay reclining on his fusee, discharged it ; the savage dropt immediately on the body of his intended prey.

The other savage advanced with much eagerness to Mr. Peyton, who had no more than time to disengage his bayonet, and conceal its disposition—with one arm he warded off the purposed blow, and with the other stung him to the heart ; nevertheless, the savage, tho' fallen, renewed his attempts, insomuch that Mr. Peyton was obliged to repeat his blow, and stab him through and through the body.

A straggling grenadier, who had happily escaped the slaughter of his companions, stumbled upon Captain Ochterlony, and readily offered him his services. The Captain, with the spirit and bravery of a true Briton, replied, " Friend, I thank you "—but with respect to me, the musquet, or scalping knife, will be only a more speedy deliverance from pain—I have but a few minutes to live. Go—make haste—and tender your services where there is a possibility they may be useful."—At the same time he pointed to Mr. Peyton, who was then endeavouring to crawl away on the sand.

The grenadier took Mr. Peyton on his back, and conveyed him to the boat, but not without each receiving a wound—Mr. Peyton in his back, and his rescurer, another near his shoulder."

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# E.

[See Page 36.]

Letter from Brigadier-General the Hon. James Murray, son of Alexander, fourth Lord Elibank, to his brother, Rear-Admiral the Hon. George Murray.

(*Communicated to the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, by Capt. Colin McKenzie, 78th Highlanders, R. B., an Associate Member of the Society.*)

Quebec, October, the 11th, 1759.

" MY DEAR BROTHER,

The news of the battle of Quebec will have reached you long before this can come to your hands. I had too great a share in it to condescend to particulars ; because I

hold it odious to speak of one's self. I have the honor to be appointed Governor of Quebec and the conquer'd country, which is a noble one indeed,—infinitely beyond what any Britain imagin'd it to be, whether for the fertility of its soil, or number of its inhabitants. I have now serv'd two campaigns under three officers who were put over my head, and I don't find I have a regiment yet, tho' I have had the strongest assurances from the Ministers. I think I cannot miss it now, and I believe my enemys will agree that I have earn'd it. I enjoy great health in America ; the cruel disorder in my stomach is entirely cured. It was certainly nervous, and the severity of the Nova Scotia frost braced me up, and has made me the strongest man in the army.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

I have taken it into my head you will hear good news from me in the spring. I am making provision of snow-shows for a winter expedition and will not allow the Chevalier de Levi to be quiet in his cantonments. I have an eye to his magazines. I have six thousand as brave troops as ever existed. Business may and shall be done with them, that those who have hitherto deprived me of my preferement may repine at it. Your old acquaintance Saunders is much my friend. He is a worthy brave fellow ; and if it lys in your way, I wish you would wait upon him, and let him know how much I think myself obliged to him. Make my compliments to all my relations about you, and be assured that I am sincerely yours,"

JAMES MURRAY.

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*(The old orthography has been retained in both letters.)*

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Quebec, October 19th, 1760.

" MY DEAR GEORGE,

Yours of the 12th July did not come to hand till yesterday. Your son Patrick, I told you before, I should take off your hands. The commission is not yet made out for him but it is settled he is to have it. It would now have been done, had I known his christian name, when I was in Montreal.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

You seem to be nettled at the silence of the newswriters ; but if you'll coolly consider I am highly honored thereby. Mr. Townshend, Monkton, &c., &c., &c., were in the right, perhaps, to hire these miscreants to relate feates they never performed, and to ascribe to themselves the actions of other men. I don't want such false trappings ; it is the praise of my brother soldiers I am ambitious of, and I flatter myself I have their esteem. I have the satisfaction to know that my conduct has the approbation of his Majesty and his Ministers. I have served my country with an honest, hearty zeal, and shall continue to exert the poor faculties I have, in any station I may be placed in. A steady adherance to these principals will succeed in the end ; and get the better of all sculkers, jack-daws, and gazateers. It will no doubt be known hereafter to all the world, who opposed the attack of the lines at Montmorency, and who in the beginning, and to the very last of the campaign, urged the descent above the town at the very place where it was made. And surely no body is ignorant of what the left wing of the army did the day of the 13th of September: it was not *en potence:* it broke the enemy's line, and pursued the fugatives to the gates, and would have compleated their destruction, had it not been called off

by superior authority. It must be allow'd that to maintain the conquest in the situation I was left in, was a much more arduous task than the acquisition of it: that was the business of two or three hours, in which fortune was most partial to us ; the other was a series of toils, alarms, intrigues, finesses, and, in short, of everything that is comprehended in war. My journal in the hands of the Minister points out all at large. You shall see it when we meet ; and you will allow that Monkton and Townshend gave up a field of glory when they abandon'd Quebec, which they can never recover, were they to keep in constant pay all the scribblers under the sun. I fought a battle : I lost it. What then? Is every day of battle a day of victory? Did it be asked any soldier if, in my situation, it was right to fight. He will answer without hesitation, "To be sure." Examine the disposition, compare it with the ground which must determine the propriety of it, and I flatter myself it will be allow'd a good one. Was not the critical moment of attack made use of? Did it succeed? Was not the victory gain'd, had the right wing been as active and as vigorous the 28th of April, 1760, as the left was the 13th of September, 1759? Was not aid instantly given during the action where it was wanted? Were not the cannon judiciously placed? Does not all this denote a presence of mind, and a *coup d'oile*? Where was the General in this battle?—Betwixt his own line and that of the enemy —everywhere, where the enemy made a push, animating his men by his presence. He had two horses shot under him, and his clothes riddled by the enemy's musketry. Where was he when the right wing faulter'd? He was placing the cannon on the hights, in the centre, but rode instantly to the right, and there recover'd the confusion. How did the troops retreat into town? In tolerable order by the means of the corps the General himself posted in the two unfinished redoubts, and on an eminence. Did he stay with the corps himself to the last? He did, he was the last man that enter'd the gates. The defence of the place, as it was successful, in England (where everything is right or wrong agreeable to the decision of Dame Fortune) will answer for its self. You are to ask the French Generals what share had this campaign in the total reduction of Canada. I am persuaded Mr. Amherst is too just to be silent on that head. He certainly has told that I left him nothing to do, and that the Marquis de Vaudreuil insinuated terms of surrender to me, before Mr. Amherst's army appear'd, which I would not listen to, as I had intelligence of the commander-in-chief's being within six days' march of me, and I was posted at Longviel, by which the junction of the three armys was infallible.

This much I have open'd myself to my brother: it is very wrong for a man to speak of himself, but he that praises himself is unpardonable. I therefore conjure you not to show this letter to any body but Elibank: he and you may make what use of the contents you please, provided you do not let it be known that I have trumpeted my own fame.

I think myself accountable to my family in a very particular manner for my actions, especially as the sphere I have lately acted in has been eminent. It will be your business to dive into the truth of every sentence of this letter, but not to expose me to the reproach of vain glory. I offer my very affectionate compliments to all my relations round you, and am, my dear George.

Your most affectionate brother and sincere friend,

JAMES MURRAY.

Sandy Johnstone now lives with me, and acts as my Brigade-Major. He is very fat, but we have nothing to do.

Brig.-General Murray's "*Journal*" was published under the auspices of the Society in 1871.

## REMARKS.

These two valedictory letters of General Murray, addressed to his brother, Admiral Murray, appeared, with other correspondence, in the History of the Earls of Cromarty, compiled by Mr. William Fraser, F. S. A. Scot, and issued privately last year by the Duke and Duchess of Sutherland. Admiral Murray afterwards succeeded his elder brother Patrick, and became 6th Lord Elibank. He married Lady Isabella Mackenzie, daughter of George 3rd, and last Earl of Cromarty; their daughter, the Hon. Maria Murray, married Mr. Hay, of Newhall, brother of the 7th Marquis of Tweedale), and succeeding to the Cromarty-Mackenzie estates on the death of her cousin, Kenneth Mackenzie, took the name of Hay-Mackenzie, and was the grandmother of the present Duchess of Sutherland, who, in 1861, was created Countess of Cromartie in her own right. This, therefore, explains how General Murray's letters found their way into the Cromarty charter chest.

The letters are, I think, of considerable interest. In the first, written only a month after the battle of the Plains of Abraham, General Murray announces to his brother that he has been appointed Governor of Quebec, he also states that he is at the head of 6,000 trained troops, and that he contemplates a winter expedition against the Chevalier de Levis, and especially has an eye to his magazines. The Chevalier, who was cantoned at Fort Jacques-Cartier, had formed the design of attacking the City as soon as the river should be ice-bound, and when Murray could expect no assistance from the English fleet. The French General was obliged to retreat on Montreal. In the meantime, Murray vigorously pushed forward the repairs of the fortifications of Quebec, but the insufficiency and badness of provisions and the rigor of the climate introduced scurvy and other complaints among the troops, and had reduced his garrison to about one-half, when, on the 26th April, 1760, he heard that the Chevalier de Levis, having collected about 10,000 men, had landed at Pointe-aux-Trembles.

We may now turn to the second letter. It was written a year after the first, and six months after the events I am about to summarize. The General commences, by stating that it is only the approbation of his Sovereign, the Ministers and his brother soldiers that he is desirous of obtaining, and after referring to his share in the battle of the Plains of Abraham, he proceeds to defend the action he took on the day of the 28th of April.

As soon as he heard that De Levis had landed, Murray advanced to Sillery, and there determined to give him battle. He says in his letter : " My journal in the " hands of the Minister points out all at large." Reviewing Murray's conduct, General Sir E. Cust, in his " Wars of the eighteenth century " says : " Murray now " resolved on a plan, which has been much criticised and justly condemned. He " thus explained his view of the case, in his dispatch to the Secretary of State—that " the enemy was greatly his superior in numbers, but considering that the British " forces were habituated to victory, and were provided with a fine train of artillery, " he thought that an action in the field was less risk in the single chance of " successfully defending a wretched fortification. Nothing appears to be more " contrary to sound rules of war, than that a Commander of a garrison should risk a " battle to prevent his being shut up and besieged. Considering, too, that his troops " were sickly, and the army of M. de Levis well-conditioned and of triple numbers, " it certainly was the rashest resolve that an officer, charged with the command of a " most important fortress, could have entertained."

After reading the above, I am doubtful if many soldiers, at least at the present day, would answer without hesitation "To be sure," to General Murrays question. The critical moment of attack was probably made use of, as Murray, perceiving the Chevalier advancing in single column, proceeded to attack him before he could properly form. The disaster of the day may also be attributed to the action of the right. The ardor of the troops carried them further in pursuit than prudence should have dictated, and tho' they succeeded in the commencement, they met with a severe check. The force taking possession of the redoubts defended them with great determination, but were eventually outnumbered and forced to retire. The left also gave way, and Murray, driven back on both flanks, had no alternative but to seek shelter within the walls of his fortress. On the whole, he seems, to have fought his battle bravely, but the vital mistake lay in fighting at all.

The same night, M. de Levis commenced his trenches before Quebec, but Murray, by extraordinary exertions, succeeded in mounting a number of guns, and when the French batteries opened on the 11th of May, they were silenced by the fire of the town. On the 15th, the English fleet, which had wintered at Halifax, arrived at Point Levi, and having captured the French vessels lying in the river, M. de Levis, in disgust, raised the siege, and retreated again on Montreal, abandoning his military train and siege artillery. It was now the turn of the English to take the offensive. General Amherst advanced from Oswego with 10,000 men, and reached Montreal on the 6th of September ; Murray was already in the vicinity, and the next day Colonel Haviland arrived from Isle-aux-Noix. The Marquis de Vaudreuil, despairing therefore of his ability to stand a siege, demanded a capitulation, which was granted, and this ending the war, Canada became a British Province.

Read in connection with the accounts of the campaign, I think that these two letters of General Murray add something to the history of the stirring times in which they were written ; and I trust they may prove acceptable to the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, who, I know, are anxious to record and preserve all the waifs and strays of Literature, pertaining to the history of their ancient town.

General Murray seems to have been a brave and skilful soldier, and tho' he committed an error of judgment in fighting at Sillery, his services, during the campaign, were not only praiseworthy, but even brilliant. His military talent and fertility in resource, eminently qualified him for the command of a fortress in a state of siege ; and his defence of Fort St. Philip, in Minorca, which he held six months against the French and Spaniards, entitle him to a distinguished place amongst the Generals of his day. His personal character for honor stands no less high ; for when, in 1781, the Duke of Crillon, endeavoured to bribe him with £100,000, and rank and command in the French or Spanish army, he replied in the words of the Duke's ancester "L'honneur me le défend."

COLIN MACKENZIE,
Capt.

49, Pall Mall—London, England,
12 Nov. 1877.

P. S.—I find that Burke's Peerage, gives the sum as £100,000, and in quoting General Murray's letter to the Duke omits the retort I have given above.

# F.

[See Page 39.]

## SIR JAMES CRAIG.
(1759-1812.)

One of our striking historical figures, whose features will doubtless in the future, assume a less repulsive aspect than that lent to it by the fiery spirits of 1810. A writer, never suspected of "anglification," M. P. A. DeGaspé, in his MEMOIRES page 346, courageoulsy bears testimony in favor of Sir James, Governor, of his day. Sir James Craig was undoubtedly misled in his estimate of the French element at Quebec, by his very able, but irresponsible advisers; the sturdy old soldier, like his great contemporary, Napoleon I, believed in bayonnets, grape and canister, as educators and monitors to the *oi polloi*, on extreme occasions; that he was a bad man at heart, Mr. DeGaspé does not believe, and the generous, though earnest sentiments, which light up his famous Proclamation of the 21st March, 1810, favoring this view, are worthy of being preserved. "Is it for myself that I should oppress you? Is it from ambition; what can you give me? Is it for power? alas! my good friends, with a life ebbing out slowly to its period, under the pressure of diesease acquired in the service of my country, I look only to pass what it may please God to suffer to remain of it, in the comfort of retirement among my friends. I remain among you only in obedience to the commands of my King. What power can I wish for? Is it then for wealth, that I would oppress you? Enquire of those who know me whether I regard wealth; I never did when I could enjoy it; it is now of no use to me; to the value of your country laid at my feet, I would prefer the consciousness of having, in a single instance, contributed to your happiness and prosperity."

(Christie's *History of Canada*, Vol. 1, P. 319.)

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# G.

[See Page 39.]

## LORD ELGIN'S VALEDATORY ADDRESS.

The following affords a fair specimen of the pleasing style of oratory of the Earl of Elgin, on quitting Monklands, Montreal, at one time the Seat of Government. Lord Elgin in a very felicitous manner alludes to the painful scenes of riot, &c., consequent on his courageous attitude, when called on to carry out the views of his constitutional advisers: "For nearly eight years, at the command of our beloved Queen, I have filled this position among you, discharging its duties, often imperfectly, never carelessly, or with indifference. We are all of us aware that the period is rapidly approaching when I may expect to be required by the same gracious authority to resign into other, and I trust worthier hands, the office of Governor General, with the heavy burden of responsibility and care which attaches to it. It is fitting, therefore, that we should now speak to each other frankly and without reserve. Let me assure you, then, that the severance of the formal tie which binds us together, will not cause my earnest desire for your welfare and advancement to abate. The

extinction of an official relationship cannot quench the convictions that I have so long cherished, and by which I have been supported through many trials, that a brilliant future is in store for British North America ; or diminish the interest with which I shall watch every event which tends to the fulfilment of this expectation. And again, permit me to assure you, that when I leave you, be it sooner or later, I shall carry away no recollections of my sojourn among you, except such as are of a pleasing character. I shall remember and remember with gratitude, the cordial reception I met with at Montreal when I came a stranger among you, bearing with me for my sole recommendation, the commission of our Sovereign. I shall remember those early months of my residence here, when I learnt, in this beautiful neighbourhood, to appreciate the charms of a bright Canadian winter day, and to take delight in the cheerful music of your sleigh bells. I shall remember one glorious afternoon—an afternoon in April—when, looking down from the hill at Monklands on my return from transacting business in your city, I beheld that the vast plain stretching out before me, which I had always seen clothed in the white garb of winter, had assumed, on a sudden, and as if by enchantment, the livery of spring ; while your noble St. Lawrence, bursting through his icy fetters, had begun to sparkle in the sunshine ; and to murmur his vernal hymn, of thanksgiving to the bounteous Giver of light and heat. I shall remember my visits to your Mechanic's Institutes and Mercantile Library Associations, and the kind attention with which the advice which I tendered to your young men and citizens was received by them. I shall remember the undaunted courage with which the merchants of this city, while suffering under the pressure of a commercial crisis of almost unparalleled severity, urged forward that great work which was the first step towards placing Canada in her proper position in this age of railway progress. I shall remember the energy and patriotism which gathered together in this city specimens of Canadian industry, from all parts of the Province, for the World's Fair, and which has been the means of rendering this magnificent conception of the illustrious Consort of our beloved Queen more serviceable to Canada than it has, perhaps, proved to any other of the countless communities which have been represented there. And I shall forget—but no—what I might have had to forget is forgotten already, and therefore I cannot tell you what I shall forget."

(*Letters and Journals of James, Eighth Earl of Elgin, Edited by Theo. Walrond*, 1875.)

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# H.

[See Page 41.]

To His Most Excellent Majesty, George The Third, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith :

May it please Your Majesty :

The Humble Petition of Your Majesty's Faithful subjects of the Congregation of the Church of Scotland, in the City of Quebec, in the Province of Lower Canada,

Humbly Sheweth :

That Your Majesty's Petitioners having b[illegible] in the Principles of the Church of Scotland, and being attached to [illegible] and the Rites and

Ceremonies as established in that Church, have supported and paid, during the last thirty-six years, a Minister regularly ordained of the Church of Scotland to perform public worship for them, though as your Petitioners have not had any appropriate place of Worship, nor any particular fund from whence to draw the necessary expense, they have been reduced to the necessity of an annual subscription for that purpose, which, besides being subject to variation, they consider as an improper mode of support for a church.

That your Petitioners have always had in view to build a decent, plain Church for their public Worship, but as in such an undertaking, they expected they would be obliged to depend principally on their own resources, they have been, from several reasons and circumstances, compelled to defer it.

Your Petitioners, judging the period of the restoration of Peace (1802), favorable to their plan, have resolved to make the attempt, and they have hopes that, with a very little assistance, they may now attain the great object of their wishes—a decent place appropriated to Public Worship. Your Petitioners desire to be known to Your Majesty, and to be considered by Your Majesty's Government as members of and united to the National Church of Scotland. Your Petitioners therefore kindly hope, from Your known regard and zeal for all the Interests of true Religion, that they may receive some small mark of Your Majesty's attention and favor, to assist them in their purpose of providing a place for their Public Worship which may appear respectable to their sister Church of England, and to their fellow citizens, the Roman Catholics.

Your Majesty's Petitioners, after much inquiry, find that it will be extremely difficult to procure a convenient and reputable situation on which to build their Church and as there is a great extent of waste ground within the walls of this City, belonging to Your Majesty, they pray that Your Majesty will be graciously pleased to favor them with a grant of a small spot of it in a convenient situation for that purpose, and Your Petitioners humbly beg leave to point out the site of the old Jesuit's Church, as a proper place, with a small extent around it to form an enclosure to protect the Building from injury or insult, and they have therefore taken the liberty to annex a Plan or Diagram of the whole of the Jesuits Garden, should any other part of it be deemed more proper or less useful to Government.

Your Petitioners beg leave to represent to Your Majesty that among the troops stationed from time to time by Your Majesty to garrison the City, and particularly in the Royal Regiment of Artillery, there are many natives of Scotland and Ireland who desire to join with Your Petitioners in Public Worship, according to the manner and form in which they have been educated—and Your Petitioners, with great satisfaction, have always endeavoured to accommodate as many of them as their present place of Public Worship permitted. But Your Petitioners, in the Church they now propose to build, intend to allot a considerable space for the express purpose of accommodating the Troops, as Your Petitioners humbly beg leave to suggest that the exercises of Public Worship are likely to be performed with most benefit, when they are conducted in the manner, and according to the forms to which the parties have been accustomed from their infancy, and they conceive it to be particularly necessary in the present times, when irreligion so much prevails, to strengthen, by every means, all those habits and customs which attach Men to Religion, and to established forms of Worship.

Your Petitioners acknowledge the indulgence of Your Majesty's Governors of this Province, who have permitted them, for many years, to perform their Public Worship

in the Room appointed for holding the Courts of Justice, and they beg leave to express their gratitude to Your Majesty for Your Majesty's bounty, which, by the favor of Your Majesty's Lieutenant-Governor, His Excellency, Sir Robert Shore Milnes, Baronet, has been lately extended to their present Minister, of fifty pounds per annum, as a salary to assist in supporting the respectability of their Clergyman in the Society.

Your Petitioners beg leave further humbly to submit to Your Majesty, their hopes that Your Majesty may be graciously pleased to favour them with a grant of a certain part or portion of some of the reserved lots in the Townships already granted of the waste lands of the Crown in this Province, or from any other part of these waste lands, as to Your Majesty shall appear most proper ; to be vested in the Ministers and Church-Wardens, or the Ministers and Vestry of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland of the City of Quebec, and their successors-in-trust, for the purpose of raising a stipend or Salary for the Minister or Ministers of that Church, and for such other purposes relating to that Church, as may be considered necessary to the respectability of the Public Worship performed there, as Your Majesty has freely granted to many individuals large tracts of these waste lands, Your Petitioners presume to hope that Your Majesty may consider a small portion of these waste lands will be properly bestowed, when granted for the maintenance of a Branch of a National Church, acknowledged and protected by Your Majesty.

And Your Petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray, &c., &c.

(*Alex. Sparks, Minister, and* 147 *others.*

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# I.

(See Page 45.)

## CHIEF JUSTICE SEWELL.
(1776-1849.)

Chief Justice Jonathan Sewell was born 6th June, 1766, died Nov. 12th, 1839 ; His wife, Henrietta, was the youngest daughter of Chief Justice Smith of Quebec, born, 6th February, 1776, died, 26th May, 1849.

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## HON W. SMITH.
(1769-1847)

William Smith was second son of Chief Justice William Smith, of Quebec, born, on 7th February, 1769, educated at Kensington Grammar School, London, and came to Canada with his father in 1786. He was appointed, soon after, Clerk of the Provincial Parliament, and subsequently Master in Chancery of the Province of Lower Canada, and, in 1814, was appointed by Earl Bathurst, a member of the Executive Council. He was the author of the " History of Ca[illegible] its first discovery down to the year 1791." He married Susannah, daug[illegible] Webber, and died at Quebec, 17th Decemb[illegible]

## XIV

### CHIEF JUSTICE WILLIAM SMITH.
(1728-1793.)

Chief Justice William Smith was the eldest son of William Smith, who was a member of His Majesty's Council, and afterwards Judge of the Court of King's Bench for the State of New York. He was born at New York, 18th June, 1728. In his youth, he was sent to a grammar school, and afterwards to Yale College, Connecticut, where he greatly distinguished himself by his learning. He was an excellent Greek and Hebrew scholar, and a thorough mathematician. He was appointed Chief Justice of New York, 24th April, 1780. At the breaking out of the rebellion in 1775, he was a staunch Loyalist, and left New York in the same vessel with the King's troops and Sir Guy Carleton, and landed at Plymouth, 10th January, 1784. As a reward for his loyalty, he was made Chief Justice of Lower Canada, 1st September, 1785, and came to Canada in the Frigate "Thistle" of 28 guns, with Lord Dorchester, the Governor-General of Canada, landing at Quebec, 23rd October 1786. Chief Justice Smith was the author of the "History of the Province of New York, from the first settlement down to the year 1732." He married, 3rd November, 1752, Janet, daughter of James Livingston, Esq., of New York, and died at Quebec, 6th December, 1793. His Royal Highness, Prince Edward fourth son of King George III, with a numerous train of friends, followed the corpse to the grave.

E. B. TEMPLE.

Quebec, 9th December, 1880.

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## J.

[See Page 49.]

### LIEUT.-COLONEL C. CAMPBELL.
(1792-1872.)

"Lt.-Colonel Campbell, late of the old 99th Regiment of Foot (Prince of Wales, Regt.), died at his residence at Bampcell, in the Township of Halifax, Megantic, on Monday, the 11th instant, in the 80th year of his age. He was descended from the good old U.E.L. stock, who abandoned everything for their loyalty to their Sovereign. He served with distinction during the last war on the American frontier, and was engaged in several actions on and about Lake Champlain, and at Niagara, where he was taken prisoner by an overwhelming force of Americans under the late General Winfield Scott. He always spoke in the highest terms of the kindness he experienced from his captors while in their hands. After retiring from the army, he resided for many years at Quebec, where he engaged in mercantile pursuits. Spending much of his time at the coves, his wonderful expertness as a swimmer enabled him, at various times, to save many valuable lives, the number whom he thus rescued exceeding fourteen, as we are credibly informed. The latter years of his life were spent in retirement on the borders of Lake William.—*Chronicle*, 1872.

# K.

[See Page 57.]

The following is a list of some of Montreal's Scotch citizens of the Past and Present, all of whom, as far as can be ascertained from reliable information, were born in Scotland, came to this country, have been or are citizens of Montreal, and have taken active parts in the affairs of their times :

## PRESENT :

| | |
|---|---|
| A. | Sir Hugh Allan, Andrew Allan, Chas. Alexander, R. B. Angus, Robert Anderson. |
| B. | James Burns, Alex. Buntin. |
| C. | Dr. G. W. Campbell, Judge Cross, Professor J. Campbell, James Court, James Croil. |
| D. | J. G. Dinning, Wm. Darling, Geo. Denholm, George Drummond. |
| E. | Robert Esdaile. |
| F. | Honble, James Ferrier. |
| G. | David Greenshields. |
| H. | Jonathan Hodgson. |
| J. | James Johnston. |
| K. | Wm. Kinlock. |
| L. | D. Law, Rev. Gavin Lang, Archdeacon Leach. |
| M. | H. E. Montgomerie, Joseph Mackay, J. G. McKenzie, Henry Morgan, Ewan McLennan, Hon. D.A. MacDonald,ex-Lt.-Gov.Ont., now living in Montreal, Robt. Mitchell, John Mitchell, Alexander Mitchell, Principal D.H. MacVicar, Professor J.O. Murray, David Morrice, Edward MacKay, Rev. A.-B. MacKay. |
| N. O. P. | W. J. Paterson. |
| R. | Andrew Robertson, R. J. Reekie, John Rhynas, Judge T. K. Ramsay, Peter Redpath ? Sir John H. Rose ? |
| S. | John Sinclair, Geo. Stephen, Hon. D. A. Smith, Chas. F. Smithers ? Jas. Stewart, "Herald", John Sterling. |
| U. | Alex. Urquhart. |

## PAST:

| | |
|---|---|
| A. | Robt. Armour, John Armour, Geo. Auld. |
| B. | John Boston, Walter Benny, Rev. Dr. Black. |
| C. | Thos. Cringan, Andrew Cowan. |
| D. | Geo. Dempster, Wm. Dow, David Davidson. |
| E. | Wm. Edmonston, Rev'd H. Esson. |
| F. | Wm. Fraser, M.D., Adam Ferrie, James Moir Ferres. |
| G. | Robt. Gillespie, (uncle), Robt. Gillespie, (nephew), F. Gilmour, Wm. Gunn, B. R. of Montreal. |
| H. | Archd. Hume, A. Hall, M.D. |
| I. J. K. | David Kinnear, "Herald". |
| L. | James Leslie, Jas. Low, Sir Wm. Logan, Jas. Logan. |
| M. | John McKenzie, Jas.Miller, Neil Macintosh, W.G. Mack, Honble. Peter McGill, Hon. W. Morris, Hon. T. Mackay, Rev'd. Dr. Mathieson. St. Andrew's Church, Hon. James McGill. |
| N. O. P. | Wm. Peddie, John Orr. |
| R. | Donald Ross, Hew Ramsay, Wm. Ritchie, John Redpath, Dr. Robertson, Andrew Robertson, Q.C., Chief Justice Reid, Colin Russel, Geo. Rhynas, Hon. John Richardson. |
| S. | Andrew Shaw, John Smith, Dr. Sutherland, Alex. Simpson, Robt. Simpson, Sir George Simpson. |
| T. | John Torrance, David Torrance. |
| W. | Geo. D. Watson, Wm. Watson, Robt. Weir. |
| Y. | Hon'ble John Young. |

## BRITISH OFFICERS WHO HAVE MARRIED IN CANADA.

(List made up until departure of troops, 1871).

*Rifle Brigade.*

Earl of Errol.....Miss Gore.

*7th Hussars.*

Col. White.....Miss DeMontenack.
Major Campbell.... " Duchesnay.

*13th Hussards.*

Capt. Clarke.....Miss Rose.
Capt. Joyce..... " Austen.
Lieut. Miles..... " Esten.
Dr. Milburn..... " Allan.

*Royal Artillery.*

Col. Shakspear.....Miss Panet.
" Pipon..... " Ashworth.
" FitzGerald..... " LeMoine.
" Clifford..... " LeMesurier.
" Walker..... " Mrs. Ball.
" Haultain..... " Gordon.
Capt. Noble..... " Campbell.
" De Winton.. " Rawson.
Dr. Duff..... " Sewell.
Dr. McIntosh..... " Wood.
Capt. Brackenbury. " Campbell.
Lieut. Irwin..... " Hamilton.
" A. W. White. " Young.
" Appleby..... " MacDonald.
" Sandilands... " Stevenson.
" Brown..... " Kirkpatrick
Capt. Hotham..... " Hale.
" Turner..... " Gzowski
" Sandham.... " Maria Gzowski
Col. Mackay..... " Wood.

*Royal Engineers.*

Col. Gallwey.....Miss McDougall.
" Brown..... " Hunt.
" Ford..... " Racey.
" White..... " Gibson.
" Beatson..... " Gordon.
" Murray..... " Fisher.
Capt. Noble..... " Lunn.
Capt. DeMontmorency..... " Motz.
Capt. Mann..... " Geddes.
" Burnaby.... " Felton.
Lieut. Carlisle..... " Phillips.
" Savage..... " Joly.
" Turner..... " Sprague.

*Grenadier Guards.*

Lord Abinger.....Miss MacGruder.
Capt. Herbert..... " LeMoine.
Dr. Girdwood..... " Blackwell.

*Goldstream Guards.*

Capt. Clayton.....Miss Wood.
" Kirkland..... " Paterson.

*1st Royals.*

Capt. Davenport...Miss Sewell.
" McNicoll.... " Wood.

*7th Royal Fusileers.*

Capt. W. Pryce Brown. Miss Prior.
Lieut. Winter.....Miss Sewell.

*9th Regiment.*

Capt. Straubenzee .Miss Cartwright.
" Terry..... " Taylor.

*15th Regiment*

Lieut.-Col. Nash....Miss Nanton.
Major Temple..... " Sewell.
" Eden..... " Caldwell.

*16th Regiment.*

Major Lucas.....Miss McKenzie.
" Baker..... " Cunningham.
Capt. Carter..... " LeMesurier.
" Lea..... " Alloway.
" Platt..... " Howard.
Dr. Ferguson..... " Alloway.
Lieut. Kane..... " Coursol.

*17th Regiment.*

Capt. Heighsm....Miss Fraser.
" Webber..... " Jeffery.
" Utterson.... " Burstall.
" Parker..... " Webster.
Lieut. Burnett..... " Kreighoff.
" Lees..... " Motz.
" Torre.....Mrs. Stevenson.
" Harris.....Miss Motz.
" Presgrave.... " Day.

*23rd Royal Welsh Fusileers.*

Capt. Hopton.....Miss Vaughan.
Lieut. Benyon..... " Allan.
" Rowley..... " Hollis.

*25th Borderers.*

Capt. Smythe.....Miss Perrault.
Dr. Gribben..... " Allan.
Lieut. Lees..... " Maxham.

*26th Regiment.*

Col. Crespigny.....Miss Buchanan.

*29th Regiment.*

Col. Middleton.....Miss Doucet.
Capt. Phipps..... " Geddes.

*30th Regiment*

Col. Atcherley.....Miss Heward.
Capt. Moorson.... " McCutcheon.
" Birch..... " Vass.
Dr. Paxton..... " Murray.
" Hooper..... " Dalkin.
Capt. Clarkson.... " Coxwell.
" Glasscott.... " Cayley.
" Nagle..... " Bell.
Lieut. Flemming... " Sewell.
" Charlewood... " Poston.

*32nd Regiment.*

Dr. M. Healey.....Miss Smith.

*39th Regiment.*

Capt. Dixon.....Miss Antrobus.
" Hawtayne... " Healey.
" Tryon..... " McLeod.
Lieut. Osborne Smith " Smith.
" Hoare..... " Scott.

*47th Regiment.*

Lieut.-Col. Villiers.... Miss Shanley.
Capt. Larken..... " Savage.
" Berckley..... " Dixon.
Dr. Jamieson..... " Cartwright.
Lt. de J. Prevost..... " Dow.
Ens. Dixon..... " McMurray.

*53rd Regiment.*

Capt. Brown..... Miss DeWar.
Lieut. Hitchcock..... " Ferguson.

*54th Regiment.*

Capt. Lake..... Miss Phillips.
" Thomson..... " Boxer.

*60th Rifles.*

Capt. LeBreton..... Miss George.
" Hamilton..... " Willan.
" Travers..... " Johnson.
" Anderson..... " Starnes.
" Worseley..... " Sicotte.
" Crosby..... " Thompson.
Lieut. Mitchell Innes.. " Starnes.

*66th Regiment.*

Col. Dames..... Miss Kemble.
Capt. Serocold..... " Duval.
Capt. Torrens..... " Price.
Lieut. Godby..... " DesFossés.
Dr. Henry..... " Geddes.
Lieut. Cunningham... " Robertson.

*68th Regiment*

Col. Rhodes..... Miss Dunn.
Capt. Durnford..... " Sewell.
Capt. Barlow..... " Boxer.
Lieut. Brown..... " Stevenson.

*69th Regiment.*

Capt. Clarke.....
" Thorpe..... Miss Jeffery.
Lieut. Homes.....
Lieut. Glendowyn..... Miss M. C. H. A. Chauveau.

*71st Regiment.*

Major Denny..... Miss Richardson.
Capt. Scott..... " Stayner.
" Ready..... " Hincks.
" E. Antrobus, A.D.C. " Bréhaut.

*73rd Regiment*

Lieut. Fitz-Gerald.... Miss Hamilton.

*74th Regiment.*

Capt. Austin..... Miss Hall.

*78th Highlanders.*

Capt. Colin McKenzie. Miss Falkenberg.
Capt. Fraser..... " Dupont.

*79th Cameron Highlanders*

Col. Butt..... Miss Sewell.
Major Ross..... " Lindsay.
Capt. Cummings..... Miss Coxworthy.
" Reeve..... " Fraser.

*89th Regiment.*

Lieut. Isaacs..... Miss Cartwright.

*93rd Sutherland Highlanders.*

Lieut. Elliot..... Miss Wood.

*100th Regiment.*

Capt. Herring..... Miss L. Bell.
Leiut. Latouche..... " Bouchette.

*Rifle Brigade.*

Capt. Glynn..... Miss Dewar.
" Kingscote..... " Stuart.
" Dalzel..... " Harris.
" Swaine..... " Reynolds.
Lieut. Swann..... " Price.
" Dillon..... " Stanton.
Dr. Hunt..... " Jeffery.
" Walters..... " Geddes.

*Canadian Rifles.*

Col. Moffatt..... Miss Buchanan.
" Walker..... " Yule.
Major Bernard..... " Kingsmill.
Capt. Gibson..... " Gibb.
" Dunn..... " Gibb.
" Clark..... " Heward.

*Royal Navy.*

Sir J. Westphall..... Mrs. Gore.
Commander Ashe..... Miss Percy.
Capt. Orlebar..... " Hale.
" Bayfield..... " Wright.
Lieut. Story..... " Murray.
Mr. Knight..... " Poetter.

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*Commissariat Department.*

Dep.-Com. Coxworthy. Miss Goddard.
Dep.-Com. Webb..... " Brashaw.
Com.-Gen. Weir..... " Stayner.
Sir Randolph Routh... " Taschereau.
Dep.-Com.-Gen. Routh " Hall.
Dep.-Com.-Gen. Leonce Routh..... " Pardey.
Assist.-Dep.-Com.-Gen. Price..... " Watson.

*Staff.*

Col. Pritchard.... Miss De Montenach.

*Medical Staff.*

Dr. McGabe..... Mrs. Lewis.
" Woodman..... Miss Stevenson.
" Hacket..... " Uniacke.
" Henry..... " Geddes.
" Blatherwick..... " White.

*Ordnance.*

Major Holwell..... Miss Gibson.
Lieut. Bligh..... " Whale.

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Me B. Sulte, of Ottawa, contributes as follows:

## MARIAGES.

*Canadien* du 26 décembre 1808.

"A Québec, le 16 de ce mois, le Capt. John Flack, des Royaux Vétérans, à Demoiselle M. A. Ang. Cuvillier.

*Canadien* du 23 septembre 1809.

"Marié, le 19 Capt. Edw. Dewar, Aide-de-Camp de Son Excellence le Gouverneur-en-Chef, à Demoiselle Maria Longmore, de cette ville."

Marié, le 26 décembre 1809, le Colonel H. Zouch, du 10e Batt. des Vétérans Royaux, à Demoiselle Ann Ritchie, nièce de Ralph Gray, Ecr [illegible] pour le Comté de Québec.—(*Canadien* du 6 Jan [illegible] 1810.)

—Pennée.
Aumond—McCord.
Allard—Nesbitt.

## B

Bouchette—Williams.
" ——
" —Lindsay.
" —Shea.
" —Hart.
" —Neilson.
" —Latouche.
" —Cummings.
" —Evans.
Bossé—Hullett.
Bourret—Lindsay.
Belleau——
Bedard—Marett.
Blanchet—Seymour.
Bruneau—Scott.
Blanchet—Balzaretti.
Beaudry—Burroughs.

## C

Carrier—Sheppard.
Caron—Fitzpatrick.
Cauchon—Nowlan.
Carrier—Donaghue.
Casault—Pangman.
Chauveau—Glendonwyn.
" —Maher.

## D

DeLevy—Alleyn.
DeSalaberry—Hatt.
Duchesnay—Gugy.
" —Bradbury.
" —Campbell.
" —Prevost.
" —Sharples.
DeGaspé—Alison.
" —Power.
" —Stuart.
" —Alleyn.
" —Fraser

Lamotte—Bell.
LeSage—Pemberton.

M

Massue—Marett.
Montenac—Pritchard.
Mondelet—Carter.
" —Smith.
Masson McKenzie.

P

Polette—McCord.
Panet—Harwood.
Paré—Slevin.

S

Sicotte—Worseley.
Savard—Slevin.
" —Lee.

T

Taschereau—Routh.
" —Ross.
" —Pentland.
" —Charlton.
" —Harwood.
" —Alleyn.
Tessier—McKenzie.
" —Kelly.
Turcotte—McDonald.

V

Voyer—Burroughs.
Verret—Shehyn.

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Some explanations may not be out of place, in order to understand the above short tabular statement, relative to alliances in a few of the best known families. Starting with the illustrious old house of Longueuil, we have the widow and the daughter of the third Baron de Longueuil, merging their baronial name in that of Grant ; a warlike LaCorne espouses a proud Lennox, of the ducal house of Richmond Gordon and Aubigny, whilst a successful French Canadian politician, the Hon. Joseph Cauchon, Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, carried off to the Prairie Province, his devoted and accomplsihed Irish wife, Miss Mary Nowlan, of Edgehill, Sillery, alas ! no more. A family, high in the Church and on the Bench, the Taschereau, contract, six *unfrench* alliances, the first with Sir Randall Routh ; the Hon. M. de Sales de Laterrrière, marries the daughter of Sir Henry Bulmer, of London. The daughter of a late Premier of Ontario, Hon. J. Sandfield McDonald, becomes the spouse of a late Member for Montmorency, Jean Langlois, Esq., whilst the daughter of a late Premier of Quebec, Hon. P. J. O. Chauveau, is united to a British officer, Lt. Glendonwyn, and a rising young Irish barrister, Chs. Fitzpatrick, finds a bride is the family of a late Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec, the Hon. R. E. Caron. The Langevins join hands with the Armstrong, Phillips, McLean, Furniss, &c., and the DeGaspé, with the Alison, Fraser, Stuart, Power, &c.

It would take us much beyond the limits prescribed, to pursue in detail this curious study, of the doings of that irrespressible Divinity, yclept Hymen ; we shall close by calling attention to the names on this list of no less than eleven sages of our Bench, viz.: Hon. Justices Bedard, Bossé, Casault, Fiset, Mondelet, McCord, Power, Polette, Stuart, Tessier, Vanfelson, all united, as appears on reference to the above, to mates of descent other than that of their ermined Lords. Future searchers of history and Church Registers, will doubtless add considerably to the ethnological labours of such arduous and successful toilers as the Abbées Ferland, Tanguay and Langevin.

# ORIGIN OF THE ABORIGINES OF CANADA.

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY, 17TH DECEMBER 1890.

— BY —

PROF. J. CAMPBELL, M.A.,

*Délégué Général de l'Institution Ethnographique de Paris.*

About two years and a half ago, one of your secretaries, Mr. Clint, read a very interesting and exhaustive paper on the aborigines of Canada. My subject is a much narrower one, and one upon which, fortunately for me, Mr. Clint has barely touched. At the same time I may be spared a description of the more important tribes and their classification by referring my auditors to the paper in question.

Eleven families of American Indians are represented more or less completely in Canada, taking that term in its widest acceptation, as extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the Arctic Ocean to the great lakes. These are the Algonquins, whose tribes, including the extinct Bethucks of Newfoundland and the Blackfeet in the far west, have been found from the extreme Atlantic coast to the Rocky Mountains; the Wyandot-Iroquois, so well known in the provinces of Quebec and Ontario, from the Lorette Hurons to the Oneidas of the Thames; the Dacotahs of Manitoba, consisting of Sioux or Dacotahs proper and Assiniboins; the Tinneh, Chipweyans or Athabascans, a large family, extending from the Saskatchewan northwards to the area of the Esquimaux, and westward to the Rocky Mountains; the Thlinkeets or Koljuches on the borders of Alaska; and the Innuit or Esquimaux, stretching along the

entire northern part of the Continent. Then, in British Columbia, we find the Haidahs of Queen Charlotte's Islands, the Chimsyans of Observatory Inlet and Princess Royal Islands, the Hailtzukhs and Nootkans of Vancouver Island, and some tribes of the Tsihaili-Salish family on the opposite mainland.

Three of these families I must for the present pass by, as I have no sure and reliable data for their origin. These are the Thlinkeets, the Esquimaux, and the Salish. The eight remaining families I classify in two great divisions, according as their derivation is insular or continental. The four families of British Columbia, and the Algonquins I hold to be of insular derivation; while the Iroquois, Dacotahs and Tinneh are emigrants from a continental home. The tribes of insular origin are Malay-Polynesian, with some Papuan admixture; those of continental origin are Tungusic and Koriak-Japanese respectively.

Many writers, whose opinions it would be a tedious and unprofitable task to specify, have asserted the autochthonic nature of the American Indians, and have demonstrated to their own satisfaction the impossibility of deriving them from any Old World population. But the school of Agassiz with its system of faunal centres, which gave no fewer than six American Adams to the Western hemisphere, has been superseded by that of the Evolutionists, which throws not only faunal centres, but species and genera, to the winds. According to this modern school, American man must be a product of the Old World, inasmuch as there are no remains of manlike apes in the New from which he could be developed. In this connection I must confess that, while I have endeavored to carry on my investigations on the principles of pure inductive science, free from any preconceptions which might vitiate my procedure, I have ever retained my faith, as a Christian minister, in the doctrine

of the unity of the human race. I have not met with any facts that have led me even to doubt this unity, while the theories tending to destroy it have, on fuller investigation, been proved to be based on faulty generalizations.

It has been said that the American Indians differ from all other peoples in physical appearance, character, language and arts, in all of which features they agree among themselves. Is this true? Dr. Morton, the famous craniologist, asserted that the physical structure of the American Indian, from the Arctic North to the Fuegian South, is one; but this view has been controverted and completely set aside by many investigators, and among others by one of your honorary members, Dr. Daniel Wilson, of Toronto. The result of their investigations has been to establish the existence, on the American continent, of as great divergences in the form of the skull, whether in a normal or artificial condition, and of the rest of man's bony structure, as are to be found in any continent of the Old World. It is but the other day that I asked that well-known missionary and writer upon Algonquin and Iroquois subjects, the Abbé Cuoq, if there were any similarity between the Algonquins and the Iroquois. His answer was to the effect that in physical characteristics as in language they were entirely different, and evidently belonged to separate divisions of the human family. The persistency with which observers, who have noted a single American type, set this forth as the type of our aborigines in general, is really a sign of the small amount of attention that has been bestowed upon the subject. Sometimes we are told that the Indians are of medium stature, or even below that of the average European or white American. This is from one who has made a study of the Algonquin, and notably of the Cree. Again we hear that they are large, robust men, of commanding presence. This is from the observer of the Iroquois and the Dacotah. In one case the face is flat, and in another it

is prominent in its features, or half-moon shaped, as Catlin calls it. The former is the peculiarity of the Algonquin, the latter of the Dacotah. Small sunken eyes, low forehead and short hair characterize the American Indian in one description, and in the other we find large eyes, arched forehead and long hair. Here again the Algonquin furnishes one portrait, and the Iroquois or Dacotah, the other. A third and totally different type is presented by the Athabascan. In regard to character, we find Châteaubriand characterizing the Huron as gay, witty, flighty and chivalrous; and Catlin, speaking of the Dacotahs as, with all their native dignity, garrulous and fond of humour; while many writers upon the Tinneh or Athabascans point out features of character that are peculiar to them, and describe them as inveterate grumblers, unreliable, undignified and laughter loving. The fact is that "the Stoic of the woods, the man without a tear," the taciturn, undemonstrative, grave and deliberate savage, who has given an ideal character to the whole of our Indian population, is the Algonquin. He is totally unlike the other aborigines on this side of the Rocky Mountains.

It would be absurd to deny that there is some ground for the common opinion which recognizes a family likeness among the tribes of the continent. In their arts and appliances and in their mode of life there is much in common, but this community has its origin not in the unity of the tribes, but in the similarity of their conditions, and in the fact of their mutual intercourse. Yet, allowing this, there are still wide diversities. The Spartan-like national life of the Iroquois, described by Châteaubriand, the Hon. L. H. Morgan, and Dr. Parkman, finds no counterpart among the Algonquins. The large handsome lodges of the Dacotahs are quite unlike the huts of Algonquins and Tinneh. The Algonquin was no potter as were originally both Dacotahs and Iroquois. Iroquois, Dacotahs, and Tin-

neh are essentially inland and land loving tribes, while the Algonquins with few exceptions are fluviatile and lacustrine, men of the water. We, in Canada, are familiar with the manly sports of the Indian, and especially with that game which has become almost national in Canada, the ball play or lacrosse. This is no Algonquin game, nor is it Athabascan. It is common to Choctaws, Iroquois and Dacotahs. The Algonquin is no lover of manly sports, but prefers to spend his spare time in idleness, while the Athabascan developes under similar conditions the spirit of the trader. And, finally, in point of religion there is wide diversity. Iroquois, Dacotahs and Choctaws were originally sun worshippers, while among the Algonquins the worship of the heavenly bodies was unknown till the Delawares became women and formed part of the Iroquois confederacy. In seeking to discover the origin of the Indians, we have thus before us a problem not of one origin but of many.

The learned Humboldt in his Views of Nature characterized the discovery of the relations between the populations of the New World and the Old as "one of the most brilliant to which the history of the human race can hope to attain." I confess it has never struck me in that light, nor as anything but a simple task, requiring a good deal of patient research and minute investigation. The key to the relation must be found in language. Resemblances in religion and traditions, in manners and customs, in arts and exercises, such as those set forth by Sir John Lubbock and Mr. Tylor, may be useful adjuncts to philological research, but, until a community of language is proved, they can be nothing more. Numberless attempts have been made to find the Old World languages whose vocabularies are most in accordance with those of the Indian dialects. Even before the present century, comparative tables were drawn up, but many of these contained such scant and widely

scattered materials as made them practically worthless. The examples could easily have been mere coincidences instead of illustrations of genuine relationship. This style of comparison has been carried on to the present day, and by its unscientific character has naturally created a prejudice among philologists and ethnologists against all comparisons of mere words. A good deal of bigotry, however, has disgraced the writings of scientific men in their arguments against the possibility of an Old World connection for the languages of the New; and they have resolutely refused to weigh the evidence presented in coinciding vocabularies or to attempt to account for the phenomenon thus presented. On both sides, it appeared to me, that ignorance was the obstacle to agreement, an ignorance namely of the languages of the two hemispheres, both as regards their grammatical and verbal forms. I endeavoured therefore during several years to gain an acquaintance, imperfect, superficial, fragmentary to be sure, but still a general acquaintance, with all the known families of speech, so that I might have no temptation to form a theory and favor any one group of languages in such a way as to force a resemblance between it and others. Then proceeding to a comparison, the Indo-European and Semitic languages were necessarily counted out, as their structure is altogether different from that of the American. Then, in the great Turanian division, it was found unnecessary to compare the African languages pertaining to it, as their home is too remote from the region for which comparison was sought.* The Monosyllabic languages of China, India and Indo-China, although Turanian, were excluded, because only one American language, the Otomi of Mexico, is known

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* At the close of the lecture, a gentleman who had spent some time in South Africa, pointed out to the lecturer resemblances between the Kaffirs and the Algonquins. This is confirmatory of the conclusions reached, as the Kaffir dialects belong to the Bantu family of languages which includes the Polynesian.

to be Monosyllabic. What does this leave us? In Europe we have the Basque of the Pyrenees, and, on the borders of Europe and Asia, many Caucasian dialects, both of which have much in common with some American forms of speech. Besides these, the two great divisions of the Asiatic Turanian languages call for attention. In the Southern, comprehending the Dravidian and other groups in Hindostan, Thibet and Indo-China, the American analogies are few, and, where they do appear, seem to rise into greater prominence in the Malay dialects which are sometimes classed as Turanian, and, of course, as belonging to this division. The Northern Turanian division includes the Finnic, Turkish, Mongolic and Tungusic classes, to which some writers add the Samoyedic of Archangel and Siberia. Many verbal resemblances appear between this group and a number of American languages, but so far as grammatical forms are concerned, it is only as its languages present exceptions to Turanian order that they coincide with American grammar. It is true, therefore, only of some Mongolic and Tungusic dialects, and, in particular, of the latter. There still remain two unclassified groups. One, in Central Siberia, is the Yenisei family; and the other, in the extreme East of Asia, extending from the Arctic Ocean to the Loo Choo Islands, may be termed the Japanese-Koriak. An isolated language is the Yukagir within the Koriak area. Of all the Asiatic languages, the Japanese-Koriak have the closest affinities to those of America. This I found for myself, but I need not have done so, for Dr. Latham long ago pointed out the fact. He says: "In the opinion of the present writer, the Peninsular (Japanese-Koriak) languages agree in the general fact of being more akin to those of America than any other." He also seems to think it easier to connect this family with America than with any other linguistic group of the Old World. The Caucasian dialects, the Basque, and the old

Accad of Chaldaea have some of their closest analogies, however, with the Japanese-Koriak.

But here the present school of philology steps in, saying, and, within certain limits, saying rightly:—"You must attend to grammatical principles and not to mere forms of words, whose evidence is apt to be fallacious." The languages of America, we are told, agree among themselves and differ from all others, in being polysynthetic. It was Duponceau who coined this bugbear of a word—"to denote the characteristic and peculiar complicated grammar of American languages." Fr. Muller thus defines polysynthetism:—"While, in our languages, each of the ideas, whose order finds expression in the sentence, presents itself as phonetically distinct, they are generally, in the American languages, joined in an indivisible unity. Sentence and words are thus completely confounded. By this proceeding each word is abridged and summarily reduced to one of its parts." This is true to a certain extent, but it has been grossly caricatured by the presentation of the most exaggerated examples. The Abbé Cuoq, for instance, illustrates this polysynthetism in the case of the Iroquois sentence *I have money*, which he says is more briefly and elegantly rendered by *wakwistaien* than by *wakien owista*. Here, however, the only case of abridgement is the rejection of the initial *o* of *owista*; for the pronoun *wak* and the verb *ien* retain their integrity; and, says the learned Abbé, the true radical after all is not *owista* but *wist*. There is no more difficulty in decomposing such a sentence than appears in any Turanian language. Similar abbreviations in the formation of compounds can be pointed out in all languages, not excepting those of the Indo-European family. In the American verb there is undoubtedly a singular wealth of ability to express variety of relation and shade of meaning, and many particles, the original value of which has in some cases been lost, are

added to give diminutive, augmentative, locative, causative, progressive, frequentative, acquisitive and other powers to the verb. The latter is certainly not peculiar to America, for even that high Aryan language, the Sanskrit, has its causative, desiderative, and intensive verbs, similarly formed. Dr. Latham has wisely suggested that many examples of polysynthetism in American words are really instances of printers' polysynthetism, as, for instance, if we were to write as a single word, *jelaime*, the three French terms *je l'aime*. Professor Max Muller refuses to recognize a polysynthetic class of languages. He says: "The number of roots which enter into the composition of a word makes no difference, and it is unnecessary, therefore, to admit a fourth class, sometimes called polysynthetic or incorporating, including most of the American languages. As long as in these sesquipedalian compounds, the significative root remains distinct, they belong to the agglutinative stage; as soon as it is absorbed by the terminations, they belong to the inflectional stage." In this connection I may be permitted to quote the opinion of a distinguished student of Turanian languages, and one whose apparent sympathies are not in favour of a connection between the languages of the Old World and the New. After an analysis of the grammatical systems of sixteen American languages, M. Lucien Adam says:—"In fact the preceding languages are all more or less polysynthetic, but this polysynthetism, which essentially consists in suffixing subordinate personal pronouns to the noun, the postposition and the verb, characterizes equally the Semitic languages, the Basque, the Mordwin, the Vogul and even the Magyar." To illustrate this statement of M. Adam, we may compare the Magyar *latlak* I see thee, in which *lat* is the verb and *lak* a combination of the subject pronoun I and the object thee, with the Iroquois *konatkahtos*, in which *atkahtos* is the verb, and *kon*, a similar union of pronouns. Still, lest any

one should deem the character of polysynthetism, as it reigns in the domain of the American verb, to be unique, let me turn your attention to Old World parallels. The Rev. Edwin James is credited with the statement that the Chippewa verb has six or eight thousand different forms or modes. This is certainly a large number, and perhaps an exaggeration. But, in reading recently the "Annales de la propagation de la foi pour la province de Québec," I came upon the story of a devoted missionary among the Coreans, who belong to the Japanese-Koriak, or, as Dr. Latham calls it, the Peninsular family. He says:—"The Corean language is not easy. The terminations of the verb are in infinite variety: a single verb numbers as many as eight hundred. I should never end if I attempted to enumerate all the different shades of this language, shades which I myself am yet ignorant of." Santini, an old traveller in Siberia, states, in regard to the language of the Tungus and the Koriaks, that "their verbs are without number, and are increased according to the variety and quality of the action. For example, a Koriak does not use the same verb when he says he saw a bird or a tree." Now there is no room to doubt that the Japanese, which is not a polysynthetic language, belongs to the same family as the Corean and the Koriak, while the Mantchu, which again is not polysynthetic, is a Tungusic dialect. It appears, therefore, that not only polysynthetism, but that agglutination also of which it is an exaggerated form, are not separate forms of speech by which human families should be separated from one another, but, as Max Muller calls them, *stages in the development of language*, and thus accidents to which all languages are liable. Among the Malay-Polynesian tongues we find some in this stage, such as the Tagala: and such a language the Basque still remains in spite of its surroundings. It is, therefore, evident that no classification of peoples can proceed scientifically on the

basis of such a mere accident as polysynthetism in language.

Is there then any grammatical peculiarity by which the languages of the Old World and the New can be connected? There are several such peculiarities, which are not complex, almost indefinable, and ever varying like polysynthetism, but simple, easily observed and pertaining to syntax as illustrative of psychological phenomena. These have been pointed out, and my attention has been directed to them, by Dr. Edkins, of Pekin, in his suggestive book "China's place in Philology," where he deals with them mainly as illustrating the diversity between the Turanian and Malay-Polynesian grammatical systems. The same diversity which Dr. Edkins illustrates in Asia finds the amplest illustration upon this continent. It consists primarily in a distinction, which may fitly give names to the classes, between *Prepositional* and *Postpositional* languages The former generally employ prepositions to denote relation; the latter invariably make use of postpositions. Thus Finns and Turks, Mongols, Tungus, and Japanese, who are at liberty to present great varieties of agglutination tending to complete incorporation and polysynthetism, cannot, until the laws of their thinking are changed, place the term denoting relation before the noun, or, in other words, by using prepositions put a determinative, abstract term before a concrete. In the case of Prepositional languages, the same difficulty does not appear. They can make use of postpositions occasionally. Such are found in German, in Latin, and to a large extent in Sanskrit. In our English word *heavenwards*, the latter part is the preposition *towards* abbreviated. A distinction, therefore, is to be drawn between languages, not as they make exclusive use of prepositions, on the one hand, and postpositions, on the other, but as they employ or do not employ prepositions. That this is a valid line of demarcation between

forms of speech is evident from the fact that the two oldest languages known, the Egyptian and the Accad of Chaldaea, illustrate it, the former being a prepositional, the latter a postpositional language.

Standing alone this distinction in syntax would be important, but it does not stand alone. The mark of tense, or temporal index, bears the same relation to the verb that the mark of relation (preposition or postposition) bears to the noun. In the Turanian or postpositional languages this mark of tense is placed after the verbal root invariably, in some such form as the *ed* of the English past tense *loved* or the *rai* of the French future *aimerai*. But, in such prepositional languages as the Malay-Polynesian, the temporal index invariably precedes the verbal root, as in the *shall* of the English *I shall love*. Here again we have a psychological phenomenon, the preference by one branch of the human family of the temporal and determining, and by the other of the assertive and undetermined. Still a third distinguishing feature is the position of the object or direct regimen of the verb relative to that which governs it. The postpositional languages place this regimen invariably before the verb, as is the case so frequently in Latin. Thus *Deum nemo vidit*, or the English *Paul I know* exhibit the postpositional order. But the prepositional languages follow our English order by placing the verb before the regimen. To these three important distinctions I add two others, which are perhaps less universal than those mentioned. The postpositional languages place the genitive before its governing noun, as in German and largely in English, while the prepositional follow the French order, placing the genitive last. Thus the former would say *Peter's hat*, and the latter, *the hat of Peter*. Finally, the place of the adjective is generally in postpositional languages before the noun, and in prepositional, after it. To sum up the elements of grammatical distinction between the two classes we have found that:—

POSTPOSITIONAL LANGUAGES

place the mark of relation (postposition) after the noun,
the temporal index after the verbal root,
the active verb after its regimen,
the nominative after its genitive,
the noun after its adjective:

While PREPOSITIONAL LANGUAGES

place the mark of relation (preposition) before the noun,
the temporal index before the verbal root,
the active verb before its regimen,
the nominative before its genitive,
the noun before its adjective.

This I hold to be a natural and philosophical classification of languages, as much superior to that which rests on mere forms of agglutination as the natural system of Botany is to the old artificial system of Linnæus. I do not propose, however, to apply this system beyond the limits of the so-called Turanian languages, taking that term in its widest sense as including all that are not classed as Indo-European and Semitic. It is thus applicable to all the American languages.

Of the languages now under consideration two, the Algonquin and the Chimsyan, are known to be prepositional. They exhibit at least three of the peculiar features of such languages in the use of prepositions, the preposition of the temporal index to the verb, and of the verb to its regimen. Other languages on the Pacific coast agree in these respects with the Chimsyan, but, in the East, the Algonquin dialects stand alone as the only representatives of the prepositional class. The Maya-Quiche family of Central America is preposing and so are many languages of South America, such as the Kirriri of Brazil and the Mbaya-Abipone family of La Plata and Paraguay. To sup-

pose that the Algonquin and Chimsyan languages are derived from Northern Asia, because, like the Koriak and Corean languages, they are polysynthetic, would be to make the Asiatic immigrant completely invert his order of thought. Their grammar is that of the great Malay-Polynesian stock and thus of the Asiatic languages with which this stock is related. If, therefore, the Algonquins and Chimsyans are Asiatic colonists on American soil, they must belong to the Malay-Polynesian family.

On the other hand the Wyandot-Iroquois, the Dacotah, and the Tinneh languages are postpositional. They invariably employ postpositions; they place the temporal index after the verbal root, the verb after its regimen, and the nominative after its genitive. In these respects they cut themselves off from fellowship with the Malay-Polynesian and Algonquin dialects, and claim kindred with the Finnic, Turkic, Mongolic, Tungusic, Dravidian and Japanese-Koriak languages. It is desirable, however, to reduce if possible so large an Asiatic element in the comparison, and to do so by means of grammatical forms. The position of the personal pronoun supplies the desideratum. In the Finnic, Turkic, Dravidian, and in most of the Mongolic languages, the pronoun is terminal, as it is in the languages of Peru ; but, in a few Mongolic dialects and in the Tungusic and Japanese-Koriak families, it is initial. Now in the Wyandot-Iroquois, the Dacotah, and the Tinneh it is initial, so that there is reason in connecting these languages with the Eastern Mongolic, the Tungusic and the Japanese-Koriak. Grammatical forms, therefore, lead to the same conclusion as that reached by Dr. Latham and myself from a comparison of words. This, however, I claim as original, the discovery of the totally diverse origin of the Algonquin and allied prepositional languages. There are certain minor features of language to which I merely allude, but of which a great deal has sometimes been made; these

are the distinction of nouns into animate and inanimate, the use of the plural of the first personal pronoun in an exclusive and in an inclusive form, the employment of separate terms to denote elder and younger brother, &c. These and similar peculiarities find abundant illustration in America, and are also *common* to the Malay-Polynesian and Turanian languages of Asia.

It would be a simple matter, did time permit, to prove that the Wyandot-Iroquois and the Dacotahs belonged originally to the same family, but this on my part is unnecessary as the Hon. L. H. Morgan has already asserted the fact, showing, at the same time, that the Wyandot-Iroquois were of the two by far the earliest offshoot. To them, did the limits of my lecture permit, I would add the Cherokees and the Choctaw family, in doing which I should find myself in accord with Dr. Latham. The grammatical forms and the vocabularies of these tribes coincide with those of the Japanese-Koriak family of Eastern Asia. This family embraces the people of Japan and the Loo Choo Islands, the Ainos, Coreans, Kamtchatdales, Koriaks and Tchuktchis. To connect these peoples with our Indian populations is nothing new. Dr. Barton did so towards the close of last century, and Dr. Pritchard, favouring his views, found relations between the Indian tribes and the Koriaks, Tchuktchis, Tungus, Voguls, Kamtchatdales and Japanese. Von Matiushkin, the chief authority upon the Tchuktchis, says:—"They are distinguished from the other Asiatic races by their stature and physiognomy, which appears to me to resemble that of the Americans." Again Mr. Baldwin, in his "Ancient American," asserts that —"our wild Indians have more resemblance to the nomadic Koraks and Chookchees, foud in Eastern Siberia, throughout the region that extends to Behring's Strait, than to any people on this continent." The Tchuktchis, as described by Martin Sauer in his account of "Billing's

Expedition to the Northern Parts of Russia," are of tall stature and stoutly built, brave warriors and skilful workmen, living in large houses, the floors of which are excavated to the depth of several feet, and in which there are hearths, raised seats and beds. In all of these features and possessions they resemble the Dacotahs, as their portraiture is given by Catlin. Martin Sauer also directs attention to the manly sports of the Tchuktchis, and, in particular, to what he calls their game of prisoner's bars, which is that species of ball play common to Dacotahs, Iroquois and Choctaws and known in Canada as lacrosse. The same game is played in Japan. Japan indeed has been associated with American populations since the time of Dr. Barton, who discovered striking affinities between the Peruvians and the Japanese. Humboldt also pointed out important resemblances in the Japanese system of government and that of the Muyscas of New Granada, whose religion was identical with the Peruvian. And, in the narrative of "Commodore Perry's Expedition to Japan," it is asserted that the Muyscan and Japanese astrono mical systems are identical. The umbrella also in Peru was used as a mark of dignity as in Japan and the Loo Choo Islands. Also some Peruvian tribes flattened the head like the Koriaks; and others mummified their dead like the Ainos; while they all agreed in the worship of the sun, like the whole of the Japanese-Koriak family. The same artificial compression of the skull prevailed formerly among the Choctaws and several Dacotah tribes, thus linking them with the Koriaks. The Dacotahs, Iroquois and Choctaws agree likewise with the whole Japanese-Koriak family in being originally sun-worshippers. The Huron chiefs, indeed, like those of the Natchez and the Incas of Peru, professed to be descendants of the sun, as did the princes of Japan, whose very name *Miko* is identical in form with the Choctaw word for prince. The war god of the Iroquois, called Areskoui, is almost identical in name as he is identical in func-

tions with the Koriak Arioski. There is thus sufficient evidence for the fact that from an early period the Japanese-Koriak family has poured a tide of population into the American continent in waves which represented the civilization of the Japanese and the barbarism of the other tribes. The Peruvians, Muyscas, and probably the Mound Builders, (for mounds similar to those of this continent have been found in Japan) exhibited the civilized type of the Japanese; while the Araucanians of Chili, the Cherokee and Choctaws, the Iroquois and Dacotahs represented the savagery of Koriaks and Tchuktchis. As the Koriak Arioski is the Iroquois Areskoui, so the Istla of the Tchuktchis is the Hostahli of the Choctaws; and the very tribal names, Cherokee and Choctaw, are American reproductions of Koraeki and Tchekto, the names by which Koriaks and Tchuktchis know themselves. The Iroquois' names for man, *nenekin*, *eniha*, connect them with the Japanese, whose form is *ningen*, and with the Ainos, who call themselves *ainuh:* while *lookque*, another Iroquois form, is the Tchuktchi *luka*. The Dacotah name for man is *wica*, in which we find the Aino *oikyo* and the Tchuktchi *wika*. Both the Wyandot-Iroquois and the Dacotah languages have miscellaneous Japanese-Koriak affinities, so that there is no one branch of the latter family with which they may be respectively associated. Thus in the Wyandot-Iroquois vocabularies there are many words which are pure Japanese, and others which as plainly attest their Koriak-Tchuktchi origin; while, in the Dacotah dialects, we find an abundance of verbal forms that appear most prominently in Loo Choo, and others which are best represented by the Kamtchatdale.

The average brain capacity of the Dacotahs and Iroquois, according to Schoolcraft, is from two to five cubic inches greater than that of the Algonquins. Mr. Slight, a Wesleyan Missionary, in his "Indian Researches," bears testimony

to the uniform superiority in personal appearance, intelligence and the arts of the Wyandot-Iroquois to the Algonquin. Many of the oldest writers on Indian subjects have referred to the same fact, and have characterized the Wyandot-Iroquois as stationary and semi-civilized populations. Such a distinction appears in Siberia, between the stationary and the roving Tchuktchis; and, on American soil, Catlin has illustrated it in a comparison of the Mandans with other Dacotah tribes. In all the features in which the Iroquois and Dacotahs differ from the Algonquins, they resemble the Tchuktchis and other members of the Japanese-Koriak family.

There are great analogies between the Dacotah and Kamtchatdale vocabularies, and especially between the latter and the Assiniboin, in both of which the verbs in their simplest form end in *tsh*, just as the Sioux or Dacotah proper and the Loo Choo verbs equally terminate in *ng*. The Dacotahs and Kamtchatdales agree in their unseemly dances, in the general structure of their houses, in river worship, in a belief in a subterranean Hades, and in a superstitious dread of touching a fire with steel or any metal implement, as has been set forth by Mr. Tylor in his Primitive Culture, and other writers. While, according to Catlin, the Osages, a Dacotah tribe, flattened the skull artificially in infancy, like some Koriak tribes described by Abernethy, the Konzas, who are closely related to the Osages, shaved part of the head and gathered the hair that remained into a knot upon the crown, through which they passed an ornamental pin, like the people of Loo Choo. The majority of writers who have attempted the foolish task of characterizing the features of the American Indian, have given him a broad flat face and a diminutive but spreading nose. Now the face of the Wyandot-Iroquois and of the Dacotah is neither broad nor flat, but oval and prominent, and in general the nose in these tribes is a most distinctive

object, forming in many cases a decided arch; in which particulars they agree with the Koriak features. It is not, therefore, too much to say that the Dacotahs and Wyandot-Iroquois find the counterpart of their physical structure and appearance, their character and religion, their arts and recreations, their grammatical and verbal forms, among the tribes of the Japanese-Koriak family, and that there is thus no reason to doubt the derivation of these American peoples from that eastern Asiatic stock. I am not aware of the existence of any Iroquois or Docotah legends attesting such a derivation, but, among the Choctaws, who are undeniably of the same extraction, there is one which states that:—"a long time ago the Choctaws commenced moving from the country where they then lived, which was a great distance to the west of the great river and the mountains of snow, and they were a great many years on their way." It is not at all likely that the tribes mentioned reached America by a long sea voyage, as none of them are lovers of the water, although Japanese junks have been frequently cast ashore on the Pacific coast. Dr. Pritchard says:—"There is no difficulty in supposing them to have passed the strait which divides the two continents. The habitations of the nearest Americans are only 30 or 40 leagues distant from the dwellings of the Tchuktchis. These people carry on a trade of barter with the Americans. They employ six days in passing the strait, directing their course from island to island, the distances between which are so short that they are able to pass every night on shore. Such was the information obtained by persons sent into the country of the Tchuktchis by the Russian Government in 1760. *See Coxe's account of the Russian discoveries in the North.* In winter the two continents are joined by ice and the people pass over in one day with their rein-deer.—*Cook's last Voyage, vol.* 2, *page* 509."

North of the Saskatchewan appear tribes of the great Tinneh family, so called from the word denoting *man* in

many of their dialects. One of the best known tribes is that referred to by Mackenzie and other travellers as the Chipweyan or Athabascan. Their grammatical forms are virtually those of the Iroquois and Dacotahs, but their vocabulary is quite different from those of the Japanese-Koriak family; and the appearance and habits of the Tinneh show no less divergence. Yet, if Asiatic colonists, they must have passed into America from some northern part of the Eastern Hemisphere, and thus from a region which is occupied almost uninterruptedly by the Japanese-Koriak family. Now Dr. Latham, in speaking of the latter family, which he calls the Peninsular, draws attention to the fact that its continuity is broken—"by Tungusian tribes whose area has certainly been an encroaching one." Their national appellation, and, at the same time, their name for man, is Tungus, Donki, and they are called Tung-chu by their Chinese neighbours. The Loucheux *tenghie* and the Kutchin *tingi* are two Tinneh names that answer perfectly to the Tungusian words; and the whole Tinneh vocabulary offers similar instances of verbal relationship with the Tungus. We have already seen that the polysynthetism of the Tinneh characterizes equally many Tungusic dialects, although some of them, such as the Mantchu, have attained a higher position or one of more simple agglutination. The Tinneh traditions, as reported by Mackenzie and Father Petiot, state that their enemies, who were very wicked men, (probably the Yakut Turks), dwelt to the west of their nation; that fleeing from them, they crossed a shallow sea, passing from island to island in a bitterly cold climate; and at last found the sea to the west of them and their enemies to the east.

The small eyes, high cheek-bones, low forehead and coarse black hair of the Tungus are alluded to by Santini and Sauer, and identical features are ascribed to the Tinneh by Hearne, Mackenzie and later writers. Although

both peoples are in the habit of depilation, it is not universal among either the Tungus or the Tinneh. Some of the Tungus tribes, such as the Tshapojirs, tattoo their faces after the prevailing Siberian fashion with bars or straight lines on the cheeks and forehead, and so, according to many authorities, do the Chipweyans and other Tinneh tribes. In character the Tungus lacks the dignity of the Iroquois and the taciturnity of the Algonquin. He is docile, demonstrative, mirth-loving, good natured, communicative, but full of deceit. Now the docility, the childishness, the jocularity, the talkativeness and the craft and cunning of the Tinneh have been a fruitful theme of remarks by all who have had dealings with them. The same resemblances appear in the domestic and social relations of the two peoples, in the form of their dress and the shape of their houses and canoes, in their ornamentation with the colored quills of the porcupine, in their games, and their religious rites and ceremonies. Some very peculiar customs connect them. They agree in a species of divination by means of the shoulder blades of the deer thrown upon embers, in the practice of demonolatry, in placing their dead in wooden boxes above the ground, in eating the undigested food in the stomach of the deer, and in other practices that it would be difficult to find a parellel for in any other community, Asiatic or American. I might occupy your attention for a long time with such proofs of relationship, but must hasten to consider the position of the Algonquins, in whom we are more interested.

Shall I describe the Algonquin. Let me say then that "his hair is invariably black and straight; that his face is nearly destitute of beard and his limbs are free from hair; that his stature is always considerably below that of the average European, his body robust, breast well developed, feet small, thick and short, and his hands small and rather delicate. The face is a little broad and inclined to be flat;

the forehead is rather rounded, the brows low, the eyes black and very slightly oblique; the nose is rather small, not prominent, but straight and well shaped, the apex a little rounded, the nostrils broad and slightly exposed; the cheek-bones are rather prominent; the mouth large, the lips broad and well cut, but not protruding; the chin round and well formed.* In this description there seems little to object to on the score of beauty, and yet, on the whole, they are certainly not handsome. In youth, however, they are often very good looking, and many of the boys and girls up to twelve and fifteen years of age are very pleasing, and some have countenances which are in their way almost perfect. I am inclined to think they lose much of their good looks by bad habits and irregular living. At a very early age they chew tobacco almost incessantly; they suffer much want and exposure in their fishing and other excursions; their lives are often passed in alternate starvation and feasting, idleness and excessive labour; and this naturally produces premature old age and harshness of feature."

"In character he is impassive. He exhibits a reserve, diffidence and even bashfulness which is in some degree attractive and leads the observer to think that the ferocious and blood-thirsty character imputed to the race must be greatly exaggerated. He is not demonstrative. His feelings of surprise, admiration or fear are never openly manifested and are probably not strongly felt. He is slow and deliberate in speech, and circuitous in introducing the subject he has come expressly to discuss. When alone he is taciturn; he neither talks nor sings to himself. When several are paddling in a canoe they occasionally chant a monotonous and plaintive song. He is cautions of giving offence to his equals. Practical joking is utterly repugnant to his

* The Dacotah chin is receding.

disposition, for he is particularly sensitive to breaches of etiquette or any interference with the personal liberty of himself or another. The intellect of the race seems rather deficient. They are incapable of anything beyond the simplest combination of ideas and have little taste or energy for the acquirement of knowledge."

Now I ask any one acquainted with the appearance and the character of the Cree, the Ojibbeway, the Micmac, the Montagnais, imperfectly influenced by our civilization, if this be not a true portraiture of the Algonquin. And yet it is no Algonquin who sat for this portrait, but the Malay whom Mr. Wallace thus describes. Dr. Pickering was right, therefore, when he said:—"If any actual remnant of the Malay race exists in the eastern part of North America, it is probably to be looked for among the Chippewas." The Chippewas hang together with the whole Algonquin family. Physical appearance then and character tell the same story as grammatical constructions. Of the dress and implements of the Algonquin I need not speak, because these he has borrowed from other tribes in order to adapt himself to the wants of a new country. But, in contrast to all the eastern tribes, he is essentially a man of the water, having changed maritime habits for the fluviatile and the lacustrine. His story of the creation of the world is of an island drawn up out of the water, in connection with which, as Mr. Tylor has shewn, Manitou is the counterpart of the Polynesian Maui. His heaven, as the Abbé Maurault says in his "Histoire des Abénakis," was no continent of happy hunting grounds, but "une île du grand lac (l'Océan Atlantique)." The Pacific Ocean and not the Atlantic must have been the original great lake. Like the Malay-Polynesians, the Algonquins did not worship the heavenly bodies; and, like them, they never practised the art of pottery. Their tradition of the creation of mankind out of trees and reeds is the same as that of the Islanders of the Indian Ocean

and the Pacific. They were originally idolaters and had idols of carved wood. They agreed with some Polynesian peoples in identifying the soul with the shadow, and Mr. Tylor draws attention to "the conception of the spirit voice as being a low murmur, chirp or whistle, as it were the ghost of a voice," a conception common to the Polynesians and the Algonquins. The extraordinary stretching of the ears that prevailed among the Shawnoes is a Polynesian and Malay practice, and appears in Sumatra and in Easter Island. Their very copper colour is that of the people of the Philippines and Friendly Islands, the Ladrones and the Carolines. Sir John Lubbock finds the tree worship of Crees and Abenakis among the people of the Philippines, of Sumatra and of Fiji. The veneration of many Algonquin tribes for the turtle is an indication of a Polynesian origin, for in the Tonga Islands and elsewhere the turtle plays an important part in mythology. It is also worthy of note that decapitation, not scalping, is the Malay-Polynesian's method of securing a trophy, and that, according to Dr. Gilpin of Halifax, the Micmacs, who had little opportunity of studying the Iroquois' arts of warfare, by similar procedure attested their Malay ancestry.

The Algonquin word for man appears in the designation of the Lenni Lenape or Delawares. It is the Delaware *linnon*, the Miami *lenno*, the Missisagua *linneeh*, the Illinois *illini*, the Micmac *alnew*. In other dialects the *l*, either as initial or preceded by a vowel, becomes *n*, *th*, *r* or *y*, giving such forms as *inini*, *ethini*, *renoes* and *eyinew*. So in the Malay-Polynesian dialects we find the Javanese *lanan*, the Malagasy *ulun* and the Bouru *umlanei*, with the *nonan* of Tidore, the *tane* of Tahiti, the Malay *oran* and the Tongan *ohana*. Such tribal designations as Oran-Benua, Oran-Malaya among the Malays explain the Lenni-Lenape of the Delawares. Almost the whole of the Algonquin vocabulary may be found in the Malay dialects. What I have

said regarding the Algonquins refers also to the British Columbian tribes, the Haidahs, Chimsyans, Hailtzukhs and Nootkans. In the Haidahs we find the Ahts of the Philippines, and the relations of the Moluccan inhabitants of Ahtiago, whose Papuan intermixture the Haidahs evince by their shock heads of hair, and the appearance of Papuan terms in their language. The masks of the Nootkans find their counterparts among the Kanakas of the Sandwich Islands.

When did these Malay-Polynesian elements find their way into the American continent? It appears that from the thirteenth century onwards great emigrations took place from the Malay archpelago in an eastern direction, prior to, and consequent upon the Mahommedan invasion of these islands. Passing from one group of islands to another, the wanderers would at last fall into the currents which set in towards the American coast. "In attempting from any part of Polynesia to reach America," says Dr. Pickering, "a canoe would naturally and almost necessarily be conveyed to the northern extreme of California; and this is the precise limit where the second physical race of men makes its appearance." At some point in Oregon, therefore, or, it may be, further to the north, the ancestors of the Algonquins must have landed, for their own traditions bring them from the far west, Moving south-eastwards they came at last to the Mississippi, and there met the Allighewi, a powerful and cultivated people, who allowed some of their bands to cross over and form settlements. Then, according to joint Iroquois and Delaware traditions, war broke out between the Algonquins and the Allighewi. The Iroquois who had come from the north made common cause with the Algonquins, and the result was that the Allighewi were exterminated, or expelled to the south. This is supposed to have taken place about five hundred years ago, or at about the time that

seems to have marked the end of mound-building in the valley of the Ohio.

During their period of separation from the parent stock in the Indian Ocean, the language of the American immigrants does not appear to have undergone any very radical change. Its forms and words were probably at the beginning more Moluccan than Malay or Polynesian, as now the chief resemblances to Algonquin grammar and vocabulary are found in the Moluccas. Thus the Ojibbeway *weewan* and the Mohican *weewon* are virtually the same word as the *wewina* of Teor, denoting a woman. The Micmac *epidek*, a girl, is just the *opideka* of Galela. And even that strange word *pickaninny*, applied to a child in the Southern States, for which so many derivations have been proposed, probably came in with some southern Algonquin tribe, as it appears in all its integrity in the *pigineneh* of Salibabo. The same laws which govern the permutation of letters in the different dialects of the Malay-Polynesian are found among the dialects of the Algonquin, as has already appeared in connection with the name for man. One might as well deny the unity of the Malay-Polynesian stock as to refuse a place in it to the Algonquin languages.

Many other American families have the same Oceanic origin. Not only the Haidah, Chimsyan, Hailtzuk and Nootkan families of British Columbia are of Malay-Polynesian descent, but also the Kalapuyas and other Oregon tribes; the large Maya-Quiche family of Central America; the equally extensive Carib family of Guiana and adjacent states; the still larger Guarani family of Brazil, which, with the Carib, but in greater degree, exhibits much Papuan intermixture; the Kirriri of the same empire; and the Mbaya-Abipone family of La Plata and Paraguay. In appearance and language, in manners, character, religion, pursuits, and arts, these tribes and families are well differ-

entiated from those of Continental origin, such as the Dacotahs, Tinnehs, Iroquois, Choctaws, Natchez, Aztecs, Muyscas, Peruvians and Chileno-Patagonians. The two diverse stocks have almost equally divided the American continent between them, although the Continental has ever exercised domination. In Yucatan, however, and in Guatimala a genuine Malay civilization, different in many respects from those of Mexico and Peru, long flourished.

In becoming an American or, at least, a North American, the Malay was forced to become a borrower and a learner, as I have elsewhere stated. "A fisherman he still remained, but to this he must add the pursuit of wild beasts unknown in Polynesia, and thus he became a hunter. His scanty clothing which answered all purposes under a tropical sun (and which is still sufficient for the Haidahs), was found insufficient in his new northern home, so he assumed the skin dress of neighbouring tribes, and with all a Polynesian's love of finery did not disdain the ornamentation with the coloured quills of the porcupine in which his Turanian brethren indulged. His dug-out canoe became too serious a burden to carry over river portages, and was discarded for the light and elegant shell of birch-bark, whose model had been brought from Northern Asia. No palms or bamboos appeared in the forests of America to furnish materials for house-building, so that once more he had recourse to the birch tree, and coated his structure of saplings with its bark. He found the snow-shoe, the calumet, the scalping art and many things beside in his new continental home. Thus he changed all the accidents of his condition with his change of sky, but as "*cœlum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt,*" so he preserved unalloyed his language and his character. The Iroquois and the Dacotah taught him the art of American warfare, but all the arts of peace he learned from the feebler Athabascan in the North, for the skin dress, quill ornamentation, the bark canoe and lodge,

the snow-shoe and almost all the accessories of North American Indian life seem to have been introduced by that originally Asiatic people. One has but to read the narratives of Martin Sauer, Abernethy and Santini, in order to see that birch-bark canoes, houses and baskets, skin dresses and lodges, snow-shoes and calumets, quill work and moccassins were, and are probably still, in use among the Tungus, who must have invented them ages before they appeared in the Western Continent; so also scalping, a practice unknown among Malays or any Old World people at the present day, was an accomplishment of the ancestors of Asiatic Koriaks and American Iroquois in the far off days of Herodotus."

I trust that I have not unduly depreciated the Algonquin intellect and character, in what I have said concerning the difference between them and those of the Iroquois. It is far from my intention to do aught but justice to any of our Indian brethren. The Iroquois have given us great names in Logan and Red Jacket, Norton and Brant. But it must be remembered that Canonicus was a Narraganset and King Philip a Wampanoag, Pontiac an Ottawa, Captain Pipe a Delaware, Little Turtle a Miami, Tecumseh a Shawnoe, and Black-Hawk a Potawatomie, all Algonquin tribes. On the other hand there are no Iroquois or Dacotahs so low in the social scale as the Scoffies of Labrador, who are also Algonquin; nor in civil government, domestic life or military prowess can we place the Algonquins in general on a par with these more cultivated and warlike nations. After all, my subject is one not of culture and character, but of origins, and of the former only in so far as they tend to shed light on the latter. That there is a path from the Old World to the New, which has long been open, from the Asiatic continent and the islands of the sea, has I hope been demonstrated. What this demonstration may yet add to our store of historical knowledge who can tell? The

writer of the Old World's ancient history may yet be compelled to find the illustrations of his fragmentary notices of ancient populations on American ground, and to see in the Indian tribes who dwell under the shadow of a flag they have learned to honour, and under the protection of that paternal policy which is one of Canada's glories, the descendants of races long grown old, who once played a great part in the annals of history, when no paddle ruffled the surface of our waters, and no human voice echoed through our pathless woods.

Your President has done me the honour to ask my opinion on that much discussed subject, the origin of the names Canada and Quebec. This subject has lately been re-opened by Father Arnaud in a communication published in the June number of the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, where I first saw in print the peculiar views of that excellent missionary, of which I had previously heard more than once from those who had enjoyed the pleasure of a conversation with him on Indian topics. Historicus, in a letter to *l'Evénement*, has championed these views. Father Arnaud contends that Canada is a Montagnais and thus an Algonquin word, its true forms being *Kanata*, *Kanatak*, *Kanatats*, bearing the obscure meaning "celui qui va voir, visite, explore," which the correspondent Historicus makes equivalent to "stranger." The proof offered is that the whole region visited by Jacques Cartier was inhabited by Algonquins. Hochelaga, however, was certainly not Algonquin, nor have we any reason to believe that the Isle of Orleans was inhabited by any other than a Huron tribe. The strong leanings of Father Arnaud in favour of the Montagnais, and at the same time the doubtful value of his derivations, appear in his attempts to explain the names Hochelaga and Cataraqui by words in that language. Both these names are certainly Wyandot-Iroquois. It is impossible to explain Cartier's geographical names by the Mon-

tagnais or any other Algonquin language, so that many writers from Charlevoix onward have supposed that between the time of Cartier and that of Champlain a great change took place in the population of the Lower St. Lawrence. The Huron traditions explain this change. According to these, as given by Peter Dooyentate Clarke and others, "the Wyandots (or Hurons) once inhabited a country north-eastward from the mouth of the St. Lawrence, or somewhere along the Gulf coast, before they ever met with the French or any European adventurers." The same traditions inform us that the ships of Cartier were first seen by the Algonquins whom the Hurons of Quebec had sent "to look out for the strangers and guard the shores." Clarke also speaks of a portion of the Bear clan returning from the west to *their ancient home* near Quebec. The facts, that the Huron and Algonquin nations were contiguous or intermingled, and that they were allies from an early period, are patent to every reader of Canadian history. To the west of the Hurons in the neighborhood of Montreal the Iroquois dwelt, and some of the oldest Huron traditions are those which relate the causes of the warfare between these kindred peoples, which ended so disastrously for the former. These traditions make the Seneca tribe the first to commence the war which drove the Hurons into the west. As a geographical term the word Canada connects with the Senecas, and with hardly any other people. Thus we read in the "Description of the Country between Albany and Niagara in 1792," of the Canada-saga or Seneca Lake, and, near it, or Canada-qua or Cananda-qua. Again, in Wentworth Greenhalgh's Journey from Albany to the Indians in 1677, the Seneca towns are given as Canagora, Tiotohatton, Canoenada and Keinthe. And, in Sir William Johnson's Report on the state of the Indians in 1763, the Seneca villages mentioned are Kanada-sero and Kanade-ragey. The name for village or town in many savage languages is either the same

as that for house, or is simply derived from it. The Iroquois word for house is *Kanonsa*, and that for village *Kanata*. In some Huron dialects the word for house is the same as the Iroquois, so that, while it is probable that the French discoverer may have obtained his name Canada from the Senecas, he may also have found the same term in use among the Hurons. The Montagnais' etymology cannot stand against such a weight of evidence. The derivation from *Kanata*, a village, is that of all the old writers, and is accepted by the Abbé Cuoq, whose knowledge of the Algonquin and Iroquois languages better fits him for expressing an opinion than if he were but a specialist in the Montagnais.

With the word Quebec it is different. The Wyandot-Iroquois languages are destitute of labials, and could not therefore furnish such a word. The argument drawn from the name Quebec in favour of a similar origin for the name Canada is however, not just, because Quebec belongs to the time of Champlain, Canada to that of Cartier. A change in population had meanwhile taken place. Pressed upon by the Iroquois, the Hurons had lost their supremacy. The old writers agree that it is an Algonquin word, not necessarily Montagnais, signifying *rétrécissement*, a narrowing or contracting. To this view I can see no valid objection. The view of Father Arnaud, who makes it mean *débarquez, descendez à terre*, is not complimentary to the intelligence of Champlain and his followers, who had ample opportunities of discovering the true meaning of the word, and would not have been likely to perpetuate such a misconception. There is another etymology possible from an Algonquin standpoint, namely, that Quebec is an abbreviation of the common geographical term Kennebec, whether that word designate a serpent originally or, as the Abbé Maurault suggests, "the great water." There was anciently a route from the West to the Atlantic coast of Maine,

and Quebec was a stage in this route connecting with the Kennebec river. It is not necessary to find an etymology for proper names, which are often taken from tribal designations, the origin of which lies in the remote past. The French geographical name, if of Indian origin, is most probably borrowed not from a chance Indian expression, but from a similar geographical term by which the place was previously known. Thus the States Massachusetts, Illinois, Iowa and Dacotah take their names, the two first from Algonquin, and the two latter from Sioux tribes. So Quebec may have taken its name from the Kinnipiaks of the Abenaki family. The Portuguese *aqui nada* and the French *que bec* are etymologies of equal value with those of Father Arnaud and equally uncomplimentary to those who adopted the words. Everybody knows that Paris derived its name from the Parisii, a Gaulish people, and Kent from the Celtic Cantii. No other derivation can be given for these names, nor is it necessary to be more exacting in America. The Abbé Cuoq associates the name Canada with the Canadaquois of the older writers, who are said to have dwelt along the Gulf of St. Lawrence. We may thus find a tribe giving name to a region as the Angles did to England and the Franks to France. That tribe must have belonged to the great Wyandot-Iroquois race, and was in all probability a division of the Senecas, who seem to have exercised chief authority in the East. It is probable that the name Quebec may be similarly accounted for. Geographical names of the same character are often found at great distances from each other, and thus afford a means of tracing tribes in their migrations. While it is true that savages occasionally coin new names for places arising out of some natural feature, it does not seem that this is even their usual procedure. The geographical like the tribal name is generally of ethnological as well as of philological value.

In concluding, permit me to appeal to the members of this learned Society on behalf of our great unexplored field of aboriginal antiquities. No better starting point for the study of our native races could be found than this ancient city of Quebec, on whose site the great French navigators first gained a true acquaintance with them, and no more worthy agency for collecting the materials of their history could be employed than the oldest, and at the same time, most active and useful of Canadian Scientific Societies. The materials are at your very doors, but how long they may remain there it is hard to say. The Hurons of Lorette should be better known to the world of science. I am sure that there are some among you able to add to your valuable Transactions, unique and invaluable information which will win for this Society the gratitude of scholars in every land. A sketch of Huron grammar, a full and trustworthy vocabulary, a collection of Huron legends and traditions, would mark a new era of scientific research in Canada. You have nobly justified your motto in the important additions made year by year to our knowledge of historical events and personages belonging to the period of European colonization. Is it too much to hope that under the same auspices the facts of aboriginal history may struggle into the light of day, that Canada's ancient Capital may add fresh laurels to the Canadian name, and the first page of American history be written in your Transactions?

# APPENDIX.

## COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY

OF THE

## WYANDOT IROQUOIS AND JAPANESE-KORIAK LANGUAGES.

| WYANDOT-IROQUOIS. | JAPANESE-KORIAK. |
|---|---|
| Man—nenekin *Iroquois*, aingahon *Huron*, | ningen *Japanese* |
| eniha *Nottaway*, aneehah *Tuscorora*, | ainuh *Aino* |
| lookque *Oneida*, | luka *Tchuktchi*, elku *Kamtchatdale* |
| Woman—yonkwe *Mohawk*, | innago *Loo-Choo* |
| ekening *T*, | aganak *T* |
| otaikai *H*, | tackki *L* |
| Child—kotonia *I*, | kodomo J |
| cheahhah *H*, | chigazi *A* |
| woccanoune *T*, | wocka *L* (young) |
| Boy, son—haksaah *Onondaga*. eawook *Seneca*, | akek, jakak *Koriak* |
| laxha *O* (Oneida), | laki " |
| ronwaye *M*, | rinaka *T* |
| Girl, daughter—kaunuhwukh *T*, | ngewek *K* |
| ikheawog *Cayuga*, keawook S, | gufikuku " |
| kayung *O*, | suwingh *Ka* (Kamtchatdale) |
| Father—ionniha *I*, ihani *C*, | una *A* |
| ata *T*, aihtaa *H*, | atta *T* |
| lahkeni *O*, rakeni *M*, | illigin *T* |
| Mother—ena *N*, aneheh *H*, eanuh *T*, | aingga, anguan *Ka* |
| ahkenolha *O*, | ella, elhi *K*, illia *Ka* |
| Brother—jattatege *On* (Onondaga), ataquen *H*, | tyga *Ka*, otoko-kiyodai *J* |
| teetoteken *S*, | itschamitugin *T* |
| teeahgattahnoonduclih *M*, | tschamdakal *K* |
| Sister—tsiha *I*, auchtchee *T*, | ahtschitsch *Ka* tchakyhetch *K* |
| God—ocki *H*, | egeg *K* |
| tezhuzkahau *H*, | duzdeachtschitsch *Ka* |
| War-god—areskoui *H*, agreskoue *I*, | arioski *K* |
| Head—noatshira *H*, | kashira *J* |

| WYANDOT-IROQUOIS. | JAPANESE-KORIAK. |
|---|---|
| Hair—arochia *H*, | ruh *A* |
| ahwerochia *I*, | tseracher *Ka* |
| Eye—acoina *H*, | gan *J* |
| kaka *S*, okaghha *C*, | shigi *A*, iik *T* |
| Ear—ohuchta *On*, | tschiftuchk *T* |
| suntunke *N*, | tschintak " |
| Neck—oneaya *M*, | onnajan *K* |
| Nose—yaunga *H*, | enku *K*, hana *J* |
| oojyasa *T*, | echaech, yachchaya *T* |
| oteusag *N*, | idu *A*, tatuk *T* |
| geneuchsa *M*, | chyngak *T* |
| Mouth—chigue *I*, | kuchi *J*. |
| yasook *O*, | syeksye, saaxxa *Ka* |
| agwaghsene *M*, sishakaent *C*, | ekigin *T*, sekiangin *K* |
| Lip—hechkwaa *I*, | kkovan *Ka* |
| Tongue—ennasa *I*, | entsel " |
| Tooth—onawira *I*, onouweelah *C*, | wannalgyn *K* |
| otoatseh *T*, | gutuk *T* |
| Arm—onentcha *I*, | oondee *A* |
| Hand—osnonsa " | soan *Corea* |
| chotta " | syttu *Ka* |
| Foot—saseeke *N*, | shaku *J* |
| oosa *T*, | assi " |
| ochsita *On*, achita *H*, | gitkat *T* |
| Fingers—eyingia *H*, | aihanka *T* |
| Nails—ohetta *I*, | wegyt " |
| oocheelah *M*, | wachelang *K* |
| Bone—onna *H*, akstiyeh *I*, | hone, kotsu *J* |
| Body—oieronta *I*, | karada " |
| Belly—unagwenda *M*, | nanchiin *T* |
| Stomach—utskwena *I*, | ikuwan *J* |
| Navel—hotchetota " | katkatschik *T*, hozo *J* |
| Skin—hnonk " | nakka *T* |
| hoserochia " | rus A |
| Blood—otquechsa *On*, cotnuh *T*, gatkum *N*, | ketsu *J* |
| Heart—hahweriacha *I*, | kokoro *J* |
| Saliva—wtchera *I*, | yodare *J* |
| House—kanosiod *C*, kanoughsode *M*, | kisd, kishit *Ka* |
| anonchia *H*, | ennit *T* |
| Axe—askwechia *I*, | kvasqua *Ka* |
| ahdokenh M, | adaganu *K* |
| Bow—awraw *T*, | erit " |
| Basket——atere *I*, | teeroo *L*, zaru *J* |
| Knife—kainana *C*, | ko-katana *J* |
| Shoes—onokqua *T*, | hunginn *C* |

| WYANDOT-IROQUOIS. | JAPANESE-KORIAK. |
|---|---|
| Sun—kelanquaw *M*, | galenkuletsch *Ka* |
| karakkwa *I*, | kulleatsh *Ka*, tirkiti *T* |
| adicha *H*, | laatsch *T* |
| onteka *I*, | matschak *T* |
| heetay *T*, aheeta *N*, | tida *L*, tyketi *K* |
| Moon—kanaughkwaw *C*, | kounetsou *A* |
| kelanquaw *M*, karakkwa *I*, | gailigen *K* |
| Star—o ishonda *C*, ojechsoondau *S*, | agajin, ashangit *Ka* |
| Day—entiekeh *I*, | nitchi *L* |
| ennisera " eghnisera *M*, | nichi *J*, aghynak *T* |
| yorhuhuh *T*, | halui *K*, hallu gg *Ka* |
| Night—sonrekka *I*, | unnjuk *T* |
| kawwassonneak *O*, | kyunnuk *Ka* |
| nehsoha *S*, | nikita *T* |
| Heaven, sky—kiunyage *S*, | chain *Ka*, khigan *K* |
| *quaker*-wutika *N*, | gokuraku *J*, kochall *Ka* |
| The spring—kungweeteh *M*, | anchtoha *T* |
| " summer—akenha *M*, kayahneh *I*, | sakan *A*, kegmu *T* |
| " winter—koashlakke *O*, kosera *I*, | kollealas *Ka* |
| oxhey *H*, koosehhea *T*, | achsachsaan *K* |
| Earth—ohetta *I*, | ttati *C* |
| onouentsia *I*, | nutenut *K* |
| uenjah *S*, ahunga *O*, | nuna *T* |
| Field—kaheta *J*, | tahata, hatake *J*, getschigyn |
| Mountain—kaunatauta *C*, | kimita *A* |
| onontah *H*, onontes *On*, | neit *T*, enshida, namud *Ka* |
| Water—ohneka *I*, oneegha *Minekussar*, | inh *K*, mok, emok *T* |
| auweah *T*, awwa *N*, | wakha *A*, |
| River—kihade *C*, geihate *On*, | kiha *Ka*, kuigutt *T* |
| Snow—onyeiak *S*, ouniyeghte *M*, | anighu *T* |
| Fire—ontchichta *I*, | undji *A* |
| yoneks *T*, | annak, eknok *T* |
| Thunder—kaweras *I*, | kyhal, kyigala, ikigigrihan *K* |
| Copper—quennies *M*, kanadzia *I*, | akagane *J* |
| Silver—*hwichtan*-oron *I*, | elnipel-*wychtin* *K* |
| Stone—owrunnay *T*, | whraugon " |
| Dead—kenha *I*, | gang *L* |
| Alive, life—konnhe *I*, | kyjunilin *T* |
| yonhe *M*, | inochi *J* |
| Cold—wathorats *I*, turea *H*, | kiyetaru *J* |
| Hot—otarahaute *H*, | hoteru " |
| yoonaurihum *T*, | nomling *K* |
| Bad—hetken *I*, | chaitkin " |
| washuh *T* | wasa *L*, |
| Good—oogenerle *M* io, ioyanere *I*, | gemelewli *K*, yoi, zennaru *J* |

| WYANDOT-IROQUOIS. | JAPANESE-KORIAK. |
|---|---|
| Great—kowa *I*, | ko, okii *J*, kaaguk *T* |
| tatchanawihie *N*, | chytschin *Ka* |
| Small—ostonha *I*, | uitschenan " |
| Black—tetiu-calas *O* | kyty-halu *Ka*, nat-chala *T* |
| hontsi *I*, | nudchen *T* |
| Red—quechtaha *S*, | kawachtuk *T* |
| guwenta-*rogon I* | nitschel-*rachen K* |
| oniquah-*tala O* | tsha-*tshalo Kd* |
| White—kearagea *M*, kenraken *I*, | sheeroosa *L*, nilgachen *K* |
| keaankea *C*, | genggahlan *Ka* |
| Yellow—hotgikk-*warogon I*, | nutel-*grachen T* |
| cheena-guarle *M*, | duchl-karallo *Ka* |
| To burn—gatchatha *I*, | yatta *L* |
| " come—karo *M*, | kuru *J* |
| " do—konnis *I*, | okonai *J* |
| " eat—higuech *I*, | ku *J* |
| tehatskahons *M*, | tekitschigyn *T* |
| To give—keyahwe, wahetky *I*, | katchu *Ka* |
| go—higue *I*, | yuku *J* |
| yehateatyese *M*, | utashish *Ka* |
| " kill—kerios *I*, | koroshi *J* |
| " love—enorongwa *M*, aindoorookwaw *H*, | anurak *Yukagir* |
| " place—kiterons *I*, | kakeru *J*, |
| " sleep—wakitas " | kangwitkis *K* |
| " speak—atakea *H*, | idakuwa *A* |
| " walk—erai " | hiroi *J* |
| ahteatyese *M*, | ita *J*, atchoong *L* |
| " weep—garkentat *I*, | terugatirkin *T* |
| " write—khiatons " | katchoong *L* |
| Above—ehneken " | uyeni *J* |
| Below—ehtake " | jechtok *T* |
| Much—eso *I*, aysoo *M*, | osa-osa *J* |
| All—awquayakoo " | oowhoko *L* |
| Name—osenna *I*, | ninna K |
| Bear—oochereuh *T*, ooquharlee *M*, | akliak *T* |
| Dog—yunyenoh *H*, | inu *J* |
| cheeth *T*, | getten *T*, sheda *A* |
| erhar *M*, cheer *N*, tschierha *On*, | atar, chatalan *K* |
| Fox—iitsho *M*, | iuchka *T*, hitschkat *K* |
| Wolf—ahquohhoo *M*, | aiguyeh, chgahuwa " |
| Frog—skwarak *I* | gayeru *J* |
| Fish—otschionta *On*, | etschuda *Ka* |
| yeentso *H*, | entschudu " |
| kenyuck *S*, | annegui *T* |
| Duck—soluck *M*, | galgagalach *T* |

| WYANDOT-IROQUOIS. | JAPANESE-KORIAK. |
|---|---|
| Feather—onasa *I*, | hannee *L* |
| Egg—onhonchia *I*, | nyhach *Ka*, nohk, nuku *A* |
| Hungry—cautsore *O*, | katsuyeru *J* |
| One—unji *T*, unti *N*, | ingsing *K* |
| uskot *M*, | dyshak *Ka* |
| Two—techi-ni *M*, | ni-techaw *K* |
| nekty *T*, | niechtsch *K* |
| teghia *O*, | ytechgau " |
| Three—shegh *S*, segh *C*, ahseh *M*, | giuch *T*, tsook *Ka* |
| ahsenh *O*, aushank *H*, | sang *L* |
| Four—kayerih *M*, | gyrach *K* |
| kayelih, *O*, | tsagelch *Ka* |
| huntak *T*, | niyach, ngshakaw *K* |
| Five—wisk *M*, &c, | asheki *A* |
| Seven—tsatak *M*, tchoatak *On*, | itatyk *Ka* |
| Eight—nakruh *T*, | angrotkin *T* |
| tagheto *O*, | tshookotuk *Ka* |
| Nine—tutonh *M*, tiohton *Caughnawaga* | tschachatonoh, tschanatana *Ka* |
| tiohto *C*, | tschuaktuk *Ka* |
| Ten—oyelih *O*, | kulle *T* |
| I—ka *I*, | choo *L*, kem *Ka*, gim *K* |
| waka *I*, | wanga *T*, wang *L* |
| deeh *H*, | toogai *A* |
| Thou—sa, ise *I*, iseh *M*, | kyse *Ka*, gahs *K*, ya *L* |
| eets *T* | utschogai *A* |
| He—ra *I*, | are *J*, ari *L* |
| hearooh *T*, | kare *J* |
| We—dawshaw *H*, dwaquaigo *M*, | tsogaich *A* |
| onkwa *I*, | wangkuta *T* |
| You—sewa *I*, eese *M*, | suse *Ka*, suseh *K*, sokka *J* |
| senonha *M*, psoomohauh *H* | sonoho *J* |
| They—oundoya *H*, | anuudari *A*. |

## COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY

OF THE

# DACOTAH AND JAPANESE-KORIAK LANGUAGES.

| DACOTAH. | JAPANESE-KORIAK. |
|---|---|
| Man—wica *Dacotah*, weechasha *Yankton*, | uika *Tchuktchi*, okkai *Aino* |
| wahsheegae *Otto*, | ickkeega Loo Choo |
| wongahah *Winnebago*, wineha Assiniboin, | ningen *Japanese*, kenge *Kamtchatdale* |
| neka *Osage*,, nikkah *Quappa*, *hihna D*, | ainuh *Aino* |
| mattra *Minetari*, | nutaira *Koriak* |
| oeeteka *D* kida *Hidatsa*, | otoko *J*, hito *J* |
| Woman—wingy, winnokeja *D*, nogahah *W*, | innago *L*, mennokoosi *A* |
| wakka-angka *D*, | aganak *T* |
| meha *Mandan*, meyakatte *Upsaroka*, | math *A*, |
| tawicu *D*, | tackki *L* |
| moorse *M*, (Mandan), wife, | maroo *A*, (wife) |
| moah *U*, mega *Ioway*, (wife), | mazy " " |
| Child—wahcheesh *D*, | wasaso *A*, wocka *L*, (young) |
| bakkatte *U*, | pahatshitsh *Ka*, bogotschi *A* |
| shinga-shinga *Omaha*, | shoni *J* |
| Boy, son—eeneek *W*, eejinggai *Min* (Minetari), | oongua *L*, yegnika *T* |
| eeingai *Ot*, (Otto), | |
| disi *H*, | doji *J* |
| shekanja *Min*, | shisong *J* |
| cingkai *D*, shinzoshinga *Os* (Osage), | shoni, shisoku *J* |
| meetshingshee *D*, | musuko " |
| Girl, daughter—meyakatte *U*, macath *Min*, | math *A*, newekik *T* |
| meetshoongshee *D*, meeyaikanja *Mi* | neuweku *T* |
| sookmeha *M*, | shuguina *Ka* |
| eejonggai *Om* (Omaha), | ungua *L*, suwing *Ka* |
| heenukhahhah *W*, | kanaz *A* |
| shemashinga *Os*, | shinzo *J* |
| Father—ate *H*, atag *D*, dadai *Om*, atcucu *Y*, | teteoya *J*, atta, attaka *T* |
| menoomphe *U*, | enpitsch *Ka* |
| Mother—ina, hung *D*, enaugh *Os*, | ainga *T*, anguan *Ka* |
| Brother—sonkakoo *D*, | tschangkuon *Co*, kamgoyak *T* |
| boocouppa *U*, | yubi, yobu *A* |
| Sister—wetonga *Os*, | ichtum *Ka* |
| itakisa *H*, | tschakyhetsch *K* |

| DACOTAH. | JAPANESE-KORIAK. |
|---|---|
| Head—naso *Ot*, nahsso *W*, nanthu *I*, | nashko, naskok *T* |
| pa *D*, pah *Y*, pahhih *Q*, | bosi *L*, gpa *A* |
| Hair—nijihah *Q*, masheah *U*, natoo *Ot*, | nujak, nujet *T*, matihushi *C* |
| arra *Min*, | ruh *A*, tseracher *Ka* |
| Eye—esa *U*, | iik *T* |
| eshtike *D*, ishchuhsahhah *W*, | sik, shigi *A* |
| Ear—neetah *Om*, nottah *Q*, naughta *Os*, | tschintak *T* |
| akuhi *H*, | kui *C*, igiad *Ka* |
| lahockee *Min*, | ilyud *Ka*, wilagi *K* |
| Mouth—iiptshappah *Min*, | jeep *C* |
| Tongue—dezi *H*, tshedzhi *D*, theysi *Min*, dehzee-hah *W*, | dytschil *Ka* |
| Teeth—hi *D*, *H*, he *I*, *W*, *Ot*, hih *Konzas*, ea *U*, | ha *J*, *L*, ji *C* |
| Neck—shuah *U*, | kuiich *Ka* |
| doti *H*, dote *D*, tashai *Ot*, | iityg *T*, hutdehn *K* |
| apeeh *Min*, | kubi *J*, *L* |
| Arm—ada *H*, arda *M*, | ude, yeda *J* |
| isto *D*, *Y*, | settoo *Ka* |
| Shoulder—idaspa *H*, | tapsut, tapfka *A*, tschilpit *T* |
| hiyete *D*, | kutta *L*, kata *J* |
| amdo " | oondee *A*, (arm) |
| Hand—shantee *Min* | syttu, sotong *Ka* |
| sake *D*, saki *H*, shagah *Os*, shagai *Om*, | ki *L*, chketsch, chkatsch *Ka* |
| Finger—onkaha *M*, | aihanka *T* |
| shake *D*, shagah *Os*, shagai *Om*, | keks, gyhgek *Ka*, sokora *C* |
| buschie *U*, | pkotsha *Ka* |
| napchoopai *Y*, shantee-ichpoo *Min*, | jubi *A*, yubi *J*, eebee *L* |
| Foot—siha *D*, sih *Q*, si W *Ot*, *Om*, | ashi, shake *J* |
| Beard—*iki H*, eshaesha *U*, | hige *J*, uika *T* |
| Belly—ikpi *D*, | fuku *J*, pai*C*,ksucb *Ka*, piigi *K* |
| chesa *Os*, | aksheka *T* |
| bare *U*, | hara *J* |
| Blood—uoai *Y*, waheehah *W*, | auku *T* |
| wamee *Om*, | kehm *A* |
| idi *H*, eda *U*, | ketsu *J* |
| Bone—hidu *H*, | kotsu *J*, kutsi *L*, kotham *Ka*, hatamfa *K*, atitaam *T* |
| Heart—nasse *U*, nochteh *Q*, natah *Min*, | nokguek, nunjugu *Ka* |
| cangte *D*, | shing *J* |
| Nail (finger)—shaka *D*, shakahough *Os*, saki *H*, | kugi *J*, kukuh *Ka* |
| Skin—ika, koku *D*, aduaka *H*, | ka *L*,kawa *J*, kooogh *Ka*, kotschi *C* |
| House—assua *U*, cheehah *W*, tshe *I*, | uche, ke *J*. zise *A* |
| tipi *D*, teepee *Y*, teib *A*, | zibu, tschap, tschibi *C* |
| ote *M*, ati *H*, attee *Min*, teeah *Os*, | yado, taku *J*, katchi *L* |
| Bow—beerahhah *Min*, warehnoopah *M*, | faru *C* |
| etazeepa *D*, | edzak *Ka* |

| DACOTAH. | JAPANESE-KORIAK. |
|---|---|
| Arrow—mahha *M*, ma, mong *D*, | mechim *Ka* |
| minja *Os*, | machmiuche *K* |
| Axe—ahana, ongspe *D*, | ono *J* |
| oceopa *A*, | kvasqua *Ka*, kal-kapak *T* |
| Knife—matsi *Min*, mitsa *U*, mahee *Ot*, *Om*, | wattskoo *Ka* majiddi *A* |
| Canoe—wata *D*, | agwat *K*, attuat, hetwutt *Ka* |
| mati *H*, maheshe *U*, | machdyhm *Ka* |
| Clothes—sheena *D*, | ching *L*, choongay *C* |
| Robe—mahetoh *M*, | makak *T* |
| Belt—ipasaki *H*, ipiyaka *D*, | obi *J*, *L*, tapshi *T* |
| Pouch—wozuha *D*, | fossa *L* |
| Shoes—hangpa *D*, honpeh *Q*, | hunginn *C*, angesuf *K* |
| opah *Min*, hupa *H*, | sabock *L* |
| Village—ameteh *Min*, | machi *J* |
| Sun—wee *D*, pee *Ot*, weehah *W*, | fi " |
| meencajai *Om*, menahkah *M*, | matschak *T* |
| Moon—hangetu-wi *D*, (night-sun), | tangkitti *K*, (night), fi *J*, (sun) |
| minnatatche *U*, | mangetsu *J*, (full-moon) |
| Star—hkaka *M*, icka *H*, eekah *Min*, | hoshi *J* |
| peekahhai *Ot*, | fosi *L* |
| wickangpi *D*, | ashangit *Ka* |
| Heaven, sky—ammahhe *U*, mahagh *Os*, | ame *J* |
| Day—cang *D*, hangwai *Ot*, | gannak *T* |
| Night—hangyetu *D*, | tyngfouti *K*, unnjuk *T* |
| estogr *M*, | atziroo *L* |
| Rain—maghazu *D*, mahajon *Y*, nezuma *Os*, | muchemuks *K*, neptschuk *Y* |
| harai *Min*, | furi *J* |
| hannah *U*, | ame *J*, kantsch *Ka* |
| Snow—beah *U*, mahpai *Min*, pau *Os*, | upas *A*, pangopag *K* |
| Hail—makkoupah *U*, | yobu *J* |
| Ice—cagha *D*, | cigu *K* |
| Wind—hootsee *U*, | kyteg *K*, kyttych, tschichutsha *Ka* |
| Storm—tattasuggy *Os*, | techtok *T*, tschitchutscha " |
| Thunder—walkeeang *D*, | yegilkegie *T* |
| Earth—maka *D*, maha *Ot*, *Os*, moneeka *Om*, | mok *C* |
| mahnah *W*, | nunna *T* |
| Mountain—khyaykah *D*, haiaca *Y*, ohai *Ot*, | oka *J*, gyeigoi *K* |
| paha *D*, avocavee *Min*, | pehguktsch *Ka*, bukkon *K* |
| mahpo, ahmahabbe *U*, | fnufa, tenup *K*, |
| Stone—eeyong *Y*, | uigum *T* |
| eengro *Ot*, | whraugon *K* |
| Salt—miniskuya *D*, amahota *H*, | mashoo *L* |
| Fire—pechæ *I*, pajah *Os*, pytshi *W*, | apeh *A*, fi *L*, pangitsch *Ka* |
| beerais *Min*, wareday *M*, | pol *C*, bryuumchitsch " |

| DACOTAH. | JAPANESE-KORIAK. |
|---|---|
| Water—nih *Q*, neah *Os*, ninah *W*, | inh *K*, nouna *T* |
| mini *D*, meenee *Y*, minne *U*, | nouna, mok *T*, mimel *K* |
| passahah *M*, | peh *A* |
| midi *H*, | meze *L* |
| Sea—tehha, tehchuna *W*, | ta *C*, atui, aducka *A* |
| Lake—tehha *W*, | to *A*, touga *T* |
| River—wakpa *D*, wacopa *Y*, | woyampih *K* |
| passahah *M*, watishka *Om*, ahesu *U*, | peth, fez, bez, bezu *A* |
| Buffalo—tahtunkah *D*, | tschimga *Ka* |
| sha *Os*, bisha *U*, | shao *C*, wooooshe *L* |
| Dog—shong *A*, shonka *D*, chouhnkehah *W*, | ching, inu *J* |
| Fox—soheeda *D*, | tschkuada *Ka* |
| Flesh—cehpi " | tubis " |
| tado *Y*, tatookai *Ot*, tando *D*, tandocah *Os*, | taat, tatchal *Ka* |
| cuructshittee *Min*, | korattal *K* |
| chahhah *W*, | koki *C* |
| Tail—tsita *H*, | dzoo *L* |
| Bird—dikkappe *U*, | tzkepf *A* |
| tsakaka *H*, | tac *C* |
| Fish—hoaahug *D*, haugh *Os* hohhah *W*, | koki, kuki *C* |
| hoho *Om*, ho *Ot* huh *Q*, | giyo *J*, eo *L* |
| poh *M*, boa *Min*, booah *U*, | uwo *J* |
| hoghang *D*, hohung *Y*, | sakana *J* |
| Grass—pezi *D*, beka *U*, mika *H*, | phee *C*, wuk, wehei *T* |
| Flower—odakapaki *H*, | ibuiki, sipoike *A* |
| hka *D*, | ku *C* |
| Fruit—waskuyeca *D*, | kuwashi *J*, isgatesitch *Ka* |
| Forest—ochaw " | hayashi " ooda " |
| Tree—nahnah *W*, | nan *C*, nih *A*, |
| Wood—tschang *D*, | tschitschini *A* |
| money *U*, | nammo *C* |
| Leaf—ape, wapa *D*, | wha *L*, jipan *Yukabir* |
| moneyahpe *U*, | niep *A* |
| Warrior—ahkitshutah *D*, | shisotsu *J* |
| Enemy—toka " | teki " |
| Servant—toka " | tshequatsch *Ka* |
| Bad—shicha *D*, ishia *H*, | ashiki *J* |
| Good—uohta " | hota *C* |
| tonhai *Os*, | itainoktok *T* |
| itsicka *U*, tsaki *H*, | matschinka " |
| Small—tcheestin, tonana *D*, | takine, takoni *A*, uitschenan *Ka* |
| ecat *U*, | ekitachtu *T* |
| Cold—oisnaitch *A*, | koenetsch *Ka* |
| tasaka *D*, | tschachtschen *K* |
| ceereeai *Min*, | syrriam *A* |

| DACOTAH. | JAPANESE-KORIAK. |
|---|---|
| Cold—hootshere *U*, | kiyetaru *J* |
| sinnee *D*, snee *Y*, *Ot*, *Om*, seeneehee *W*, | samui, kan *J* |
| Hot—dsasosh *M*, | attisa *L* |
| dindita *D*, | danki *J* |
| ahre *U*, arraise *Min*, | karai " |
| choustungatch *A*, | kuinitschkit *K* |
| Dead, die—tha *D*, tehe *H*, | tokok *T* |
| carrasha *U*, | rai, rairosiwo *A* |
| Alive, live—niya *D*, nee *Os*, | inochi *J* |
| ti *D*, itshasa *U*, | itchitchee *L* |
| Black—chippushaka *U*, | nufsunke *K* |
| eeokhpazec *D*. | aekuropech *A* |
| Red—hishi *H*, ishshee *Min*, sha *D*, hishecat *U*, | akassa *L*, akai *J* |
| White—ataki *H*, hoteechkee *Min*, | attych *Ka* |
| sang *D*, | chein *C* |
| ska *D*, *Ot*, *Om* skah, *W*, *A*, *Os*, chose, *U*, | haku *J* |
| Yellow—tsidi *H*, | dsadsal *Ka* |
| To bind—kashka *D*, | kaku-ru *J* |
| " burn—ghu " | yaku, *J*, akka *L* |
| adahahe *H*, | yaddee *L*, taku *J* |
| " do—hidi " | itashi *J* |
| " drink—hi " | kuiki *Ka* |
| smimmik *U*, | samgam *K* |
| meeneatgautsch *A*, | migutschi *T* |
| heeiatekaupeteka *D*, | tapatken *K* |
| " eat—yuta *D*, duta *H*, | etsyh *Ka* |
| bahbooshmekah *U*, | ippah, imbi *A* |
| utahpee *D*, | tabe-ru *J* |
| " fight—kastaka *D*, | kogdak *Yukagir*, tatakau *J* |
| " give—khu, accuje *D*, ku *H*, | qui-ung *L*, kachu *Ka* |
| " go—dah *U*, de *D*, | tout, teut *Ka* |
| " hear—kikua *H*, | kiku *J* |
| " love—wahtscheeng *D*, | eiwatschim *K* |
| ahmutcheshe *U*, | aksmatjen " |
| " make—echong *D*, | oochoong *L* |
| " run—doozakon " | tschasgoa *A* |
| akharoosh *Os*, | hashira *J* |
| kikaki *H*, | kuke-ru " |
| " be sick—yazang *D*, | yadong *L* |
| " sing—dowang " | ootayoong *L*, utau *J* |
| " sleep—eistim-match *A*, | miich-aten *T* |
| mughumme *U*, | miilchamik *K*, moguru *A* |
| ishtingma *D*, | tungykushih *Ka* |
| " speak—ide *H*, | idakuwa *A* |
| ia *D*, | ii, iu *J* |

| DACOTAH. | JAPANESE-KORIAK. |
|---|---|
| To steal—ki *D*, | ikka *A* |
| " take—ichu, eyaku *D*, | uhk, oku *A*, eech-oong *L*, uke-ru *J* |
| " think—echin " | shiang, kangaye *J* |
| " wash—yuzaza " | yusugu " |
| " weep—cheya " | kia *T*, tschisgoa *A* |
| " write—akakashi *H*, | kaki *J* |
| Yesterday—tanneehah *D*, | tcheenoo *L* |
| Tomorrow—hayahkay tseehah *D*, | haiedsai *C* |
| Near—askahaah " | kakio *T* |
| I—be *U*, vieh *Q*, veca *Os*, me *M*, mea *A*, | wu "na *C* |
| Thou—de *U*, deeah *Os*, dieh *Q*, | tu *Ka* |
| nish *D*, nehe *Min*, ney *W*, nea *A*, ne *M*, | no *C*, eanny *A*, nanji *J* |
| He—na *U*, nee *Min*, neeah *W*, ount *M*, | oan, onno unin *K* |
| We—bero *U*, | oure *C*, warera *J*, muru *K* |
| onkia *D*, ungea-ip *A*, ungu-ar *Os*, | wangku-ta *T* |
| You—dero *U*, neeah-pe *D*, | turi *T*, nohue *C* |
| They—eonah *M*, | oanas *K* |
| One—duetsa *H*, | tizi *L*, dysak *Ka* |
| wajitah *D*, | hitotsu *J* |
| jungihah *W*, eyunkae *I*, onje *D*, | ahnehn, ingsing, inshingyan *K* |
| Two—dopa *H*, | tupu *C*, tup *A* |
| nopa *D*, noopah *Min*, nopi *W*, | yhnap, inipf *A*, (4) |
| ncue *Ot*, nowae *I*, | ni *J* |
| tekeni *Ot*, | ni-takaw *K* |
| Three—rabenee *Om*, laubenah *Os*, | liep, raph *A* |
| tana *Ot*, tanye *I*, tahni *W*, | sang *L*, san *J* |
| Four—topa *H*,*D*, topah *Min*, *Y*, toba *Om*, tabah *Os*, | tupu *C*, tup *A*, (2) |
| tome *A*, | ish-tama *T* |
| tuah *Q*, toua *Ot*, | tsaak *Ka* |
| Five—satsch *W*, sattou *Q*, sahtah *K*, sahtsha *Min*, | itsutsu *J* |
| thata *I*, kihu *K*, kakhoo *M*, cheehoh *Min*, | asheak *A*, go *J*, goo *L* |
| Six—ahkewe *W*, shaque *Ot*, kohui *W*, | iishu *C* |
| akama *H*,kemah *M*, acamai *Min*, ahcamacat *U*, | ywam, ihguaen *A* |
| schappeh *Q*, shappeh *K*, shapah *Os*, | juwambe " |
| Seven—shahco *D*, shakoee *Y*, shagoa *A*, shahko *W*, | shichi *J*, iikii *C* |
| painumbe *Om*, panompah *Os*, pennapah *Q*, | aruwambi *A* |
| Eight—dopapi *H*, kela-tobaugh *Os*, | duhpyhs, tubishambi *A* |
| pehdaghenih *Q*, | pigayuk *T* |
| tatucka *M*, | tschookotuk *Ka*, yatsu, hatchi *J* |
| shahendohen *D*, shakundohuh *Y*, | tschonutonu *Ka* |
| kraerapane *I*, kraerabane *Ot*, krairabaine *Om*, | |
| perabine *On*, (rabenee 3) 5 and 3, | raph *A*, (3) |
| Nine—schunkkah *Q*, shanke *Ot*, shonka *Om*, | chonatschinki *K* |
| shankah *Os*, nowassapai *Min*, napchingwan- | syhnapyhs, sinesambi, sinobs- |
| gka *D*, nuhpeetchewungkuh *Y*, | am A |
| mahpa *M*, | ahop *C* |
| Ten—wiketshi-mani *D*, weekchee-minuh *Y*, | min-gitke *K*,t chom-chotako *Ka*. |

## COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY

OF THE

# TINNEH AND TUNGUS LANGUAGES.

| TINNEH. | TUNGUS. |
|---|---|
| Man—tengi *Kutchin*, tenghie *Loucheux*, | tungus, donki |
| sykka *Ugalense*, | chacha |
| Woman—ekhe *Umpqua*, chaca *Tacully*, | heghe, cheche |
| Husband—deneyu *Montagnais* (of Petitot), | edin |
| ahoteey *Chipweyan*, etsayoh, *Beaver*, | edee, oddiu |
| Wife—sak *Tacully*, | ashi |
| jarcooey *Chipweyan*, | sarkan |
| Son—tsiah *Kutchin*, | dsui |
| Daughter—nitchit " | unadju |
| Child—beye *Tacully*, | buya |
| quelaquis *Chipweyan*, | uli, aljukan |
| Father—mama *Tlatskanai*, | ama |
| Mother—anna *Kenai* an *Montagnais*, | ani, enie |
| Brother—chah *Kutchin*, echill *Tacully*, | aki |
| Head—edzai *Dogrib*, | udjoo |
| Forehead—sekata *Yukon*, | onkoto |
| Eye—eta *Montagnais*, | esha |
| Ear—xonade *Tlatskanai*, | schen |
| azulu *Kenai*, | korot |
| Nose—neuzeh *Atnah*, | nigsha |
| huntchu *Hoopah*, | onokto |
| Lip—edanne *Montagnais*, | aodjun |
| Tongue—tsoola *Tacully*, | tschola |
| Tooth—shti *Tolewah*, | ikta |
| Beard—tarra *Dogrib*, | tshurkan |
| Blood—ako *Tacully*, | shosha |
| shtule *Umpqua*, | sugal |
| Belly—kagott *Ugalense*, | chukito |
| Arm—ola *Tacully*, | ugala |
| Hand—kholaa *Tlatskanai*, hullah *Navajo*, | gala |
| inla *Montagnais*, | Nala |
| House—zeh *Kutchin*, | dasho |
| Canoe—tsi *Tacully*, | |
| Clothes—thuth *Chipweyan*, togaai *Kenai*, | |

| TINNEH. | TUNGUS. |
|---|---|
| Axe—taih *Kutchin*, | tukka |
| shashill *Tacully*, | shuko |
| Knife—teish " | utsch |
| Spoon—schitl *Umpqua*, | kuili |
| Thread—mo *Montagnais*, | umi |
| Sun—chokonoi *Navajo*, chignonakai *Coppermine*, | schigun |
| shoonnahaye *Mescalero*, | shun |
| Star—klune *Yukon*, shlum *Tacully*, | haulen |
| kumshaet *Loucheux*, | omikta |
| Day—tiljcan *Koltshane*, | tirgani |
| Heaven, sky—jujan *Kenai*, | njan |
| Thunder—idi *Montagnais*, | addi |
| Lightning—nahtunkun *Kutchin*, | talkian |
| Wind—atse *Yukon*, | edyu |
| Rain—tsin *Kutchin*, naoton *Tacully*, | oodan, uddun |
| tchandellez *Montagnais*, | tukdol |
| Ice—ttatz *Ugalenze*, | dschuche, djuko |
| Earth—ne *Navajo*, | na |
| Mountain—schhell *Tacully*, | tscholkon |
| Stone—tschayer *Pinaleno*, | djollo |
| Iron—shlestay *Tacully*, | sele |
| Copper—thetsra *Kutchin*, | tschirit |
| Salt—tedhay *Montagnais*, | tak |
| River—okox *Tacully* | okat |
| Fire—teuck *Atnah*, takok *Ugalenze*, | toua, tog. |
| Bread—kliuthchu *Kutchin*, | kiltora |
| Bear—sus *Tacully*, | keki |
| Wolf—yess " | gusko |
| Buffalo—chasska *Ugalenze*, | chjukun |
| Deer—batshish *Koltshane*, | buchu |
| Bird—kakashi *Kenai*, | gasha |
| tsoje *Koltshane*, | doghi |
| Fish—uldiah *Chipweyan*, | olda |
| lue *Montagnais*, | ollo |
| Snake—nadudhi " | nogai |
| Leaf—chitun *Kutchin*, | awdanna |
| Life—anna *Tacully*, | inni |
| Good—sutchon " | ssain |
| Bad—tschoolta *Kenai*, | kaniult |
| Cold—nikkudh *Kutchin*, | inginikde |
| hungkox *Tacully*, | inginishin |
| oulecadze *Beaver*, | yullishin |
| Great—unshaw *Chipweyan*, | ekzsham |
| choh *Kutchin*, | choydi |

| TINNEH. | TUNGUS. |
|---|---|
| Small—astekwoo *Tlatskanai*, | adsighe |
| nacoutza *Yukon*, | njuktschukan |
| Old—saiyidhelkai *Kutchin*, | sagdi |
| Black—tkhlsune *Tlatskanai*, | sachalin |
| Green—dellin *Montagnais*, | tschurin |
| Red—delicouse *Chipweyan*, | cholachin |
| To come—tchatchoo *Loucheux*, | tshi |
| " go—antonger *Yukon*, | genigar |
| " eat—beha *Loucheyx*, | bishui |
| " drink—esdan *Montagnais*, | undan |
| chidetleh *Loucheux*, | koldakoo |
| " give—hamiltu *Chipweyan*, | omuli |
| " see—eshi *Montagnais*, utschtschiilia *Ug*, | itschetschim |
| " sleep—azut *Ugalenze*, | adjikta |
| " write—edesklis *Montagnais*, | dokli |

The Tinneh numerals are not Tungus, but seem to have been borrowed from the Japanese-Koriak family.

## COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY

OF THE

# ALGONQUIN AND MALAY-POLYNESIAN LANGUAGES.

| ALGONQUIN. | MALAY-POLYNESIAN. |
|---|---|
| Man—lenno *Delaware*, illini *Illinois*, | lanan *Javanese*, aulong *Formosa* |
| ilenni *Shawno*, linneeh *Missisagua*, | ulun *Malagasy*, umlanai *Bouru* |
| helaniah *Miami*, alnew *Micmac*, | malona*Amboyna*, belane *Ceram* |
| run *Long-Island*, renoes *Sankikani*, | oran *Malay*, remau *Amblaw* |
| nemarough *Virginia*, weewarah *Miami*, | momaru *Mille*, paraigh *Formo* |
| ililew, irirew *Cree*, | lelah *Baju*, roraki *Celebes* |
| inini *Algonquin*, *Nipissing*, anini *Ottawa*, | nonan *Tidore*, anow *Gilolo* |
| enainneew *Menomeni*, neneo *Sac* and *Fox*, | omani *Celebes*, umane *Tarawan* |
| nnin *Narraganset*, neeah *Potawatomi*, | maona *Sula*, mon *Gilolo* |
| ninnow *Blackfoot*, neemanaoo *Mohican*, | muana *Ceram*, anamhana *Bou* |
| mahtsee *Blackfoot*, enanitah *Arrapaho*, | motu *Mysol*, mundai *Amboyna* |
| menapema *Miami*, | mondemapin *Gilolo*, (husband) |
| wechian *Delaware*, | wehoin *Teor*, " |
| ethinew *Cree*, | tane *Tahiti* |
| tommawshew *New England*, watamahat *Arrapaho*, | taumata-esen *Celebes*, tomata *Salibabo*, tamata *Fiji* |
| Woman—ohkwi *Del*, ickoe *Il*, ichkwe *Sh*, | ahehwa *Matabello*, gagijau *Celebes*, (wife) |
| abitase *Micmac*, apet *Etchemin*, | opedeka *Gilolo* |
| schow *Scoffi*, sehquow *Sheshtapoosh*, | saua *Borneo*, sawa *Sanguir* |
| sqwasis *Narraganset*, squah *L-Island*, | sowom *Bouru*, (wife) |
| phainen *Abenaki*, pghainom *Mohican*, | ifneinein *Ceram*, fina *Sula* |
| wiwah *Piankashaw*, | vaivi *Tarawan*, vabai *Tagala* |
| weewon *Moh*, wewan *Ojibbeway*, (wife) | wewina *Teor*, (wife) |
| meetayaymo *Menomeni*, | motyu *Mysol* |
| newah *Shawno*, neowoh *Potawatomi*, | invina *Ceram* " , mewina *Te* |
| Child—memendid, nitsch *Del*, | nanat, naanati *Bouru* |
| hippelutha *Sh*, apilossah *Miami*, | opoliana *Amboyna* |
| bobeloshin *Ojib*, | |
| anese *Nar*, niechan *Sh*, | anak *Mal*, anik *Teor* ngone *Fiji* |
| awansis *Abenaki*, | wana *Amboyna*, *Ceram* |
| pappoos *Narranganset*, *Piankashaw*, | bibigi, fawha *Tonga* |
| peisses *Natick*, pokah *Blackfoot*, | pigeneneh *Salibabo* |
| abbinoji *Ojib*, | piyanak, *Bali*. |
| necovis *Micmac*, bawtoos *Micmac*, (boy), | ngofa *Tidore*, budak *Mal*, (boy) |
| negusis *Alg*, nkos *Etchemin*, " | anak *Malay*, *Tagala*, " |

| ALGONQUIN. | MALAY-POLYNESIAN. |
|---|---|
| **Child**—tahana *Il*, (girl), | tahine *Tonga*. (girl) |
| nahtch *Chyenne*, (girl), | nedji *Mille*, " |
| **Head**—wile *Del*, wilan *Sh*, | ulu *Malay*, ulin *Teor* |
| wilustikan *Minsi*, | ulukatim *Ceram* |
| wyer *Sankikani* | uru *Amboyna* |
| nulahammou *Nanticoke*, | ulumo *Ceram* |
| puhkuk *Massachusetts*, | poi *Gilolo*, obaku *Celebes* |
| pahhih *Ar*, bequoquo *New-England*, | upoko *New-Zealand* |
| uppa *Alg*, uppaquontup *Nar*, | bungo *Formosa*, bumtuk *Pam* |
| wupip *Il*, weensis *Mohican*, | penu *Paumotuan* |
| dup, utup *Moh*, indepecone *Miami*, | timbonang *Cel*, tumbo *Sanguir* |
| nuppuhkuk *Natick*. | nap *Sula* |
| unidgik *Micmac*, | undass *Java* |
| mistikwan *Cree*, | metcemum *Tobi* |
| neneagan *Etchemin* | nangasahi *Gilolo* |
| **Hair**—nilach *Del*, mytrach *Sankikani*, | mala *Fiji* mutlen *Mysol* |
| welathoh *Sh* | wullo *Malagasy* wultafun *Te* |
| lasis *Alg*, *Ojib*, | low *Tonga*, levu *Rotuma*, |
| peerso *Penobscot*, | burer *Tarawan* |
| weush *Long Island*, weicheken *Minsi*, | wooko *Cel*, waukugh *Formosa* |
| weshek *Narraganset*, weghaukun *Moh*, | uwoho *Saparua* bohok *Tagala* |
| peeshquahan *Sheshtapoosh*, | whakahipa *N-Zealand* |
| mikhheken *Del*, | makawe, mahunga *N-Zealand* |
| otokan *Blackfoot*, | tcim *Tobi* |
| **Nose**—wiciwon *Del*, kiwaneh *Miami*, | hewonga *Savu* |
| schanguin *Ojib*, | jjunga *Cel*, shonggulu *Mysol* |
| nekkiwanuek *Sac*, | ngunu *Sahoe*, ngilung *Langow* |
| nickskeeu *Natick*, | ingok *Bugis* |
| yash *Arrapaho*, chassie *Shawno*, | issou *Ticopia*, isu *Rot Fakaafo* |
| yoch *Ojib*, | iuka *Amboyna* |
| kitan *Abenaki*, keeton *Penobscot*, | hidong *Celebes*, idun *Rotti* |
| peechten *N-England*, | baten *Mille* |
| wutch *Natick*, ottechass *Potawatomi*, | uthu *Fiji* |
| ochali, chalik *Shawno*, | olicolo *Ceram*, hiruka *Amboyna* |
| nitou *Etchemin*, | neinyateha *Amblaw* |
| **Mouth**—wdoon *Del*, wuttone *Narraganset*, | vudin *Ceram* |
| madoon *Penobscot*, muttoon *Massachusset*, | moudoo *Ton*, motoo *Mariannes* |
| mettoon *Nanticoke*, mitoon *Cree*, | moda *Tidore*, motu *Marquesas* |
| maytone *Menomeni*, | mautauo *Formosa* |
| namadthun *Bethuck* | numatea *Amblaw* |
| nedun *Abenaki*, endonnee *Miami*, | nhoutou *Ticopia*, nutsu *Rotu* |
| indown *Potawatomi*, nettee *Arrapaho*, | ngutu *Fakaafo* |
| meessey *Ojib*, mahoi Blackfoot, | musu *Fiji*, mohon *Sanguir* |
| marthe *Chyenne*, | mulut *Malay* |

| ALGONQUIN. | MALAY-POLYNESUAN. |
|---|---|
| Tongue—welano *Del*, weelinwee *Sh*, | melin *Ceram*, elunto *Tomore* |
| wilei *Ill*, welauloo *Penobscot*, | wewelli *Allor*, ewel *Solor* |
| eelayleenee *Scoffi*, ouelane *Miami*, | elelo *Tonga*, alelo *Fakaafo* |
| nyllal *Etchemin*, | nanal *Timor*, nangaladi *Gilolo* |
| tellennee *Sheshtapoosh*, | delah *Baju*, dadila *Formosa* |
| nirnou *Micmac*, | aran *Mysol* |
| minan *Massachusset*, ninanuh *Mohican*, | maan, maanen *Bouru* |
| neenaunoh *Natick*, neeannau *Nanticoke*, | maan *Rotti*, ninum *Ceram* |
| nennaneweh *Sac*, | numawa *Amboyna*, newe *Tar* |
| tenan *Alg*, tenanian *Ottawa*, | tumoma *Matabello* |
| mitayune *Cree*, nathun *Arrapaho*, | mod *Kaioa* imod *Gilolo* |
| Tooth—meepit *Ojib*, *Mass*, mebet *Micmac*, | mbati *Fiji*, mopon *Belang* |
| wipit *Del*, put *Ottawa*, | afod *Gilolo* |
| waypay *Menomeni*, | ipa *Solor*, iffi *Malagasy* |
| veisike *Chyenne*, | vessi *Ombay* |
| nibit *Alg*, nepeetah *Miami*, | nifo *Ticopia*, nifan *Ceram* |
| neeput *Nanticoke*, nepitau *Sac*, | nifoa *Matabello*, nifin *Teor* |
| nepit *Abenaki*, | nifo *Fakaafo* |
| I—nin *Alg*, *Ojib*, neen *Natick*, *Narraganset*, | nang *Tobi*, ngo *Rotuma* |
| ni *Del*, neya *Cree*, neah *Mohican*, | ngai *Tarawan*, naak *Pelew* |
| Thou—keya *Cree*, ki *Del*, *Ojib*, *Sh*, | kwe *Mille*, ko *Tarawan*, go *Tob* |
| keah *Mohican*, kee *Long Island*, | koai *Malay*, kow *Pelew*, ke *Ton* |
| kir *Alg*, kira *Ill*, *Cree*, | ger *Tonga* |
| leelo *Micmac*, | loo *Malay* |
| He—oo *Sh*, ewoh *Narraganset*, uwoh *Mohican*, | ia *Mille*, *Tarawan*, *Samoa* |
| weya *Cree*, | aia *Tonga*, oia *Tahiti*, iya *Taga* |
| witha *Cree*, wistoi *Blackfoot*, | hate *Rotuma* |
| neha *Del*, noh *Natick*, *Massachusset*, | nia *Tarawan*, na *Malay* |
| One—peyak *Cree*, bejig *Ojib*, pejik *Alg*, | pacha *Uea* |
| pasuk *Natick*, beesick *Penobscot*, | wasa *Amboyna* |
| cotch *Del*, cotte *Sankikani*, quottie *Sh*, | yat *Tobi*, kotahai *Easter*, *hets Y* |
| gutti *Minsi*, | katim *Mysol*, sedi *Bugis* |
| chassa *Arrapaho*, | kusa *Sanguir* |
| sa *Blackfoot*, | su *Tobi*, sa *Java*, *Baju* |
| nuke *Chyenne*, naookt *Micmac*, | nehi *Manatoto*, nai *Semang* |
| naynut *Long-Island*, | nosiuni *Bouru* |
| ngodto *Potawatomi*, | ndua *Fiji* |
| weembut *Piankashaw*, | soboto *Cel*, sembaow *Salibabo* |
| Two—taaboo *Micmac*, | duwa *Bugis* |
| tarpoo *Melicite*, | dalava *Tagala* |
| nujueh *Miami*, nijo *Cree*, *Alg*, | nua *Sava* |
| Three—nihi *Etchemin*, niso *Alg*, nacha *Del*, | nih *Timbora* |
| nethwe *Sh*, nisto *Cree*, | neti *Paumotuan* |
| Four—yaw *Mass*, yoh *Nar*, ieu *Aben*, | aha *marq*, ahaa *Otaheiti* |
| | iha *Gilolo*, hah *Sava* |

| ALGONQUIN. | MALAY-POLYNESIAN. |
|---|---|
| Four—yaugh *Nanticoke*, ychhoo *Penobscot*, | hake *Rotuma*, ahka *Kissa* |
| yaut *Long Island*, | hata *Amboyna*, haat *Timoro* |
| | chaat *Manatoto* |
| yeane *Arrapaho*, | oan *Tobi*, oang *Pelew* |
| newa *Del*, nave *Chyenne*, | ampah *Lampong* |
| naho *Etchemin*, nihoui *Illinois*, | maha *Tahiti* |
| Five—nan *Mic*, nane *Etch*, | nim *Yengen*, *Caroline* |
| nanan *Alg*, *Ot*, naman *Ojib*, | nima *Ceram*, *Tonga*, *Tarawan* |
| napanna *Mass*, *Nar*, | panim *Balad* |
| pa *Long Island*, | pae *Tahiti* |
| nalan *Del*, nialinwe *Sh*, | enlima *Ceram*, lailem *Mille* |
| yalanweh *Miami*, | lima *Malay* |
| nahran *Alg*, | ereema *Otaheiti* |
| Bad—mayatisew *Cree*, muddy *Bethuck*, | moiatu *Celebes* |
| motchie *Sh*, mattik *Nanticoke*, | maduki " |
| makhtitsu *Del*, | magasaki *Bissayan* |
| Good—wulillisiwi " | weel *Pelew*, leilei *Rotuma* |
| ouret *Sankikani*, | wiru *Paumotuan* |
| meyoo *Cree*, | meu *Tarawan*, mai *Amboyna* |
| mino *Alg*, | emman *Mille* |
| Black—kusketa *Cree*, | kokotu *Tidore*, kitkudu *Gilolo* |
| mukkudaiwah *Ojib*, mackatay *Alg*, *Ot*, | mahitum *Ratahan*, *moitomo Cel* |
| mandzey *Bethuck*, | muhonde *Belang* |
| oappaishun *Menomeni*, | paisin *Dorey* |
| nsikkayooh *Mohican*, nesgeek *Minsi*, | ngoa *Batchian*, ngeo *Rotti* |
| White—bisse *Ill*, | bus *Mysol*, fis *Rotuma* |
| opee *Sh*, apiu *Blackfoot*, wape *Del*, | apo *Borneo*, boo *Mysol* |
| wawbizze *Ojib*, wapisew *Cree*, | babut *Ceram*, botcibotc *Tobi* |
| wompesu *Narr*, wompayu *Long Island*, | umpoti *Bouru*, maputi *Cel* |
| To sleep—nebat *Micmac*, | moopat *Pelew* |
| " break—pickocka *Alg*, | fachi *Tonga* |
| " burn—kwakootao *Cree*, | kabuk *Tarawan* |
| " come—ome *Shyenne*, tootoo *Blackfoot*, | omai *Bouru*, taitu *Tobi* |
| pittasimous *Alg*, | paituco *Baju* |
| " drink—meneen *Del*, maynaan *Menomeni*, | meenum *Malay*, minum *Malag* |
| " eat—mechisoo, mechew *Cree*, | makeu " muka *Tobi* |
| " give—makew *Cree*, noumia *New-England*, | makoe *Tonga*, nąhoume *Malag* |
| Canoe—oot " | ote *Tidore* |
| Bow—uchape *Cree*, abe *Micmac*, hattepe *Del*, | jobi " apusu *Amb*, djub *Sula* |
| Arrow—attouche *Cree*, utcu *Arrap* wepema *Miami* | tkugh *Formosa*, pana *Malay* |
| Axe—tecaca *Sh*, togkunk *Alg*, | togi *Tongi*, toki *Fakaafo* |
| warcockquite *Etch*, thoonanyen *Bethuck*, | barakas *Gilolo*, tanai *Tarawan* |
| Bed, mat—nipawin *Cree*, | apine *Bouru* |
| Clothes—weyachikuna, ukoop *Cree*, | packian *Malay*, kapa *Sandwich* |

| ALGONQUIN. | MALAY-POLYNESIAN. |
|---|---|
| House—opee *Sh*, | abi *Tonga*, sapu *Celebes* |
| wetu *Mass*, *Nar*, wannoji *Etch*, | bata *Tarawan*, mbeto *Fiji*, banna *Celebes* |
| Knife—pakhshikan *Del*, marissa *Il*, mokoman *Ojib*, | pisuk *Malay*, mirass *Matabello* makouosim *Ceram* |
| Sun—kijiss *Alg*, kilswoa *Miami*, | koyoss *Pelew*, kaliha *Sanguir* |
| Moon—debicat-kijiss *Alg*, (night-sun), | daputo *Gilolo*, (night) |
| Star—attack *Cree*, watawesu *Aben*, | hetika *Paumotuan*, whetu *N Z* |
| Earth—pockki *Del*, | buchit *Moluccas* |
| Sky—heyring *Sh*, | harani *Sandwich* |
| Fire—bukten *Micmac*, | putung *Celebes* |
| Water—beh *Del*, abo *Ojib*, okhki *Blackfoot*, | boi *Baju*, pape *Tahiti*, akei *Cel* |
| Bird—pethesew *Cree*, tchipahit *Micmac*, | petek *Java*, teput *Bouru* |
| Dog—weeseh *Sh*, mekaune *Del*, | wasu *Ceram*, mog *Tarawan* |
| Fish—gigo *Ojib*, kickon *Alg*, kinoosas *Cree*, | jugo *Celebes*, jikan *Borneo*, kena *Sula* |

## COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY

OF THE

# HAIDAH AND MALAY-POLYNESIAN LANGUAGES.

| HAIDAH. | MALAY-POLYNESIAN. |
|---|---|
| Man—eetling *Kaigani*, eetlinga *Chutsinni*, eetlingah *Skittaget*, | lanang *Bali*, langang *Madura* aulong *Formosa*, lanan *Java* |
| People—haits *K*, haidah *S*, tehaidaahga *C*, | heieiti *Ceram* taotao *Formosa* taroraki *Celebes* |
| Husband—teetlahla *C*, teetlalh *S*, | wong-wedo *Java*, pina-hieti *Ceram* |
| Woman—aiadda *K*, nuntshaita *C*, ntsahta *S*, | motyu *Mysol*, inosu *Rotuma*, (wife) |
| Child—hudsu (little), keet *K*, kinnash *S*, | kiiti *Ceram*, (little), atai *Tarawan* keni *Tidore* " anak *Malay* talakoi *Pelew* |
| Son—tlkinn *S*, | uthai *Rotuma*, cattam *Pelew* |
| Father—haidi *K*, haat *C*, haddeh *S*, | yaiya *Tidore* ma-owa *Gilolo* ibu *Java* |
| Mother—oi *K*, owwai *S*, | taina *Fakaafo*, *New Zealand* |
| Brother—tuni *H*, townai *S*, teetah *C*, tekwai *S*, | tathi *Fiji*, tuaka *Fiji* djatan *Mille*, tuahine *N-Zeal* |
| Sister—teetaa *C*, teejahsha *S*, | hatow *Tavoo*, kahutu *Mysol*, atu *Tarawan* |
| Head—hatsh *C*, katsa *S*, tihhats *K*, | tcim *Tobi*, hutu *Tidore*, *Gilolo* |
| Hair—tihhatsin *K*, kats *C*, kashkeht *S*, | hihika *Amboyna*, gonaga " |
| Face—haugh *C*, hung *S*, | tayinga *Tagala* |
| Ear—tekiua *C*, | kanohi *N-Zealand*, hama *Sula* |
| Eye—hongai *K*, hungeh *S*, tlhungee *C*, | tun *Mysol*, lako *Gilolo* ngunu *Gilolo* |
| Nose—kun *K*, kwun *S*, | ngutu *Fakaafo* |
| Mouth—kut *K*, | nangaladi *Gilolo*, dadila *Formosa* |
| Tongue—tangul *S*, | ysangh *New-Ireland* |
| Teeth—tsing *S*, | tengkok *Malay* |
| Neck—tunghill *C* | tanghan " tanaraga *Mangarei* |
| Hand—tunsklai *C*, | tetenkilai *Ombay*, kaniuko *Mysol* |
| Finger—tunsklai-akungee *C*, | talahikun, seliki *Ceram* |
| Nails—tunstlekwun *C*, stlekun *S*, | kaleh *Celebes*, teocolo *Ceram*, (belly), chino *Tonga* |
| Body—khueh *K*, teetul *C*, kann *S*, | kapiti *New-Zealand* |
| Bone—akwuts *C*, | ikeike *Tarawan* |
| Heart—teekuk *C*, | |

| HAIDAH. | MALAY-POLYNESIAN. |
|---|---|
| Chief—itluktas *C*, itlagata *S*, | aliki *Fakaafo*, *New-Caledonia* |
| Friend—teelhawee *C*, | aloha *Sandwich*, alofa *Samoa* |
| Knife—heatsa *C*, yahdz *S*, | akaditc *Tarawan*, kota *N-Z'd* |
| kutkwan *K*, | katanan *Bouru* |
| Canoe—klu *K*, kluh *S*, | hol *Teor*, saloi *Borneo* |
| Sun—choweein *K*, kung *S*, | coing, keun *Australia*, singa *Fiji*, sunjiji *Java* |
| Star—kaeeltah *K*, kailtah *C*, | kuliginti *Baju*, toloti *Bouru* |
| kaitsahw *S*, | hetika *Paumotuan*, |
| Day—sainthah *K*, halsa-haunsa *C*, | taginita *Gilolo*, bal-anto *Gilolo* |
| Night—singgah *K*, ahlekwa *S*, | sangan *Baju*, olawaha *Matabello* |
| Rain—tulleekwa *C*, talla *S*, | ulah *Amblaw*, kull *Pelew* |
| Fire—tsunno *K*, tsanno *S*, | guni *Java*, kanaku *N-Zealand* |
| Earth—klik *K*, klika *C*, kleega *S*, | kele *Fakaafo*, gele-gele *Tonga* |
| Sea—tung *C*, tanga *S*, | towein *Ceram*, tahi *Matabello* |
| Stone—kwoah *C*, | kohata *New-Zealand* |
| Salt—tung *C*, tangkahya *S*, | teisim *Ceram*, tintui *Fiji* |
| Iron—tatets *K*, heats *C*, | dodiodo *Gilolo*, heta *Ceram* |
| Tree—keht *C*, hait *S*, | kathu *Fiji*, gota *Gilolo*, (wood) |
| Wood—kuk *K*, | gagi *Gilolo* |
| Leaf—hyill *S*, | allell *Pelew*, ailow *Amboyna*, kaluin *Mysol* |
| Flesh—ghaat *K*, kaht *C*, kiagh *S*, | wat *Formosa*, gusi *Sanguir* |
| Dog—haah *K*, haa *C*, hagh *S*, | how *Teor*, kaso *Tidore* |
| Fly—kaiskal *S*, | kasisili *Bouton*, (mosquito) |
| Egg—kaua *C*, | gosi *Tidore* |
| Feathers—chaua *C*, | gogo " |
| Wing—sheai *C*, hyai *S*, | sewiwi *Java*, kihoa *Amboyna* |
| Fish—cheena *C*, tseena *S*, (salmon) | kena *Sula*, dhyng *Formosa* |
| White—hater *K*, | daari *Gilolo* |
| Black—klehut *K*, | kele *Rotuma* |
| Yellow—kundlh *S*, | kuning *Malay* |
| Red—mush *K*, shit *C*, shaida *S*, | miha *Bouru*, mosina *Ceram*, mecoit *Gil*, shei *My*, sak *Borneo* |
| Great—uun *K*, iuunk *C*, | jinny *Aru*, wanko *Langowan* |
| Small—hudzu *S*, ehudsu *K*, ehutsungkn *C*, | kutu *Kaioa*, kadodo *Salibabo*, ahuntai *Amboyna* |
| Good—lai *K*, lahkung *C*, lahgung *S*, | lelei *Fakaafo*, laha *Tidore*, ringei *Formosa* |
| Bad—tahner *K*, tahungka *C*, tahnuga *S*, | atoro *Gilolo*, tama *Tobi* |
| Cold—tut *K*, teewhehkai *C*, tehweega *S*, | toetoe *Tahiti*, tijok *Malay* |
| Hot—keena *S*, hunan *K*, | kuna *Saparua* |
| One—skwansen *K*, sowhunsun *C*, shwansung *S*, | seena *Timbora*, sawiji *Java*, saangu *Celebes*, umsiun, nosiuni *Bouru* |
| Two—stun *K*, stunga *C*, shtung *S*, | sinuto *Gilolo* |
| Three—klunet *K*, klohuntla *C*, thlonutl *S*, | kunete *Lifu*, kulo *S'wich*, entol *Ceram* tatlu *Tagala*, telon *Sanguir*, taruano *Celebes* |

| HAIDAH. | MALAY-POLYNESIAN. |
|---|---|
| Four—stansien *K*, stunsung *C*, stansung *S*, | tan *Caroline* |
| Five—klaith *K*, klehtlilk *C*, khehtl *S*, | kutelin, kuklin *Timbora* |
| Six—klumith *K*, klowunthlil *C*, klewunnutl *S*, | chalemen *Lifa*, gurum *Tuham* |
| Seven—sekwa *K*, tsikkwaiilk *C*, tzegwah *S*, | hiki *Sandwich*, *nim* weluk *Yengen* tujuh *Celebes* |
| Eight—stansiona *K*, stunsunga *C*, stahnsunga *S*, | *tuf*-kangi *Tidore*, *Ternate*, koneho *Timbora*, adjino *Mille*, kunengemen *Lifu* |
| Ten—klath *K*, klanhalh *C*, klahtl *S*, | hutu *Teor*, hulu *Rotti*, horihori *Paumotuan* |
| To come—halo-it *S*, | alowei *Ceram* |
| " go—daka-itla *S*, | tetak " tagi *Tidore* |
| " walk—kahung-la *S*. | hahani *Tahiti*, |
| " love—kidishtaht-la *S*, | kawdangoi *Formosa* |
| " run—kahheet-la " | katehau *Ceram* |

## COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY

OF THE

# CHIMSYAN AND MALAY-POLYNESIAN LANGUAGES.

| CHIMSYAN. | MALAY-POLYNESIAN. |
|---|---|
| Man—yoit *Chimsyan*, yut *Naas*, yukht *Kittistzu*, | heieiti *Ceram*, taata *Tahiti* hatoe *Baju* |
| Woman—anaugh *C*, hannakh *N*, unnaakh *K*, | ina *Formosa*, aine *Tarawan*, hani *Rotuma* |
| Husband—anaks *C*, nakseedo *N*, | nau *Tidore*, ndako *Baju* |
| Wife—anaks *C*, nakso *N*, | inosu *Rotuma*, nihino *Ceram*, lako *Baju* |
| Boy, son—elkauaugh *C*, tikohlko *N*, | alak *Formosa*, talacoy *Pelew* |
| Child—klke-womelh *N*, | mala-kell *Pelew* |
| Brother—wikkit *C*, wehk *N*, | weko *Fiji* |
| tswangit *N*, | tehina *Tonga*, djen *Mille*, sasianga *Rotuma* teina *Maori* |
| Sister—tamaughti *C*, | tum-bo *Sanquir*, tim-bonang *Celebes* |
| Head—tam-kaus *C*, tum-kaus *K*, | tandas *Bali*, uluka-tim *Ceram* |
| tem-rus *N*, | keo *Amboyna* hue *Ceram* |
| Hair—kawes *C*, kaus *N*, *K*, | kopine *Malay*, tinacono *Ceram* |
| Ear—chemon *C*, tsimmuh *N*, tzimmu *K*, | iuka *Amboyna*, issou *Ticopia* |
| Nose—chaugh *C*, tsakh *N*, tzukh *K*, | hihika " hihico *Ceram* |
| Mouth—augh *C*, aaugh *K*, | simud *Malay*, sumut *Gilolo* |
| tsimmakh *N*, | dila *Tagala*, *Celebes*, delah *Baju* |
| Tongue—tule, tulah *C*, tula *N*, *K*, | waan *Tanawanka*, waang *Kema* |
| Teeth—wan *C*, waan *N*, *K*, | kumi *Fiji*, kumkum *Rotuma* |
| Beard—emaugh *C*, yeemh *N*, | tameni *Ombay* |
| Neck—tamlani *C*, timlaan *N*, | ooma, nima *Tonga*, ban *Mille* kaligh *Formosa* |
| Arm—anohn *C*, anon *N*, kallchuwald *C*, | limacolo *Ceram*, inoa *Sandwich*, kanin *Mysol* |
| Hand—laughsneld *C*, anon *N*, unon *K*, | numonin-tutulo *Ceram*, gedgee *Malay* |
| Fingers—kaulchuwald-amanon *C*, kadzo-aal *K*, | seliki *Ceram*, silu *Borneo* |
| Nails—klaughs *C*, klakhs *N*, | tihumo *Bouru*, (belly) |
| Body—thamoh *N*, | nen *Mille* |
| Leg—ansee " | aika *Amboyna*, si, kake *Malay* kaienena *Ceram* |
| Foot—asee *C*, ansee *K*, sissee *N*, | kovo *Gilolo*, yobo *Tidore* |
| Bone—saip *C*, sehp *N*, | suthu *Fiji* |
| Heart—kohd *C*, koht *N*, | |

| CHIMSYAN. | MALAY-POLYNESIAN. |
|---|---|
| Blood—ethlay *C*, ithleh *N*, eelthlay *K*, | darah *Malay*, lahi *Ceram* |
| Chief—smoket *C*, smogit *N*, | nagangaica *Rotuma*, |
| House—wallap *C*, waalp *N*, waalip *K*, | vale *Fiji*, fola *Tidore*, lebo *Borneo* |
| Arrow—tehs *N*, | dota *Ombay*, tkugh *Fernosa* |
| Axe—kekoit *C*, kegiotk *N*, kikiotik *K*, | ikiti *Amboyna*, katuea *Bouru* |
| Canoe—aughso *C*, hsoh *N*, | haka " siko *Ceram* |
| Sky—laha *C*, lahagh *N*, | laghi, langi *Tonga*, lung *Mille* |
| Sun—kemahk *C*, kemk *N*, kiumuk *K*, | gawak *Bouru*, (day) |
| Star—piallis *C*, peeyahlst *N*, pialust *K*, | tillasna *Ceram*, toloti *Bouru* |
| Night—att *C*, ahtk *N*, hupul *K*, | petu *Bouru*, humoloi *Ceram* |
| Thunder—kallapleep *C*, | bekilop *Malay* |
| Rain—wass *C*, haiwaas *N*, waase *K*, | usa *Rotuma*, bosi *Celebes*, bessar *Tidore* |
| Fire—lak *C*, *N*, luk *K*, | rahi *Rotuma*, lap *Mysol*, lutan, uku *Gilolo* |
| Water—aks *C*, *N*, uks *K*, | akei *Celebes*, aki *Gilolo* |
| Earth—yup *K*, hiyohp *C*, tsatsuks *N*, | apa *Tarawan*, soupe Easter, lopa *Bissayan* tougoutoo *Tonga* |
| Sea—keyaks *C*, lakhseuil *N*, | hoak *Teor*, lauhaha *Ceram* |
| Hill—opakh *N*, | puke *Maori*, buked *Philippine* |
| Island—laughsta *C*, likstah *N*, | liwuto *Celebes*, lusan *Ceram*, |
| Stone—lohp *C*, *N*, *K*, | ofai *Tahiti*, papa *Fakaafo*, atipa *Tarawan*, rau *Tobi* |
| Salt—mohn *C*, mohn *N*, | masin *Ceram* |
| Iron—tuts *C*, tutsk *N*, | taa *Amboyna*, dodiodo *Gilolo* |
| Tree—kan *C*, *N*, kandt *K*, | kaya *Malay*, kani *Mille*, (wood) |
| Wood—lak *C*, khun *N*, | lyeii *Ceram*, " " |
| Leaf—yinish *C*, lukhs *N*, | noho *Rotuma*, lau *Fakoofo* |
| Flesh—shami *C*, sammi *N*, summi *K*, | ismun *Ceram*, isim *Bouru*, sampi *Malay* |
| Dog—hass *C*, haas *N*, haushosh *K*, | yas, asu *Ceram*, yes *Mysol*, kaso *Tidore* |
| Fly—mosquito—keek *C*, *N*, | kias *Borneo*, sisi *Tidore* |
| Snake—lahlt *N*, | alete *Rotuma* |
| Bird—tsuwut *N*, tsouts *K*, | tuwi *Amboyna*, towin *Ceram*, teput *Bouru* |
| Egg—klkumaht *N*, | kalothi *Rotuma* |
| Feathers—leh *C*, leeh, manleeh *N*, | lo *Gilolo*, manuhrui *Amboyna* |
| Wing—kakakait *C*, kekai *N*, | ahiti *Bouru*, kihoa " |
| Fish—hohn *C*, *N*, *K*, (salmon), | ian *Gilolo*, iyan *Amboyna*, yani *Ceram* |
| Name—waah *N*, watl *C*, | ioa *Tahiti*, wasta *Java*, yatha *Fiji* |
| Black—tuts *C*, tutsk *N*, tohts *K*, | tatatato *Gilolo* |
| Great—weelaaks *C*, willehks *N*, wileiks *K*, | ilahe, elau *Ceram*, belang *Solor* |
| Small—chusk *N*, chuskin *C*, | cheka *Sahoe*, kokaneii *Ceram* |
| Old—mechien *C*, | makaua *Fiji* |
| Young—supas *C*, | save " |
| Good—am *C*, ahm *N*, | emman *Mille*, amaisi *Amboyna* |
| Bad—attaugh *C*, huttahk *N*, | ahati *Ceram*, yat *Teor*, tha, thakatha *Fiji* |
| I—noiu *C*, nuiu *N*, *K*, | ngo *Rotuma*, ngai *Tarawan*, naak *Pelew* |
| Thou—nun *C*, *N*, hun *K*, | mu *Borneo*, *Java*, ano *Malagasy*, ngoe *Tarawan* |

| CHIMSYAN. | MALAY-POLYNESIAN. |
|---|---|
| He—kweet *N*, | hate *Rotuma* |
| We—num *C*, nuhm *N*, | am *Rotuma*, naie *Malagasy* |
| Ye—nusim *C*, nun *N*, | nkam, unggami *Tarawan*, menu *Fiji* |
| They—nusum *N*, | nakaki *Tarawan*, nau *Tonga* |
| One—kaak *K*, keahk *N*, | kusa *Sanguir*, kayi *Teor*, kahi *Sandwich* |
| kakwit *C*, | sawiji *Java*, hets *Yengen*, yat *Tobi* |
| Two—taphad *C*, tuphaht *N*, tupghaat *K*, | duwa *Bugis*, dudua *Celebes*, piti *Tahiti* |
| Three—kwant *N*, kwun *K*, | kunete *Lifu*, heyen *Yengen* |
| Four—kalp *C*, | kopa *Sanguir* |
| Six—kohl *C*, *K*, | hol *Caroline* |
| Seven—tophold *C*, | tomdi *Tambora* |
| Eight—kundohn *N*, | koneho *Timbora* |
| Nine—stamohs *C*, | siam *Philippine* |
| Ten—kip *C*, *K*, kehp *N*, | sow *Matabello*, lafu *Mysol*, sapulu *Malay* |
| To eat—tam-kip *C*, tum-kuph *N*, | kami *Maori*, kai *Malay* |
| " speak—tam-alliaugh *C*, tum-alyegh *N*, | lolocoy *Pelew* |
| " see—tam-needzi *C*, tum-neets *N*, | miagi *Mille*, missak *Pelew* |
| " kill—tum-tsukw *N*, | toussoo *Malay*, tsavek *Rotuma* |
| " sit—tam-tan *C*, tum-taan *N*, | tina *Maori* |
| " go—tam-dawl *C*, tum-dawtl *N*, | ettal *Mille* |
| " come—tam-akhoiteks *C*, tum-hoituks *N*, | waito " paituco *Baju* |
| " walk—tam-ian *C*, tum-yian *N*, | hahani *Tahiti* |

## COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY

OF THE

# HAILTZUKH AND MALAY-POLYNESIAN LANGUAGES.

| HAILTZUKH. | MALAY-POLYNESIAN. |
|---|---|
| **Man**—wisham *Hailtsukh*, pekwannum *Kwakiutl*, | wehoin *Teor*, abawinena *Celebes*, (husband), vavani *Rotuma*, (husb'd) |
| **Woman**—kunam *H*, | hani *Rotuma*, cuani *Tasmanian* |
| **Child**—auullus *H*, | ala *Ceram* |
| **Father**—aump *H*, aohmb *K*, | ama " nambaba *Gilolo* |
| **Mother**—abbohk *H*, | ibu *Java*, *Malay* |
| **Son**—hunnukh *K*, | anak *Malay* |
| **Brother**—munnoya *H*, | manu *Tarawan* |
| tsaiya *H*, tsahie *K*, | taeae *Tahiti*, tuaka, tathi *Fiji* |
| **Head**—aikhteh *H*, | oyuko *Ceram*, kahutu *Mysol*, katow *Tavoo* |
| hyumus *K*, | ulumo *Ceram* |
| **Hair**—seeah *H*, sugheea *K*, | keo, hua *Amboyna*, uka, hue *Ceram* |
| **Face**—kokoma *H*, kaukomai *K*, | uhamo *Ceram* |
| **Ear**—pespehyoh *H*, pespaheeo *K*, | pepeiao *Sandwich* |
| **Nose**—hyintsus *K*, | heugento *Tomore*, neinyateha *Amblaw* |
| **Mouth**—simmis *H*, simss *K* | simud *Malay*, sumut *Gilolo* |
| **Tongue**—killem *H*, kellum *K*, | kelo *Ceram* |
| **Teeth**—keekh *H*, keekyh *K*, | gigi *Malay*, *Celebes*, *Baju* |
| **Beard**—aphtai *H*, apukhstai *K*, | buai *Tarawan*, pahau, paihau *Maori* |
| **Neck**—kokoneh *H*, kaukoni *K*, | kaki *Maori* |
| **Hand**—aiyassu *H*, | arsiu *Rotuma* |
| **Finger**—kohna *H*, | kokon *Bouru*, kokowana *Sula* |
| **Body**—tkaboah *H*, | tekapana *Ombay*, tihumo *Bouru*, tiava *Amboyna* |
| pekwahli *K*, | pokwa *Malay*, poko *Gilolo*, (belly) |
| **Foot**—kokwehu *H* | kaki *Malay*, yohu *Tidore* |
| pelkahtshidsi *K*, | beernyatietani *Amblaw* |
| **Bone**—hakh *H*, hahk *K*, | wheua *Maori*, hoi *Sula*, hooi *Tonga* |
| **Heart**—owakhteh *H*, autlaitl *K*, | ati *Bugis* |
| **Blood**—alhkum *H*, elhkhu *K*, | laia, lahim *Ceram* |
| **Bow**—skweess *H*, | husu *Saparua* |
| **Axe**—sohpai *K*, | tapoi *Tobi*, lopo *Ceram*, camba *Malay* |
| **Knife**—hainum *H*, keahweh *K*, | cheni *Mys*, koffe *Ticopia*, isowa *Teor* |
| **Canoe**—kilhwa *H*, | hol *Teor*, saloi *Borneo*, yalopei *Ceram* |
| hwahkunna *K*, | waka, konia *Maori*, wuna *Ceram*, sakaen *Celebes* |
| **Sky**—lowah *H*, | laghee *Tonga* |

| HAILTZUKH. | MALAY-POLYNESIAN. |
|---|---|
| Sun—klikseewalla *H*, klehsill *K*, | kluh *Mysol*, kaliha *Sanguir*, woleh *Ceram* |
| Moon—muk-kwulla *K*, | wulan *Java*, &c |
| Star—totowah *H*, tohta *K*, | tahwettu *Tahiti*, tuitui *Tarawan* |
| Day—kokallah *H*, | kila, kaseiella *Ceram*, kluh *Mysol* |
| Night—kahnut *H*, kahnutl *K*, | ameti *Ceram*, hulaniti *Amboyna* |
| Wind—yiwaala *H*, heaul *K*, | havili *Tonga* |
| Rain—yohkh *H*, yukw *K*, | oha *Celebes*, huya *Sula* |
| Water—waamp *H*, wapp *K*, | pape *Tahiti*, waiim *Ceram*, woya *Kaioa* |
| Earth—awehnakus *K*, | hwhennua *Tahiti* |
| Sea—temmishahheh *H*, aauwaik *K*, | towein, tasok *Ceram*, hoak *Teor* |
| River—wah *K*, | weyoh *Mysol*, wai *Tidore* |
| Stone—tehsum *H*, *K*, | teko *Maori* |
| Salt—tumshi *K*, | tintui *Fiji*, tasi, teisim *Ceram* |
| Tree—klaaus *H*, klohs *K*, | kalu *Sanguir*, *Salibabo*, (wood) |
| Wood—lukkwah *H*, | lakou *Fakaafo*, (tree), lyeii *Ceram* |
| tahs *K*, | taki *Tarawan* |
| Leaf—kwakhhala *H*, klissnaik *K*, | ailow *Amboyna*, kaluin *Mysol* |
| Dog—wahtseh *H*, wats *K*, | wasu *Ceram* |
| Mosquito—kaikhha *H*, klehstlinna *K*, | kias *Borneo*, kelang *Mysol* |
| Bird—tseeku *H*, | toko *Gilolo*, tehui *Bouru* |
| Wing—patlum *K*, | afeti *Amblaw* |
| Fish—mahkelees *H*, | nerkell *Pelew*, nggoli *Fiji* |
| White—mella *K*, | mawirah *Sanguir*, wulan *Gilolo* |
| mohkwa *H*, | ma *Maori* |
| Red—klahkw *K*, klakhkohm *H*, | kula *Fakaafo*, *Fiji*, coreick *Pelew* |
| Black—tsohtlin *H*, tsohwtl *K*, | tatataro *Gilolo* |
| Blue—klehksto *H*, kwuskwutsum *K*, | kotteetow *Pelew*, kokotu *Tidore*, (black) |
| Yellow—klenhsum *K*, | kunukunu *Ceram* |
| Great—waulus *K*, | hella *Amboyna*, elau *Ceram*, musolah *Belang* |
| Small—auwullalh *H*, awlatl *K*, | ihihil *Saparua* olihil *Ceram* |
| Good—aik *H*, aihmu *K*, | baik *Malay*, emman *Mille* |
| Bad—yakh *H*, | gauk *Borneo*, akahia *Amboyna* ahia *Ceram* |
| Cold—tennehk *H*, | dingin *Malay* |
| Hot—kuchhwa *H*, tsulkw *K*, | sasahu *Tidore*, asala *Ceram* |
| I—nokwa *H*, *K*, | ngo *Rotuma*, ngai *Tarawan*, naak *Pelew* |
| Thou—soum *K*, | kowe *Ponape* |
| He—assum *H*, aibi *K*, | izi *Malagasy*, aia *Tonga* |
| We—nokwunt *H*, yinnu *K*, | kenda *Fiji*, cami *Tagala* |
| Ye—yikhtahotl *K*, | koutou *Maori*, gimotoloo *Tonga* |
| They—nahwha *K*, | now *Tonga*, nakaki *Tarawan* |
| One—mennoh *H*, num *K*, | nehi *Manatoto*, nai *Samang*, moi *Gilolo* |
| | nosiuni, umsiun *Bouru* |
| Two—mahlo *H*, | malofo *Tidore*, parroo *Balad* |
| Three—yotohk *H*, yiotohw *K*, | othey *Pelew*, veti *Isle of Pines*, tiga *Malay* |

| HAILTZUKH. | MALAY-POLYNESIAN |
|---|---|
| Four—mohk *H*, moh *K*, | maha *Tahiti*, naah *Timor* |
| Five—skeauk *H*, sehkyah *K*, | ngeka *Paumotuan*, tahue *Isle of Pines* |
| Six—kutlaohk *H*, kahtlah *K*, | kutelin *Tambora* (5) |
| Seven—atlipoh *K*, | lepfit *Gilolo* |
| Eight—yohthohs *H*, | kutus *Bali*, hasto *Java*, gatahua *Sula* |
| ten—aikyus *H*, | ocho *Ceram*, yagi *Tambora*, yasek *Tobi* |
| To eat—umsagh *H*, | amu *Tahiti*, muka *Tobi*, makeu *Malay* |
| " drink—nahka *H*, nahkah *K*, | inu " ngunu *Fiji* |
| " sleep—mehukhha *K*, | mohe *Tonga*, muse *Tobi*, mose *Rotuma* |
| " speak—pekwahla *H*, yiahkatah *K*, | puaki *Maori*, kata *Malay* |
| " see—tokwulla *H*, tohwhit *K*, | kele *Rotuma*, kite *Maori* |
| " sit—kwaitl *H*, kwukheetl *K*, | kuduk *Borneo* |
| " go—hyahla *H*, latlelahha *K*, | hael *Tonga*, laka *Sula*, ettal *Mille* |
| " come—tohwa *H*, kaielash *K*, tae *Tahiti*, | taweke *Maori*, taitu *Tobi* kule *Ceram* |
| " dance—yukhwhah *H*, yukhwa *K*, | haka *Maori*. |

## COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY

OF THE

# NOOTKAN AND MALAY-POLYNESIAN LANGUAGES.

| NOOTKAN. | MALY-POLYNESIAN. |
|---|---|
| Man—checkup *Nootkan*, tchuckoop *Wakash*, | gebha *Bouru*, kapopungi *Sanguir* |
| tillicham *Chekeeli*, tanass *N* | gagijanni *Celebes*, (husband) taroraki *Celebes*, (husband), tenawan *Borneo* |
| Woman—cloochamen " tlootsemin *W*, | orakenana *Celebes*, (wife), elwinyo *Amblaw*, (wife) |
| Child—tanass *C*, tanassis *W*, | tama *Fakaafo*, tamachi *Tonga* |
| tannais *Tlaoquatch*, | tamaiti *Maori*, untuna *Gilolo* |
| Father—noowexa *N*, | nibaba *Sula*, nambaba " |
| Mother—una, hoomahexa *N*, | ina *Ceram*, mako *Baju* |
| Head—tokhotset *Newittee*, towhatsetel *N*, | kahutu *Mysol*, tikolo *Baju* |
| Hair—apsaiup " hapscup " | whakahipa *Maori*, uwooho *Saparua*, bohok *Tagala* |
| Ear—papeesis " papai " | pepeiao *Sandwich* |
| Nose—neetsa *N*, tshowitkhltam *Ne*, | usnut *Gilolo*, neinyateha *Amblaw*, shonggulu *Mysol* |
| Tooth—chichi " tshishitshee " | gigi *Malay*, *Celebes*, *Baju* |
| Arm—nonupi *Ne*, | nima *Tonga* |
| Hand—kookaniksa, coucoumitzou *N*, | kaimuk *Tobi*, komud *Gilolo* |
| Finger—uotza *N*, kakatsiduk *Ne*, | gedgi *Malay*, odeso *Gilolo*, kakae *Rotuma* |
| Nails—tshatkhatsi *Ne*, | kuyut *Gilolo* |
| Heart—teteitshoa " | suthu *Fiji*, tintin *Formosa* |
| Blood—*tkhl*-alkhlawakabus *Ne*, | lawa, lahim *Ceram* |
| Chief—tshabata " | fatu *Tahiti* |
| House—mahs *N*, maas *T*, mbaus *Ne*, | umah *Java*, mbeto *Fiji* |
| Knife—chiltayek *N*, kakaiuk " | iliti *Bouru*, lading *Java*, akaditc *Tarawan* |
| Axe—taawish *N*, | tapoi *Tobi*, toke *Fakaafo* |
| Bow—mostutsh *Ne*, | mossa *Ombay* |
| Arrow—tsekhatsh " | tkugh *Formosa* |
| Canoe—tshaputs " | sepo *Amboyna*, tawai *Masri*, tafunga *Tonga* |
| Sun—opheth *W*, | fowe *Gilolo*, batta *Batta*, aomati *Marquesas* |
| ootlach *C*, oophelth *N*, opatkhluk *Ne*, | matalou *Borneo*, woleh *Ceram* |
| Moon—oophelth *N*, | bula *Celebes*, waurat *Formosa* |
| Star—tartoose " | tearri *Tahiti*, toloti *Bouru*, tilassa *Ceram*, |

| NOOTKAN. | MALAY-POLYNESIAN. |
|---|---|
| **Day**—*tkhl*-isiakakuk *Ne*, | gawak *Bouru*, cocook *Pelew* |
| **Fire**—eeneek, ennuksee *N*, | neki *Paumotuan*, ngiha, kanaku *Maori* |
| eleek *N*, adak *Ne*, | rahi *Rotuma*, kidjaik *Mille*, hatete *Maori* |
| **Water**—chuck *C*, chahak *N*, tschaak *W*, tshauk *Ne*, | aki *Gilolo*, *Sanguir*, *Ratahan* |
| **Sea**—toputkhl *Ne*, | thoup *Pelew*, towein *Ceram* |
| **Stone**—mooksee *N*, | macca *Tonga* |
| **Island**—oputshukt *Ne*, | passi *Sula*, motu *Maori* |
| **Tree**—soochis *N*, | kaju *Celebes*, gagi *Gilolo* |
| **Flesh**—chisquimis *N*, | sesiun *Ceram*, gisini *Celebes* |
| **Bird**—acutap *N*, okutop *Ne*, | tekayap *Mysol*, teput *Bouru* |
| **Fish**—ukieuk *Ne*, | jugo *Celebes*, iko *Tonga* |
| **Wing**—*tkhl*-upkhasupato *Ne*, | capacow *Tonga*, pakaukau *Maori*, afeti *Amblaw* |
| **Serpent**—kheii *Ne*, | yeya *Tidore*, koioim *Ceram* |
| **Fly**—matc-kwun *Ne*, | kam-umus *Mysol*, umuti *Ceram* |
| **White**—kleeook *N*, tkhlisuk *Ne* | seleseleke *Fiji* |
| atit-tzutle *N*, | teatea *Tahiti*, putil *Saparua* |
| **Black**—topukous *Ne*, | pango *Maori*, paisim *Dorey* |
| **Red**—hissit *N*, *tkhl*-ekhous *Ne*. | shei *Mysol*, mecoit *Gilolo*, eja *Celebex*, kao *Ceram* |
| **Good**—closh *C*, hooleish *W*, *tkhl*-otkhloush *Ne*, | alla *Baju*, weel *Pelew*, laha *Tidore* aolo, taloha *Ceram* |
| **Bad**—takho *N*, | tha, thakatha *Fiji* |
| peshak *C*, peishakeis *W*, wekhusesh *Ne*, | buaka *Tarawan*, boossooe *Malay*, behei *Amblaw* |
| **Great**—iikhwais *Ne*, asco *N*, jackabey | *Malagasy*, aiyuk *Ceram*, owhosi *Tomore* |
| **Small**—kwaanits " | kokaneii *Ceram*, ahuntai *Amboyna* |
| **Hot**—*tkhl*-opatkhl *Ne*, | aputu *Amboyna* |
| **Cold**—tcituscitxl " | tijok *Malay*, toetoe *Tahiti*, toketoke *Raratonga* |
| **Thou**—sua *N*, | koe *Tonga*, &c |
| **He**—ahkoo " | aia " koikoia *Fiji* |
| **We**—newoo *Ne*, | mowa " naie *Malagasy* |
| **One**—tsawack, sahwank *N*, tsakiwak *Ne*, | sawiji *Java*, saangu *Celebes* |
| **Two**—akkla, attla *N*, attkhl *Ne*, | kalae *Timbora*, glu, golu *Tobi*, lu-ete *Lifu* dalava *Tagala*,, (atlo *Philippine* 3) |
| **Three**—katsa *N*, wiyu *Ne*, | gatil *Sula*, othey *Pelew*, veti *Isle of Pines* kunete *Lifu*, ya *Tobi*, heyen *Yengen* |
| **Four**—mo, mooh *N*, mbo *Ne* | maha *Tahiti*, ampah *Lampong*, beu *Isle of Pines* |
| **Five**—soochah " sutshu " | tahue *Isle of Pines*, ngeka *Paumotuan* |
| **Six**—noohoo *N*, nopo *N*, mupo *Ne*, | nooh *Saparua*, noh *Amblaw*, num *Formosa*, ganap *Sunda* |
| **Seven**—attlepoo *N*, utkhlp *Ne*, | lo-ijt-fou *Isle of Moses* |
| **Eight**—atlahquelth *N*, utkhlkwutkhl *Ne*, | tolu *Uea*, delapan *Malay*, guala *Tuham* |
| **Nine**—sawwaukquelth *N*, tsauakwutkhl *Ne*, | seewah *Lampong*, sigua *Tagala* |

| NOOTKAN. | MALAY-POLYNESIAN. |
|---|---|
| Ten—heyya *N*, haioha *T*, *tkhl*-akhwa *Ne*, | husa, ocha *Ceram*, yagi *Timbora* |
| | yasek *Tobi* |
| To eat—khaoku *Ne*, | kahi *Tonga* |
| " sleep—wuitsh " | muse *Tobi*, mata *Tarawan* |
| " speak—wawa *N*, | boa *Tonga*, vosa *Fiji*, puaki *Maori* |
| tseauktseuk *Ne*, | taitai *Tarawan*, tukuna *Fiji* |
| " see—nasatkhl " | missak *Pelew* |
| " live—wikimaks " | iakai *Tarawan* |
| " sit—tekwutkhl, " | tekateka " |
| " come—sacko *C*, tshako *N*, tchooqua *W*, | seika *Bissayan*, taitu *Tobi*, taweke |
| hatsaiatkhl *Ne*, | *Maori* |
| " run—atsutshiathkhl " | thithi *Fiji* |

## THE SALISH.

Although in the lecture I refrained from expressing an opinion as to the origin of the many tribes classified as Salish, Tsihaili-Salish or Niskwalli-Salish on account of the miscellaneous affinities of some of their vocabularies, I deem it right to append the following comparative table of the Niskwalli and Malay-Polynesian languages, which, if the Niskwalli be a fair type of the Salish in general, will settle the matter in favour of an oceanic orgin. The Niskwalli grammar is prepositional and thus in entire harmony with the Malay-Polynesian.

COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY

OF THE

# NISKWALLI AND MALAY-POLYNESIAN LANGUAGES

| NISKWALLI | MALAY-POLYNESIAN |
|---|---|
| Arm—chalesh, | kaligh *Formosa* |
| Arrow—tesud, | dota *Ombay*, tkugh *Formosa* |
| Axe—kwalius, | galeleh *Salibabo* |
| kobatit, | kamba *Malay*, badi *Baju* |
| Back—lak, tulak, | illigan *Mille* tukalek *Tobi* |
| Before—dzehu, | tai *Borneo* |
| Belley—klatch, | kalakalath *Pelew*, (body) |
| Below—klep, stlup, | lausilopa *Rotuma* |
| Bird—stlekelkub, | tekayap *Mysol* |
| Black—hitotsa, | kitkudu *Gilolo*, hitam *Celebes* |
| Blue— " | kotteetow *Pelew* |
| Blood—toligwut, | darah *Malay* |
| Body—dautsi, | tutut *Gilolo*, (belly) |
| Bone—sblanyu, | balong *Java* |
| Bow—stsasus, | husu *Saparua* ten-hassaou *Ticopia* |
| Bread—sapolil, | paul *Formosa* |
| Break—o-whutl, | whawhate *Maori*, patu *Malay* |
| Burn—o-hod, | katia *Fiji* |
| Canoe—kelobit, | yalopei *Ceram* |
| oothus, | oti *Tidore* |
| klai, | hol *Teor*, saloi *Borneo* |
| Chief—siab, siam, | sau *Rotuma*, *Fiji* |
| Child—miman, | ninana *Sula* |
| bibad, | bigigi *Tonga* |
| Cloud—tchabkukh, | yabbath *Pelew* |
| Cold—tus, | tiyok *Malay*, toetoe *Tahiti* |
| Day—slahel, | kluh *Mysol*, kaseiella *Ceram* |
| Die—o-atabud, | patei *Formosa* |
| Dog—komai, | kamia *Rotuma* |
| kobai, | kapuna *Celebes* |
| skeha, | kasa *Tidore* |
| Door—shugwtl, | soweni *Amblaw* |
| Ear—kwillade, | kodeelou *Tavoo* |
| Earth—swatekhwten, | cootoom *Pelew*, tougoutoo *Tonga* |
| Egg—oos, | gosi *Tidore* |
| End—eluks, elahus, | alos *Malay*, hilianga *Tonga* |

| NISKWALLI. | MALAY-POLYNESIAN. |
|---|---|
| Eye—kalus, | karu *Maori*, lau *Tidore* |
| Face—satzus, | gati *Sanguir* |
| Father—man, | mama, iaman *Ceram* |
| ba, bad, | bah *Sumatra* |
| Fire—hod, hot, | hatete *Maori* |
| Fish—yokw (salmon), | jugo *Celebes*, ika *Malay* |
| Flesh—beyets, | wat *Formosa*, waouti *Ceram*, |
| Food—satla, | telaa *Rotuma* |
| Forehead—silels, | alis *Malay* |
| Give—abshits, | wacito *Tobi*, anna-bookeeth *Pelew* |
| Go—o-okh, o-hob, | jog *Mysol*, aka, aou, oweho *Ceram* |
| Good—klok, tlob, | malopi *Saparua*, rap *Tarawan*, taloha *Gilolo* |
| Great—hekw, | aiyuk *Ceram*, jackabey *Malagasy* |
| aslakhw, | clowe *Pelew*. sala *Mysol*, ilahe *Ceram* |
| Hair—skudzo, | hutu *Tidore*, *Gilolo* |
| Head—shaiyus, | oyuko *Ceram* |
| chathus, | kahutu *Mysol*, katow *Tavoo* |
| spakhus, aspukwus, | obaku *Celebes*, upoka *Maori* |
| ikhpelus, | kapala *Malay* |
| Heart—hutsh, | ati *Bugis*, suthu *Fiji* |
| Heaven—sky—shukh | surga *Java* |
| Hot—ohadakh, | katakata *Fiji* |
| House—alal, | vale " |
| Husband—chesthu, | essah *Salibabo*, tahu *Maori* |
| Knee—lakalotsid, | loukout *Malay* |
| Leaf—chuboba, | chafen *Teor* |
| Leg—auteks (calf), | vetis *Malay*, ateatenga *Maori*, (calf) |
| Lie down—otudzel, | tete *Maori* |
| Life—hale, | ora " |
| Man—stobsh, stobush, | tomata *Salibabo*, tamata *Fiji* |
| Moon—slokwalm, | wulan *Java*. melim *Ceram* |
| Mother—skoi, sako, | koka *Maori* |
| Mountain—spokwub, | pukepuke *Maori* |
| swatatsh, | vohits *Malagasy*, baukit *Malay* |
| Mouth—kadhu, | ngutu *Fakaafo* |
| Name—sda, sdas, | wasta *Java*, yatha *Fiji* |
| Neck—kaiukhkwa, | kaki *Maori*. kuya *Tonga* |
| Night—slakhhel, | garagaran *Ceram* |
| slatlahe (evening), | hatolu *Amboyna* |
| No—hwe, | hea *Tonga* |
| Nose—muksn, | ngunu *Gilolo* |
| Rain—skal, | kull *Pelew* |
| Red—he-kwetl, | kula *Fakaafo*, *Fiji* |
| See—o-labit, | lewa *Fiji* |
| Sit—gwuddel, | kuduk *Borneo* |

| NISKWALLI. | MALAY-POLYNESIAN. |
|---|---|
| Skin—hudzadmit, | kutai *Saparua*, kakutut *Gilolo* |
| Sleep—o-etut, | tudui *Borneo* |
| Short—skakhuab, | tákupu *Maori*, kathep *Pelew* |
| lekhu, | leka *Fiji* |
| Small—miman, | meamea *Rotuma*, moemoe *Tonga* |
| mimad, | umit *Borneo* |
| chachas, | cheka *Sahoe*, koki *Tomohon*, ichi-ichi *Ternate* |
| Snake—wekhpush, batsuts, | pok *Mysol*, ekeb *Samang* |
| Son—dbebada, | butu *Borneo* |
| Speak—o-hothot, | kata *Malay* |
| Star—chusud, | tawhettu *Tahiti* |
| owhetlil, | betol *Gilolo*, whetu *Maori*, attatalingahei *Formosa* |
| Stone—chetla, | kohatu *Maori*, hathu *Rotuma* |
| Sun—klowatl, | kluh *Mysol*, kaliha *Sanguir* |
| Tongue—klalap, | kelo *Ceram*, elelo *Tonga* |
| Tooth—dzadis, | ngedi *Sahoe*, dongito *Ce.ebes* |
| Water—ko, | hoi *Timor*, akei " |
| White—ho-kokh, | kowse *Pelew* |
| Wind—stobelo, | havili *Tonga* |
| Wife—chugwush, | sawa *Sanguir*, sowom *Bouru*, gagijau *Celebes* |
| | sengwedo *Java*, ahehwa *Matabello* |
| Woman—slane, | elwinyo *Amblaw*, ruwahine *Maori* |
| I—atsa, kets, chid, | atu *Tahiti*, itar *Mille*, te, gita *Tonga* |
| Thou—chu, dugwe, | go *Tobi*, ko *Tarawan*, kwe *Mille* |
| | kowe *Ponape* |
| We—debetl, | giwotoloo *Tonga* |
| One—dutcho, | tahi *Marquesas*, tasi *Fotuna*, tatsaat *Formosa* |
| asdutcho, | sato *Malay*, atahai *Otaheiti*, kotahai *Easter* |
| Two—assale, salew, | kalae *Timbora*. golu *Tobi*, heluk *Yengen* |
| Three—klekhw, asklekhw, | kal *Kissa*, kolu *Sandwich* |
| Four—bos, asbos, | beu *Isle of Pines*, pahi *Mangari* |
| | ope *Paumotuan*, kopa *Sanguir* |
| Five—tsalats, | kutel-in *Timbora*, lailem *Mille* |
| Six—dzelachi, | tahi, loacha *Uea*, dildjino " |
| Seven—tsoks, | tuju *Malay*, tujoh *Celebes*, |
| Eight—tkachi, | tei *Philippine*, tofkangi *Tambora*, *Tidore* |
| Nine—hwul, | heva *Tonga*, siwer *Teor*, sambilan *Malay* |
| Ten—paduts, | patusa *Serang*, painduk *Yengen*, fotusa *Ceram* |

## THE THLINKEET AND THE ESQUIMAUX.

The Thlinkeet or Koljush and the Innuit or Esquimaux families by their grammatical forms attest their Turanian or continental Asiatic origin. The former group has its affinities with the American representatives of the Japanese-Koriak family in point of vocabulary.

# THOMAS CARLYLE.

## A PAPER READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY, 25th MARCH, 1881

— BY —

GEORGE STEWART, JR.

In these generous words, Thomas Carlyle summed up his splendid estimate of Burns: "In pitying admiration, he lies enshrined in all our hearts, in a far nobler mausoleum than that one of marble; neither will his Works, even as they are, pass away from the memory of men. While the Shakespeares and Miltons roll on like mighty rivers through the country of Thought, bearing fleets or traffickers and assiduous pearl-fishers on their waves; this little Valclusa Fountain will also arrest our eye; For this also is of Nature's own and most cunning workmanship, bursts from the depths of the earth with a full gushing current, into the light of day; and often will the traveller turn aside to drink of its clear waters, and muse among its rocks and pines." And now it is Thomas Carlyle himself who has passed away, and to him and to his great career in the mighty world of thought, those burning words of his may fittingly be applied. They do not express all that one might say of him. They do not quite reveal the greatness of his own character, the splendour of his mind, or the magnificent grasp of his intellect, but they furnish an estimate which we can all accept, even if they do not go to

the length we would wish. After a lingering illness of many weeks' duration, the grand old man breathed his last on Saturday morning, the 5th of February, in the little room in Cheyne Row, Chelsea, where so many years of his life had been spent. Up to within a few days of his dissolution he had been able to recognize his friends, and in some instances he had conversed with them, but as the fatal moment drew nigh, he became unconscious, and in a sort of peaceful sleep his life went out, and the great heart of English literature ceased to beat forever. The great heart of English literature I may say, for in the death of Thomas Carlyle, we lose one who upheld its brightest star for sixty years, and whose name will forever be classed as the leading prose writer of his time. He is linked closely with the splendid achievements in letters which have been made by the authors who have enriched the intellectual activity of the nineteenth century. In history he has surpassed many of them, in criticism he has had no superior, and in miscellaneous essay writing, he has distanced all his contemporaries. A century hence and Carlyle's master-work will be even more highly appreciated than it is now, influential and vigorous as it is considered to-day by thinkers and critics. It is cast into a certain mould which must ensure it long life, it has a tendency to grow into men's minds, it is composed of that stern, unyielding stuff which leads and controls thought, and never gives way. What would appear to be dogmatisms in some writers, are only zeal and earnestness and enthusiasm in Carlyle. He must remain, for many years to come, the typical writer of his age, the robust thinker and strong mind of a day which gave him as companion authors, such brilliant men and women as George Eliot, Matthew Arnold, Herbert Spencer, Emerson, Lewes, Clifford, Huxley, Darwin, Shairp and the Dean of St. Paul's. One might compare him, almost, to that pious Pagan Plato, of whom traces may be seen in many chapters of his writings, though the German element

as represented by Goethe and Schiller and Fichte, has exerted a still more profound influence on his thought and morality. Indeed, it is the strong meat of German metaphysics that early entered into the blood of Carlyle, which always prevented him from appreciating the light touch and *spirituelle* manner of thought possessed by the French writers, and notably by Voltaire, whom our grim Scotch hero heartily despised, and sneered at. He never could bring his mind down to that light and airy touch which we all admire so much in the better class of French letters, and which is always charming and full of *motif* and grace. He thought that for the most part, French authors were frivolous and careless, too gay indeed for solid work, and he saw, or professed to see, nothing in their literature that he could approve or praise. He was wont to deal with the French character in literature, as if he thought it were a sham, and not worthy of his time or attention. We know how sadly astray Carlyle has been in his estimate of the author of *Candide*, but M. Henri Taine, the other day made as serious a mistake in the estimate which he formed of Carlyle's work, and which he described in that best of his books, the *History of English Literature*, as "magnificence and mud." The "magnificence," we will grant, but never the "mud." Taine does not understand the rugged philosopher, whose intense Germanism no Frenchman, in any case, would care to applaud, and without his Germanism Carlyle's strongest force would lose its impressiveness and power—tremendous adjuncts both of them to his vitality and heartiness as a thinker and "writer of books." Our French critic, whose estimates of English letters, are generally so apt and clear and skilful, and whose knowledge of our literature is, after all, so thorough and wonderful, confesses that he read Carlyle with very strange emotions, and that he contradicted every morning, the opinion which he had formed of his work the night before. He calls this nineteenth century prophet of ours, an "extraordinary

animal, a relic of a lost family, a sort of mastodon, lost in a world not made for him." The History of the French Revolution, which in perfect good faith he tries very hard to understand, he calls a "delirium,"—a meaningless and superficial criticism to say the least. But while Carlyle has made some wrong conclusions in what he has said about some French writers, he has made no mistakes in his portraitures of the men who made the French Revolution possible. His history of that wonderful and bloody epoch in European civilization, stands to-day as one of the most able contributions to historical literature ever written, and beside which the work of Michelet, of Thiers, of Louis Blanc, of Lamartine and even of Edmund Burke, occupies scarcely a second place. The world will long continue to take its impressions of that gory revolution from the pages of Thomas Carlyle, and his fearful painting of the horrors of the Bastile, which is full of intense dramatic power, and rich warm coloring, his story of the struggles and triumphs of the male and female actors, and his sketches of Robespierre, of Marat, "whose bleared soul looks forth through his bleared, dull-acrid, woe-stricken face," of Mirabeau, whom he eulogizes, of Danton and the rest of them, are all types of character which his pencil has made indelible for all time to come. The book is a panorama of a great national event in history, and it will always remain as an enduring monument to his genius and skill as an historian of the broad and philosophical school of historical writing. Curtis called it "a vast and splendid phantasmagoria,—a prodigious picture which burned into the memory of the reader, and left a singularly clear and accurate conception of the character, the movement, and the scope of that great event." And Landor, who seldom gave way to impulse, hailed it as the best book published in his time, and prophesied a brilliant future for the author,—a prophecy which the world has since seen fulfilled.

His Frederic the Great is another masterpiece of the age, and a work which exhibits Carlyle in one of his greater moods, and in which his genius has full scope and play. The portrait of the great commander stands out in relief as the grandest hero of his time, the most perfect type of the king and the general and the conqueror of nations. In Carlyle's hands the character grows in stature, and though some have refused to take his estimate of Frederic, on account of the excessive warmth of the coloring, and because the warrior is so universally bepraised and glorified, still the portrait must stand as a finished work, and as the greatness of the man becomes better known, and the brutality of his nature, and the littlenesses which now and then clouded the general splendour of his character as a whole, are considered on their merits, his biographer's portraiture will be found not so untruthfully drawn as some may today suppose. With all his faults Frederic must ever remain a prominent figure in history, and in describing him and the wars in which he engaged, the age in which he lived, should not be forgotten. He must be considered by his lights, and the influence of his surroundings must not be misunderstood or unappreciated. Carlyle never forgot time, in his descriptions of men and of events. Great events and great men call for great historians, and in Carlyle, the world found a great historian and teacher. His account of the battle of Leuthen has never been surpassed in the way of impassioned descriptive writing, and this is saying a great deal when we remember what Macaulay did in his story of Marlborough's campaign, what Napier accomplished with his Peninsular war history, what Motley did in his "Netherlands," what Kinglake did in his "Invasion of the Crimea," and so on through the long list of worthy books descriptive of military achievement and daring. The wonderful skill of grouping, the brilliancy of the pigments employed, and the masterly management of the whole marvellous scene, impress every reader of the Leuthen fight in

a manner which cannot be forgotten. It must rank with Carlyle's best work.

But splendid as these writings are, the world will be content to have his fame rest on the Miscellaneous Essays, and the brilliant characterization of Oliver Cromwell—a great work, and the first of the true portraits which have been made of the Protector. Before Carlyle's time, Cromwell was but imperfectly understood. None of the writers of the day seemed capable of grasping the subject in its entirety. The founder of the Commonwealth was a man to be despised and belittled. The grandeur and nobility, and greatness of the Conqueror were unknown, until Thomas Carlyle wrote his book and revealed the man Cromwell in the full light of his greatness. The historian's mother early formed his impressions concerning her stalwart hero, and years after, those lessons learned at her knee, found expression in the masterpiece which he gave to the world in 1845. The Cromwell, whom we regard to-day as a great type of character, as a giant among men, in morality, in generalship, and in statesmanship, is the Cromwell as described by Thomas Carlyle, and he has helped us to an estimate which none of us had fashioned before his time. In biographical writing we can find little to equal this great portrait of a manly man and leader of men.

But while these things may, in all fairness, be said of Cromwell, and of the grand stand which he made for the enduring principles of freedom and of liberty, it would be manifestly unfair, in the interests of truth and of justice, for me not to record in this place, and at this time, my utter horror and detestation of the fiend-like course which the great soldier thought fit to pursue in Ireland. He went through that country like a devastating demon, slaughtering the people on every side, and parcelling out the lands among his unpaid followers. The Cromwellian settlement is one of the black and dire pages of Irish his-

tory, and while we say generous things of Cromwell's greatness, we should not forget that he has done nothing to earn the gratitude or esteem of Irishmen, and that humankind generally, must forever condemn unsparingly, his Irish Conquest, when the grandeur of the man was for the time submerged in the mere butcher and pillager. Carlyle softens down some of the atrocities perpetrated, and doubtless many of the stories circulated at the time, and since those bloody days, are to an extent exaggerated, but enough was done by Cromwell's orders to justify the execration in which his name is held even in our time, by many right-thinking persons. But let us speak now more particularly of the man whose name has been sufficient to induce you to assemble here to-night, and in whose life, I believe many of you take a deep and warm interest.

Carlyle himself has had a career, of which literary history contains few prototypes. He has earned the proud position in letters, and in the thoughtful activity of the day, which he occupied at the time of his death, by his own honest endeavours. He was born on the fourth of December, 1795, in the neighborhood of Ecclefechan, a charming little village in Annandale, Dumfriesshire. His father James Carlyle was at first, a stone-mason and afterwards a well to-do farmer, and his mother was a woman of high activity and much originality of mind. Both his parents were educated far beyond the common for persons in their station of life. His mother particularly was a most extraordinary woman, and Thomas inherited much of her ability and force of character. In his youthhood he was accustomed to hear frequent discussions on abstruse theological questions between his parents, and he early imbibed a taste for the branch of thought which these talks suggested. He describes his father as "quite the remarkablest man whom he had ever known." He had great energy, a strong will and good natural abilities. His short, pithy and sharp sayings—often pungent and keen—were known the country round, and

many of his peculiarities of mind, afterwards found expression in the writings of the philosopher, who seems to have directly inherited them from his father. His favorite books were the Bible and an old Puritan Divine which he read often and with much affection. Mrs. Carlyle, as has been remarked before, had peculiar ideas on Cromwell, and young Thomas was not long in drawing her into conversation with him on the subject. Her wide reading and extensive range of thought, influenced greatly his opinions and completely formed the impressions, which in after years found vent in his book on the Letters and Life of the Lord Protector. The conversation at Carlyle's home was philosophic and deep, and Thomas being the elder of the somewhat large family, in common with a custom which prevails in some parts of Scotland, it was decided that he, as the elder son, should study for the ministry of the Presbyterian Church. With this end in view he set about his studies with great vigor. As a child he evinced extraordinary aptitude, and in one night, it is said, he mastered the alphabet while sitting at his mother's feet. Mrs. Carlyle was as good a talker in her day, as Margaret Fuller became later on, and she attended to the elementary, education of her son herself. She as well as her husband, was deeply religious, and both were exceedingly desirous of having the first fruit of their marriage, become a minister of their chosen church. At the age of seven Thomas Carlyle entered the parish school at Ecclefechan, and after some years had passed, he went for a time to an advanced public school at Annan. In his fifteenth year, he entered the University of Edinburgh, where he met as a class-mate the brilliant but erratic Edward Irving, who in after years exerted considerable influence on his mind. An intimacy at once sprang up between these two young men, and the nervous force of Irving acted as a foil for the hard thoughtfulness of his friend. Both had much in common, and both loved each other very dearly, even after Irving's

career became blighted and old friends had forsaken him, Carlyle never forgot the brave soul, the "best man I have ever found in this world," as he called him in those latter days of his friend's decline. He has left us these notes of his old schoolfellow, in a batch of reminiscences, which are full of tenderness and kindly regard. "The memory of Irving," he says, "is still clear and vivid with me in all points: that of his first and only visit to us in this house, in this room, just before leaving for Glasgow (October, 1834), which was the last we saw of him, is still fresh as if it had been yesterday, and he has a solemn, massive, sad, even pitiable, though not much blamable, or in heart even blamable, and to me always dear and most friendly aspect, in those vacant kingdoms of the past. He was scornfully forgotten at the time of his death, having, indeed, sunk a good while before out of the notice of the more intelligent classes. There has since been and now is, in the new theological generation, a kind of revival of him, on rather weak and questionable terms, sentimental mainly, and grounded on no really correct knowledge or insight, which, however, seems to bespeak some continuance of by-gone remembrances for a good while yet, by that class of people and the many that hang by them." Thus, he speaks of the famous preacher, who loved to walk with his face towards the sky, his big broad hat in his hand, and "his fleece of copious coal black hair flowing in the wind." But we must return to Carlyle. At this time mathematics formed his principal study though he by no means neglected the other branches, and his reading took a wide and miscellaneous turn. He used to take for exercise long walks and strolls over the hills and moors, and it was while engaged in one of those pedestrian tours, one day, that he reviewed mentally his past and present life, and began to think of the yet unfolded future. He doubted his fitness for the career which had been proposed to him before he had entered upon college life. His severe studies had injured his digestion, and the

pains of dyspepsia did not add much in the way of assisting him to decide as to his future course. Of his mental and physical condition at this period of his existence, he writes:—"I had been destined by my father and my father's minister to be myself a minister of the Kirk of Scotland. But now that I had gained man's estate, I was not sure that I believed the doctrines of my father's Kirk, and it was needful that I should now settle it. And so I entered my chamber and closed the door, and round me there came a trooping throng of phantasms dire from the abysmal depth of nethermost perdition. Doubt, fear, unbelief, mockery and scoffing were there, and I wrestled with them in agony of spirit. Thus it was for weeks. Whether I ate I know not; whether I drank I know not; whether I slept I know not. But I know that when I came forth again it was with the direful persuasion that I was the miserable owner of a diabolical arrangement called a stomach." After this discovery he took a vacation, and with Irving opened a small school at Kirkcaldy, his department being mathematics. But teaching school was too irksome an occupation for a soaring soul such as his, and he soon resigned his position and returned to Edinburgh, where he busied himself in writing a series of sixteen articles for the "Edinburgh Encyclopædia," then being edited by Sir David Brewster. His companion-writers on this work were Thomas Campbell, the poet, John Gibson Lockhart, the son-in-law and biographer of Scott, James Grahame, Dionysius Lardner, Dr. Thomas Chalmers, Robert Stevenson and other men of good reputation. Carlyle's papers were on Lady Mary Wortley Montague, Montaigne, Montesquieu, Montfaucon, Dr. John Moore, Sir John Moore, Necker, the father of Madame de Stael, and the most brilliant financier who ever administered the affairs of France, Nelson, Netherlands, New Foundland, Norfolk, Northamptonshire, Northumberlandshire, Mungo Park, Lord Chatham and William Pitt. This work con-

cluded, he went for a tour on the continent, and ultimately found himself in Germany at an age when the mind is most impressionable. He studied the German language and literature with all the earnestness, of which he was capable, and soon mastered the idioms and pronunciation of the tongue. He went the whole round of German literature and scholarship, and his meeting with Goethe, which was mutually agreeable to both, gave him a supreme idea of Germany's superiority in letters and in thought, over any other country in the world, save perhaps, his own. A life-long intimacy grew up between these two great thinkers, and Carlyle's mind became thoroughly imbued with the teachings of his friend. He returned home, and published a translation which he had made of Legendre's Geometry, with a chapter of his own on "Proportion," of which he was very proud. The work appeared under the editorship of Sir David Brewster. It scarcely paid him, however, in a pecuniary way, though it certainly added at the time to his reputation as a mathematician and scholar. He is next heard of as private tutor to Charles Buller, who was then seventeen years of age. This was the Charles Buller who afterwards became famous as a writer and member of Parliament, and whose death in 1848 drew from his old teacher a touchig obituary in the *Examiner*. Carlyle gave up his tutorship at the expiration of the second year, and settled in Edinburgh as a man of letters.

The life of Schiller was his first strong book. It was published serially in the *London Magazine* in 1823-4, and occupied some half-a-dozen numbers or so. A year later it appeared in book-form considerably enlarged. About this time Carlyle's translation of Goethe's "Wihelm Meister's Apprenticeship" appeared, and it at once established his fame as a translator and editor of the German language. Though some of the great Reviews found fault with what they regarded as its "inelegance," the public approved of it,

and its readers were soon numbered by hundreds. Carlyle cared little for public opinion, or even for the dicta of the critics.

De Quincey attacked "Wilhelm Meister" very violently in a famous review in *Blackwood's Magazine*, which attracted considerable attention at the time. It did not discomfit Carlyle much however, if we may judge from the account which he gives us of the circumstance. "Jemmy Belcher," he says, "was a smirking little dumpy Unitarian bookseller, in the Bull Ring, regarded as a kind of curiosity and favorite among these people, and had seen me. One showery day I took shelter in his shop; picked up a new magazine, found in it a cleverish and completely hostile criticism of my "Wilhelm Meister," of my Goethe, and self, &c., read it faithfully to the end, and have never set eye on it since. On stepping out of my bad spirits did not feel much elevated by the dose just swallowed, but I thought with myself, This man is perhaps right on some points; if so, let him be admonitory ! And he was so on a Scotticism, (or perhaps two); and I did reasonably soon (in not above a couple of hours) dismiss him to the devil, or to Jericho, as an illgiven, unserviceable kind of entity in my course through this world. It was DeQuincey as I often enough heard afterwards from foolish-talking persons. What matter who, ye foolish-talking persons, would have been my silent answer, as it generally pretty much was. I recollect how, in Edinburgh, poor DeQuincey, whom I wished to know, was reported to tremble at the thought of such a thing, and did fly, pale as ashes, poor little soul, the first time we actually met. He was a pretty little creature, full of wire-drawn ingenuity, bankrupt enthusiasm, bankrupt pride with the finest silver-toned low voice, and most elaborate gently winding courtesies and ingenuities in conversation. What wouldn't one give to have him in a box and take him out to talk? That was *her* criticism of him, and it was right good. A bright, ready, and melodious talker, but in the

end inconclusive and long-winded. One of the smallest man figures I ever saw; shaped like a pair of tongs, and hardly above five feet in all. When he sate, you would have taken him by candle-light, for the beautifulest little child,—blue-eyed, sparkling face, had there not been a something too, which said, '*Eccovi*—this child has been in hell.'

Carlyle allowed his book to take care of itself while he looked about for a wife. He found her in 1826, and she proved to be the witty and clever daughter of Dr. Welsh, of Haddington, and a lineal descendant of sturdy John Knox. She was a lady of high intelligence and culture. Dickens often spoke of her sweet and noble nature, and John Forster, his biographer, once wrote these kindly words about her :—"With the highest gifts of intellect, and the charm of a most varied knowledge of men and things, there was something beyond. No one who knew Mrs. Carlyle could replace her loss when she passed away." She was the subject of a little poem which some of you may remember, for Guernsey has told the story of Leigh Hunt and "Jenny Kissed me," to very many readers. One day, this writer says, Hunt rushed into the home of the Carlyles in his impatient and impetuous way, bearing glad tidings of some rare good fortune which had just happened to them, when Mrs. Carlyle—the "Jenny" of the screed, sprang from her chair, threw her arms about the astonished. and bewildered poet's neck, and gave him a resounding congratulatory smack. This was the result:

"Jenny kissed me when we met,
  Jumping from the chair she sat in :
Time, you thief ! who love to get
  Sweets into your list, put that in.
Say I'm weary, say I'm sad;
  Say that health and wealth have missed me ;
Say I'm growing old, but add—
                Jenny kissed me."

Mary Jane Welsh became a most exemplary wife, and having a small estate of her own at Craigenputtock, she and her husband forsook Edinburgh for this cosy retreat in the wilds of Dumfriesshire. They lived here very happily for six years, and it was at this place that Carlyle received Ralph Waldo Emerson, after the famous Transcendentalist had resigned his charge in Boston. The interview between these two masters in thought and morals was very impressive. Emerson describes the philosopher as a tall gaunt man with "cliff-like brow," and self-possessed, and he found him "nourishing his mighty heart," in this quiet home.

Of his model wife and of this moorland retreat, Carlyle himself says:—

"Perfection of housekeeping was her clear and speedy attainment in that new scene. Strange how she made the desert blossom for herself and me there ; what a fairy palace she had made of that wild moorland home of the poor man ! In my life I have seen no human intelligence that so genuinely pervaded every fibre of the human existence it belonged to. From the baking of a loaf or the darning of a stocking up to comporting herself in the highest scenes and most intricate emergencies, all was insight, veracity, graceful success (if you could judge it), fidelity to insight of the fact given..... Beautiful queenlike woman, I did admire her complete perfection on this head of the actual 'dowry' she had now (1842) brought, £200 yearly or so, which to us was a highly considerable sum, and how she absolutely ignored it, and as it were had not done it at all. Once or so I can dimly remember telling her as much (thank God I did so), to which she answered scarcely by a look, and certainly without word, except, perhaps, 'Tut !' "

And in his well-known and oft-quoted letter to Goethe he says again of this little home which his well-beloved wife, so beautified and glorified:—"Our residence is not in the town itself, but fifteen miles to the North-West of it, among the gaunt hills and black morasses which stretch west-ward through Galloway to the Irish Sea. In this wilderness of heath and bog, our estate stands forth as a green oasis, a tract of ploughed, partly enclosed and planted ground, where corn ripens and trees afford a shade, although surrounded by sea-mews and rough woolled sheep.

Here, with no small effort, have we built and furnished a neat, substantial dwelling. Here, in the absence of a professional or other office, we live to cultivate literature according to our strength, and in our own peculiar way. We wish a joyful growth to the roses and flowers of our garden; we hope for health and peaceful thoughts to further our aims. The roses, indeed, are still in part to be planted, but they blossom already in anticipation. Two ponies, which carry us everywhere, and the mountain air are the best medicine for weak nerves. This daily exercise, to which I am much devoted, is my only recreation, for this nook of ours is the loneliest in Britain—six miles removed from any one likely to visit me."

In 1827 Carlyle appeared again in type, as the translator of a number of bright stories from Tieck, Hoffman, Jean Paul Richter and others. Besides magazine and review writing, our author also finished while at Craigenputtock, his famous "Sartor Resartus"—the Patched Tailor—one of the cheerfullest and most humorous of all his books. It failed to find a publisher, however, and it went the rounds of some half dozen or so of the book-makers, John Murray oddly enough, among the rest. *Fraser's Magazine* accepted it at last, and it was published serially. In America it had a better fate. Alexander Everett, the editor of the *North American Review*, was much impressed by its genius, as he read it in the numbers of *Fraser*, which came over the sea, and he put it into book-form on its completion. It became a great success, and the speculations of Herr Teufelsdrockh remain to-day one of the cleverest bits of satire known to readers of that class of literature. This book gave Carlyle a fine reputation with the American people, and he was soon flooded with invitations to visit the United States, which, however, his engagements at home never permitted him to accept. His next great book was the French Revolution. After he had completed the first volume, Mr. John Stuart Mill borrowed it, in manuscript, to

read. Through unexampled carelessness on the part of the eminent Political Economist, the precious sheets were left in such an exposed situation, that Mr. Mill's cook, thinking them of little use, turned the papers to account in baking some cakes, partly as lining for the cake-tins and partly as fuel. When this was discovered the unfortunate Mill became wild with excitement and terror; there was no help for it, however, and he sought his friend and told him the story. Carlyle says of this interview:—

"How well do I still remember that night when he came to tell us, pale as Hector's ghost, that my unfortunate first volume was burnt. It was like half sentence of death to us both, and we had to pretend to take it lightly, so dismal and ghastly was his horror at it, and try to talk of other matters. He stayed three mortal hours or so; his departure quite a relief to us. Oh, the burst of sympathy my poor darling then gave me, flinging her arms around my neck, and openly lamenting, condoling, and encouraging like a nobler second self! Under heaven is nothing beautifuler. We sat talking till late; 'shall be written again,' my fixed word and resolution to her. Which proved to be such a task as I never tried before or since. I wrote out 'Feast of Pikes' (vol. II.), and then went fairly at it. Found it fairly impossible for about a fortnight; passed three weeks (reading Marryatt's novels), tried, cautions-cautiously, as on ice paper-thin, once more; and, in short, had a job more like breaking my heart than any other in my experience. Jenny, alone of beings, burnt like a steady lamp beside me. I forget how much of money we still had. I think there was at first something like £300, perhaps £280, to front London with. Nor can I in the least remember where we had gathered such a sum, except that it was our own, no part of it borrowed or given us by anybody. "Fit to last till "French Revolution" is ready!' and she had no misgivings at all. Mill was penitently liberal; sent me £200 (in a day or two), of which I kept £100 (actual cost of house while I had written burnt volume); upon which he bought me 'Biographie Universelle,' which I got bound, and still have. Wish I could find a way of getting the new much macerated, changed and fanatieized, 'John Stuart Mill' to take that £100 back; but I fear there is no way."

The work was published in three large volumes in 1837 complete, and Carlyle was never known to lend a manuscript again under any circumstances. In this same year he appeared as a lecturer on German literature in Willis' rooms, London, and though his appearance on the platform was ungainly and uncouth, the subject-matter of his paper disarmed all personal criticism, and the audience were de-

lighted and charmed with every word which fell from the brilliant writer's lips. His eloquence was simple and earnest.

"Heroes and Hero-Worship" followed in course, and was succeeded in 1839 by a small book on "Chartism," which attracted a good deal of attention. In 1843 "Past and Present" came out. It is a book of admirable essays, showing Carlyle's habits of thought to great advantage, and dealing with a variety of subjects in a homely, practical way. Oliver Cromwell's "Letters and Speeches" were given to the world in 1845, and five years later the *Latter Day Pamphlets* were printed. These essays aroused a good deal of indignation among the anti-slavery agitators, and John G. Whittier, the gentle Quaker poet of New England, wrote a very caustic article against Carlyle for the stand he had taken on the slavery question. The little book deals altogether with social topics, and does not always show Carlyle at his best. The *Life of John Sterling*—a fine piece of biographical writing—was given to the public in 1851, and in 1865 the concluding volume of *The History of Frederic the Great,* which was begun in 1858, was published.

In 1864, the students of the University of Edinburgh elected Mr. Carlyle Lord Rector over Mr. Disraeli. After being installed in his office, he remained in the Scottish capital for more than a fortnight. In the midst of the enjoyment of his honors, he received a blow, which had a distressing influence on his life ever afterwards. News of his wife's death reached him, and crazed almost to distraction, he hastened home to find the partner of his life for forty years, beyond hope of recall. Her death had occurred under most painful and shocking circumstances, on the afternoon of the 21st of April.

She had been out driving, as was her custom, on fine days, in Hyde Park. A little spaniel, for which she had much affection and to which she was greatly attached, was running by the side of the carriage, when suddenly the

wheel passed over it. The dog uttered a shrill, piercing cry, but, curiously enough, was not at all hurt. The brougham was stopped, and the spaniel placed on the seat by the side of its mistress. The driver drove about for an hour or so, and receiving, at the expiration of that time, no directions from his mistress, he turned to her for instructions as to what course he should take next. To his horror he found her pale and speechless. He drove at once to St. George's Hospital, which was near at hand. She was quite dead, however, before she reached it, death having been, probably, instantaneous, and the result of heart disease, accelerated by the excitement caused by the accident to the spaniel. Word was sent at once to her husband, and the message broke his heart. "Ah," said the old man in the very midst of his Edinburgh triumphs "the light of my life has clean gone out." In his diary, he wrote down these words:—

"She lived nineteen days after that Edinburgh Monday; on the nineteenth (April 21, 1866, between 3 and 4 p. m., as near as I can gather and sift), suddenly, as by a thunderbolt from skies all blue, she was snatched from me; a 'death from the gods,' the old Romans would have called it,—the kind of death she many a time expressed a wish for; and in all my life (and as I feel ever since) there fell on me no misfortune like it; which has smitten my whole world into universal wreck (unless I can repair it in some small measure), and extinguish whatever light of cheerfulness and loving hopefulness life still had in it to me.

"O my dear one, sad is my soul for the loss of thee, and will to the end be as I compute. Lonelier creature there is not henceforth in this world; neither person, work, nor thing going on in it that is of any value in comparison, or even at all. Death I feel almost daily in express fact, death is the one haven; and have occasionally a kind of kingship, sorrowful, but sublime, almost god-like, in the feeling that that is nigh. Sometimes the image of her, gone in her car of victory (in that beautiful death), and as if nodding to me, with a smile, 'I am gone, loved one; work a little longer, if thou still carest; if not, follow. There is no baseness, and no misery here. Courage, courage to the last!' that sometimes, as in this moment, is inexpressibly beautiful to me, and comes nearer to bringing tears than it once did..... Not all the Sands and Eliots and babbling *cohue* of 'celebrated scribbling women' that have strutted over the world in my time could, it seems to me, if all boiled down and distilled to essence, make one such woman."

She was buried on the 25th of April, in the choir of the Cathedral of Haddington, her native town, and her husband caused this epitaph to be placed upon her tombstone :—

Here likewise now rests Jane Welsh Carlyle, spouse of Thomas Carlyle, Chelsea, London. She was born at Haddington, 14th July 1801; only child of the above John Welsh and Grace Welsh, Caplegell, Dumfriesshire, his wife. In her bright existence, she had more sorrows than are common, but also a soft invincibility, a capacity of discernment, and a noble loyalty of heart, which are rare. For 40 years she was the true and loving helpmate of her husband, and by act and word unweariedly forwarded him, as none else could, in all of worthy that he did or attempted. She died in London, 21st April, 1866, suddenly snatched away from him, and the light of his life as if gone out.

Carlyle accepted, in 1873, on the death of Manzoni, the civil class of the Prussian Royal Order "for merit." He refused, however, all honors which had been tendered him by his own country. The Queen offered him the Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath, but he declined it, and when it was proposed to knight him and Mr. Tennyson he again refused the distinction. He was offered even higher honors, but he declined these also. In 1867, he published "Shooting Niagara; and After?" and a few years later he printed "The Early Kings of Norway." and "John Knox." On the 4th of December, 1875, on the occasion of his 80th birthday, he was the recipient of numerous congratulations from people in all parts of the world, and was at the same time presented with an address and a gold medal, which had been struck off in honor of the day.

Carlyle was a wonderful reader, rapid, nervous and exhaustive. He seemed to read by whole pages instead of by mere words, and for fifty years of his life, and more, he devoured books, on almost every conceivable subject, reading fully six or eight hours a day, and often sitting up for the purpose until two or three o'clock in the morning. It is said he went through Gibbon at the rate of one volume

per diem, delighted at the "winged sarcasms, so quiet and yet so conclusively transpiercing and killing dead," and finding the "colors" "strong but coarse, and set off by lights from the side scenes." A story is told of him which exhibits very clearly his marvellous grasp on the inside of books. Once, having gone to spend an afternoon and to dine with a new acquaintance, and arriving several hours before his host, he entered the library, upon which the gentleman prided himself, as it contained very many volumes of great variety and literary value. The host came at last, and dinner eaten, the author was asked if he would not like to go into the library and see the books. "I've read 'em," was the laconic reply; and it proved that Carlyle had actually absorbed in the time before dinner all that was of use to him in that well-selected collection.

It is, as a talker, however, that the grand old man, appeared to the better advantage. Less polished than Alcott or Emerson, he was, if anything, more earnest. Margaret Fuller, herself one of the best talkers who ever lived, wrote of him in 1846:—

"His talk is still an amazement and splendour, scarcely to be faced with steady eyes. He does not converse, only harangues. Carlyle allows no one a chance, but bears down all opposition, not only by his wit and onset of words, resistless in their sharpness as so many bayonets, but by actual physical superiority raising his voice and rushing on his opponent with a torrent of sound. This is not, in the least, from unwillingness to allow freedom to others; no man would more enjoy a manly resistance to his thought. But it is the impulse of a mind accustomed to follow out its own impulses as the hawk its prey, and which knows not how to stop in the chase..... He sings rather than talks. He pours upon you a kind of satirical, heroical, critical poem, with regular cadences, and generally catching up near the beginning some singular epithet, which serves as a refrain when his song is full..... He puts out his chin till it looks like the beak of a bird of prey, and his eyes flash bright instinctive meanings like Jove's bird."

Carlyle's appearance at that time has been carefully noted by Dr. Cuyler, who visited him in his garret after he had seen Dickens and Montgomery and Wordsworth.

Cuyler was a raw college lad then, and impressionable. He had read "Sartor Resartus," and "Heroes and Hero Worship," and he felt that he ought to thank their author, in person, for the pleasure he had experienced in perusing them. He found the object of his search, and was received cordially in that famous front room on the second floor of that modest house in Cheyne Row. A renowned locality for literary men, this quaint suburb of Chelsea which can boast of such residents, at different times, as Sir Thomas More, Erasmus, Swift, Addison and Dick Steele of classic memory, of Boyle, Locke, the logician, Arbuthnot, Noll Goldsmith, Smollett and the Walpoles, besides such worthies of a later day as Coleridge, Lamb, Hazlitt, Leigh Hunt and Maclise, the great painter. In this red-brick unpretending house, Cuyler feasted his eyes on Thomas Carlyle, who was then in his prime. "He was hale and athletic," says this observant youth of thirty and odd years ago, "with a clear blue eye, strong lower jaw, stiff iron-gray hair brushed up from a capacious forehead, and with the look of a sturdy country deacon, dressed up for church." In 1872, Theodore Cuyler, then a D.D. and with a reputation which penetrated even as far as England, visited the Scottish sage again. "We found," he says, "the same old brick dwelling, No. 5 Cheyne Row, Chelsea, without the slightest change, outside or in. But during those 30 years, the kind, good wife, whom I had met in 1842, had departed, and a sad change had come over the once hale, stalwart man. After we had waited some time, a feeble and stooping figure, attired in a blue flannel gown, moved slowly into the room. His gray hair was unkempt, his blue eye was still keen and piercing, and a bright hectic spot of red appeared in each of his hollow cheeks. His hands were tremulous and his voice was deep and husky..... Much of his extraordinary harangue was like the eruption of Vesuvius; but the sly laugh he occasionally gave showed that he was 'mandating' about as

much for his own amusement as for ours. He was terribly severe on Parliament, which he described as an 'endless babblement o' windy talk, and a grinding o' hurdy-gurdies, grinding out lies and inanities.' And in this strain the thin and weird-looking old iconoclast went on for an hour, until he wound up by declaring that 'England has joost gane clean down into an abominable cesspool of lies and shoddies and shams—down to an utter and bottomless domnation. Ye may gie whatever meaning to that word that ye like.' "

This was Carlyle in old age. With his infirmities fast coming upon him, we prefer not to linger. With his life-work we will deal now, that work by which the world will long continue to know him, that work which he has left behind, and which speaks to his fellow-men in trumpet-tones. The future will understand him better than have those of his own generation understood him. He was a many-sided man, a true type of the noble-hearted thinker and philosopher, whose life was dedicated to his fellows, whose broad humanity, high morality, observation and insight were never expended in an unworthy cause. He was a good man, and his teachings have made the world better for his coming. We know that he did not believe in a structural creed, and that the thirty-nine articles, or the confession of faith, had no charms or terrors, it may be, for him, but he did believe in God and honest labour. He hated shams of all sorts, he loathed from his inmost soul, hypocrisy and cant, and double dealing. He worshipped force and might and honesty of purpose. He was an iconoclast and a pessimist of the most uncompromising type. Even the bright, glorious starlight, which Leigh Hunt, in his delicious way, used to think was all joy and gladness, and contained voices which sang an eternal song of hope in the soul of man, Carlyle considered a sad sight. The brilliant stars would yet become gaunt graves, for all living things must die and have an end. But, despite all

this, despite the gloomy view of things which the philosopher persisted in stamping on his life-work, may we not learn enduring lessons, to aid us in our journey through life, from these same teachings from the master mind of this masterful century of ours, so prolific in thought, in poetry and in scientific advancement? The impress of Carlyle's mind may be found in all the thought which is worth having in our day. Unconsciously, as well as consciously, he has influenced public opinion, and from the pulpit and the platform, from the press and from the schoolmaster, from the very heart of the thinking people, the mind of that Scottish stone-mason's son speaks with terrific force and volume, and the prescience of the seer, and tells us how we may live lives of usefulness and purity and of honorable purpose. The Carlyle idea is marching on with irresistible strength and vigor. He has left us a vast store-house of treasures, a heritage of priceless pearls. Ought we not to gather these riches up, and ponder well, the lessons which they reveal to us?

# LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

## ANNUAL MEETING

The Literary and Historical Society held their annual meeting on Wednesday, the 12th January instant, the President, J. M. LeMoine, Esq., in the chiar. After routine the following reports were read:—

### REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

The Council of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec have the honor to report to the members of the Society, that since the last annual general meeting, there has been the following change in, and addition to, the members of the Society.

They have to note with regret the loss by death of an esteemed Vice-President, Dr. William Boswell, whose experience and advice, more than once has been of service to the Board. Also, of three other associate members, Rev. G. Hamilton, Charles Henry, Inspector of the Quebec Bank, and John Lindsay, Provincial Land Surveyor.

The transfer of the B Battery of Artillery from Quebec to Kingston, Ont., has also deprived this Institution of the active co-operation of another honored Vice-President, Lt.-Col. T. Bland Strange, Dominion Inspector of Artillery, and Commander of the B Battery. Few here will have forgotten how powerfully be contributed in 1875, to the success of the historical celebration, which will ever stand success of the historical celbration, which will ever stand in the annals of this Society, as a Red Letter Day, the centenary of the repulse of Brigadier-General Richard Montgomery and Col. Benedict Arnold, before Quebec, in 1775.

The Museum has lost its Curator, Dr.Hubert M. Neilson, removed to Kingston with the B Battery.

By resignation and removal from the city, the Society has lost five members; on the other hand, four corresponding members have been elected, as well as thirty-three new names have been added to the list of associate members.

The following papers were read before the Society:—

January 15th, 1880.—Lecture by General B. Hewson; subject: "The Canadian Pacific Railway."

January 29th, 1880.—A paper by George Stewart, jr., Esquire; subject: "Alcott, the Concord Mystic."

May 13th, 1880.—An extempore address by Woodford Pilkington, Esq., Civil Engineer; subject: "The Principles and Practice of Art."

November 29th, 1880.—The opening lecture of the season 1880-81 was delivered by the President, J. M. LeMoine, Esq.; subject: "The Scot in New France."

December 17th, 1880.—A paper was read by Prof. J. Campbell, M.A., Montreal; subject: "The Origin of the Aborigines of Canada."

Since the last annual general meeting, the library has been increased by the addition of three hundred volumes, selected in the spirit calculated to further the aims contemplated in the charter of this Association, the promotion of science and history, especially that of our own country, in their higher departments.

The report of the Librarian gives the particulars of the purchases and donations of books, during the last year.

The absence of the Curator of the Museum, Dr. Hubert Neilson, deprives us of a report. In his absence the care of this important department has devolved on the President, who is enabled to state that due attention has been bestowed, on the preservation of the specimens of natural history and other objects constituting the Museum; want of space has prevented any considerable addition.

The report of the Treasurer which will be submitted, the Council hopes, will satisfy the members that a strict watch has been kept on receipt and expenditure.

No change has taken place with regard to the custodian of the rooms, nor in the terms, under which they are leased from the Morrin College, the relations with which like, in the past, continue satisfactory.

Letters are received daily asking for our Transactions and historical publications, from individuals or from scientific bodies in the United States. Several invitations have also been sent on behalf of Historical Societies in the adjacent Republic, to meet delegates assembled to commemorate the anniversary of notable literary or historical events. Circumstances unfortunately prevented the delegates named by this Society, from attending. These invitations, calculated to strenghthen that bond of good fellowship, which at all times ought to exist, between associations formed for one common object—the culture of science and history—indicate also that the publications and literary labours of this association are gradually finding their way and obtaining recognition far beyond the boundaries of the Dominion.

The Society will doubtless rejoice at the large number of names on the roll of associate members, and therein recognise conclusive proof that the efforts made to enlarge the sphere of its usefulness have not been unsuccessful.

The Council has favored the publication of historical documents relating to the early history of Canada—one of the chief objects contemplated in its charter; the list of such publications to be found in the appendix to the Transactions clearly demonstrate that the public funds annually granted have not been misapplied.

It has been asked why the Council did not tenter into arrangements with the American Bureau of Lectures, with the view of bringing here eminent Public Lecturers: had such an application of the funds of the Association not been

contrary to the requirements of the charter, the very great expense attending such an undertaking alone would have been an insuperable barrier,

Respectfully submitted,

J. M. LeMoine,
President.

Quebec, 12th January, 1881.

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## LIBRARIAN'S REPORT

The librarian in making his usual report has no salient circumstances to present. The library continues to be appreciated by members, as the issues for the year numbering 4,669 shew. The reading room seems to be more used than ever, and the magazines and journals lying on the tables receive constant attention, which is natural when we consider that periodicals are assuming prominent places in the field of literature, and when bound in volumes they from additions to the library of permanent interest. The additions to the library by purchase and donations have been 300 volumes. One member places on the table regularly a file of the London *Daily News*, an example worthy of imitation by others. In conclusion, the members are reminded of the numerous standard works at their disposal, not mere ephemeral productions, but English and French classics, contributions to history, especially that of our own country; books which have borne the test of time and which merit a perusal from all who aim at a well stored mind.

Respectfully submitted,

R. McLeod.

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The election of officers for the coming year then took place with the following result:—

*President*—J. M. LeMoine.

*Vice-Presidents*—H. S. Scott, C. Tessier, W. Hossack, J. Whitehead.

*Treasurer*—Edwin Pope.

*Librarian*—R. McLeod.

*Recording-Secretary*—J. F. Belleau.

*Corresponding-Secretary*—W. Clint.

*Council-Secretary*—A. Robertson.

*Curator of Museum*—Th. Oliver.

*Curator of Apparatus*—F. C. Wurtele.

*Additional members of Council*—Geo. Stewart, jr., Jas. Stevenson, Theop. Ledroit, P. Johnston.

The following gnetlemen were elected honorary members, Sanford Fleming, Esq., C. M. G., and Joseph W. Lawrence, Esq., of St. John, N. B., and President of the Historical Society of New Brunswick. Messrs. Henry J. Morgan of Ottawa, G. Herbert Lee, Secretary of the Historical Society of St. John, New Brunswick; Lt.-Col. T. Bland Strange of Kingston, and Professor Campbell, M. A., of Montreal, were elected corresponding members of the Society.

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## DONATIONS TO THE LIBRARY, 1880.

Statistics of the Timber Trade of Quebec, presented by W. Schwartz, Esq., Consul of Norway and Sweden.
Massachusetts' Historical Collections, Vol. VI.
An address delivered before the New York Historical Society, presented by Gen. de J. Watts de Peyster.
The Financial Reform Almanac—Free Trade and English Commerce, from the Cobden Club.
Proceedings of the Philosophical Society of Glasgow, 1878-79.
Annuaire de L'Institut Canadien de Québec, 1879.
Statuts, Province of Quebec.
Military Aspect of Canada, from Lt.-Col. T. B. Strange, Dominion Inspector of Artillery.
Survey of the Northern Boundary of the United States, from Lake of the Woods to the summit of the Rocky Mountains—from the Department of State, U. S.
Geological Survey of Canada.
Journal of the Royal Geological Society of Ireland, 1878-79.
Journal of the Royal United Service Institute, vols. 23-24.
Journal of the American Geographical Society, vol. 9-10.
Proceedings of the Boston Society of Natural History.
Two Maps showing route of the Canada Pacific Railway, presented by E. L. Montizambert, Esq.
Discourse de M. D'Abbadie, of the *Académie des Sciences*, Paris.
Proceedings of the American Society of Arts and Sciences.
Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences.
Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society, vol. 1.
A Paper on the Affiliation of the Algonquin Languages, from the author, Prof. J. Campbell, M. A., Montreal.
Sketches of the Past and Present condition of the Indians of Canada, by the author, Dr. G. M. Dawson, Montreal.
Some American Illustrations of the Evolution of New Varieties of Man, from the author, Daniel Wilson, LL. D., Toronto.
Hibridity and Absortion in relation to the Red Indian Race, Daniel Wilson, LL. D., Toronto.
Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, vols. 17-21-22.
Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vols. 10-15-16-17.
Smithsonian Reports, vols. 73-76.
Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, vol. 5.
Transactions of the Academy of Sciences, St. Louis, vol. 4.
Occasional papers of the Boston Society of Natural History.
Contributions to the Geology of Eastern Massachusetts.

Thirty-first annual report of the Trustees of the Aster Library, 1879.
Centennial Papers, one hundred years rural progress, and reports, &c.
The New England Tour of H. R. H. Prince of Wales.
Reports of the Meterological office of the Dominion of Canada.
Anales del Museo Nacional de Mexico.
The Canadian Pacific Railway (Hewson).
Twelfth annual report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries, 1879.
Thirty-eight annual report of the Board of Education, 1879.
Reports, Returns and Statistics of the Inland Revenues of Canada, 1879.
Manual of the Board of Education, 1880, N. Y. City.
Directory " "
Narrative of a Journey Across the Unexplored Portion of British Honduras, &c., presented by A. Joseph, Esq.
Pennsylvanian Magazine of History and Biography.
Annuaire de Ville-Marie.
"The cause of Colour among Races"—"Humanity and the Man," by W. Sharpe, M. D.
Le Nord-Ouest, la Province de Manitoba, le Saguenay et le Lac St-Jean.
Exposition Universelle de 1878.
Catalogue du Ministre de l'Instruction Publique.
Boletin de la Real Academia de La Historia.
Recent Social Theories.
The Origin of Language.
Sex in Education.
Representative Government.
Mélanges de Littérature, d'Histoire et de Philosophie, presented by John B. Dunbar, Deposit, New York.
Wisconsin Historical Collection, vol. 8, 1877-79.
Publications of the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.
Bulletin of the Essex Institute—Historical Collections, four parts, vol. XVI.
Rules of the Quebec Horticultural Society.
Reports—Tenant Farmers' Delegation.
Report on Immigration and Colonization, 1880.
Muskoka and Lake Nippissing Districts.
Lands of Plenty in the New North-West, by E. H. Hall, Esq.
New England Historical and Genealogical Register.
Journals of the Legislative Assembly, Quebec.
Foreign Relations of the United States, 1879.
Annual Calender of McGill College, 1880-81.
Our relations with the Imperial Government.
Bulletin of the American Geographical Society.
Proceedings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, 1878-79.
Memorial of the Centennial Celebration of the Battle of Paulus Hook, presented by the author.
Western Farmer of America.

Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society.
Mémoires de la Société Historique de Montréal.
Society of Friends in the 19th Century.
Petite Grammaire Française—Hubert LaRue, M. D.
Sessional Papers of Parliament of the Dominion of Canada.
Sessional Papers of the Legislature, Province of Ontario.
Life and Public Services of Jas. Garfield, presented by General de Peyster.
Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute.
Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute, vol. XI, 1878-80.
Bulletin of the American Geographical Society.
Geographical Work of the World in 1878-79.
Journal of the Franklin Institute.
The Calendar of King's College, Windsor, N. S., 1880-81.
Canadian Medical Journal.
The "Forest and Stream", presented by R. MacLeod, Esq.
"Grip" for 1880, presented by H. S. Scott, Esq.
The "Daily News", London, presented by J. L. Whitehead, Esq.
Newfoundland, Its Climate, Geographical Position, Resources, &c., presented by H. Budden, Esq.
England and Ireland, a Lecture by Rev. A. J. Bray.

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## DONATIONS TO THE MUSEUM, 1880.

A number of Autographs of Eminent Men, presented by M. Gale, Esq.
Photographs of Melbourne, Victoria, Australia, presented by Lieutenant Colonel Strange, R. A.
An Owl, presented by P. MacNaughton, Esq.
A Medlet (of the Prince Imperial), presented by Dr. W. Marsden, A. M.
A Receipt, dated 1st April, 1757, in connection with the imposition of certain taxes in Quebec, presented by the Rev. Dr. Mathews.
A Two dollar bill, also, a quarter dollar bill of Henry's Bank, 1837, presented by George Veasey, Esq.
A Spear Head, found in the (new) Harbour of Quebec, presented by His Excellency the Marquis of Lorne, K. T.

## NEW BOOKS RECEIVED BY PURCHASE, 1880.

English Men of Letters, Chaucer, Cowper, Bunyan, Byron, Hawthorne, Locke, Milton, Shelley, Southey, Spenser, Thackeray, Lover, Moore.
History of Our Own Times, vol. I-II.
La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West—Parkman.
History of Nova Scotia—Duncan Campbell.
The North Americans of Antiquity—John Shortt.
Memoirs of the Prince Consort, vol. 5—Martin.
Memoirs of Prince Metternich, 1773-1815, 2 vols.
The One Hundred Prize Questions in Canadian History, and the Answers of "Hermes."
Etudes Historiques—Le Tombeau de Champlain.
The Powers of Canadian Parliaments.—Watson.
The Legend of the Roses, Ravlan—Watson.
Constitutional History of Canada, vol. I—Watson.
Sunshine and Storm in the East—Brassey.
Memoirs of Baroness Bunsen, 2 vols.
Land of Median Revisited, 2 vols.—Burton.
Journey Through the Korassan, 2 vols.—MacGregor.
Correspondence of Macvey Napier.
Rough Ways Made Smooth—Proctor.
Journals during the Second Empire, 2 vols.—Senior.
Life of George Moore—Smiles.
History of England, 2 vols.—Walpole.
Whitaker's Almanc, 1880.
Hakluyt Society—No. 57 Hawkens, No. 58 Schiltberger.
Fossil Men, Chain of Life in Geology—Dawson.
The Scot in British North America, vol. I.—Rattray.
Memoirs of Madame de Remusat.
Canadian Portrait Gallery, vols. 1-2.
National Portrait Gallery, vol. 4.
International Portrait Gallery, vol. I.
Parliamentary Government in British Colonies.—Todd.
Life of a British Soldier.
The Dominion Annual Register for 1879—Morgan.

## VOLS. OF BOUND MAGAZINES, 1880.

| | |
|---|---|
| Graphic, 1880 | 2 Vols |
| London Illustrated News, 1880 | 2 " |
| Punch, 1880 | 1 " |
| Canadian Illustrated News, 1880 | 1 " |
| Aldine, 1878-79 | 2 " |
| London Quarterly, 1880 | 1 " |
| Edinburgh " " | 1 " |
| British " " | 1 " |
| Westminster " " | 1 " |
| Nineteenth Century, " | 2 " |
| Fortnightly, " | 2 " |
| Contemporary, " | 2 " |
| North American, " | 2 " |
| Atlantic Monthly, " | 2 " |
| Harper's Magazine, " | 2 " |
| Scribner's " " | 2 " |
| Chambers' Journal, " | 1 " |
| All the year Round, " | 2 " |
| Fraser's Magazine, " | 2 " |
| MacMillan's " " | 2 " |
| Blackwood's " " | 2 " |
| Cornhill " " | 2 " |
| Rose Belford's Canadian Monthly, 1880 | 2 " |
| Bystander, 1880 | 1 " |
| Notes and Queries, 1880 | 2 " |
| Magazine of American History | 2 " |
| Art Journal, 1880 | 1 " |
| Nature, " | 2 " |
| Engineer, " | 1 " |
| Scientific American, 1880 | 1 " |
| Scientific American Supplement, 1880 | 1 " |
| Scientific Canadian, " | 1 " |
| Canadian Antiquarian " | 1 " |
| Bulletin of the Nuttall Ornithological Club | 1 " |
| Revue des deux Mondes, 1878, 1879, 1880 | 18 " |
| L'Opinion Publique, Montréal | 1 " |
| Le Naturaliste Canadien | 1 " |

## FRENCH CANADIAN WORKS, &c., BOUND, 1880.

| | |
|---|---|
| Invasion du Canada, Verreau | |
| Invasion du Canada | |
| Les Canadiens de l'Ouest, Tassé | 2 vols |
| Chronique Trifluvienne, Sulte | 2 " |
| L'Intendant Bigot, Marmette | 1 " |
| Fables, Stevens | 1 " |
| Heliks, Dr. Chs Déguise | 1 " |
| Du Suicide, LaRue | 1 " |
| Comte de Selkirk et la Compagnie de la Baie Hudson | 1 " |
| Les Servantes de Dieu en Canada, Lavoche Heron | 1 " |
| Mélanges | 1 " |
| Le Deuxième Centenaire | 1 " |
| Annales de la Paroisse St. Jacques le Majeur | |
| Philemon Wright, Jos. Tassé | 1 " |
| Annuaire de Ville-Marie, 1863-64-67-68 | 2 " |
| Causeries du Dimanche, Le Juge Routhier | 1 " |
| Jean Rivard—Guerin Lajoie | 1 " |
| Le Village sous l'Ancien Régime, Barbeau | 1 " |
| Echos de Québec, N. Legendre | 1 " |
| De Tribord à Babord, Faucher de St. Maurice | 1 " |
| Poésie Canadienne, Fréchette | 1 " |
| Mes Loisirs | 1 " |
| La Grande Tronciade, Arthur Casgrain | 1 " |
| De la Mantawa, LaVallée | 1 " |
| Picounoc, Le Maudit, Lemay | 2 " |
| Une Gerbe, Lemay | 1 " |
| Les Vengeances, Lemay | 1 " |
| Le Pelerin de Ste. Anne, Lemay | 1 " |
| Montcalm et le Canada Français, De Bonnechose | 1 " |
| Quatorze Mois dans l'Amérique du Nord, Vicomte de Turenne | 2 " |
| Recueil de Chansons | 2 " |
| Cinq Mois chez les Français d'Amérique, De Lamothe | 1 " |
| Le Saguenay, Buies | 1 " |
| Le Naturaliste Canadien, 1878-79 | 2 " |

| | |
|---|---|
| Rome in Canada, Lindsey | 1 " |
| Canada, by a Backwoodsman | 1 " |

8 vols. Franklin Square and Standard Library series.
Large folio for photographs.
Folio for autographs.

## REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

*Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, in account with the Treasurer.*

| Jany. 1st., 1880. *Dr.* | |
|---|---|
| To balance on hand | $ 22 22 |
| " Government Grant | 750 00 |
| " Subscriptions from members | 1,037.00 |
| | $ 1,809 22 |

| Dec. 31st., 1880. *Cr.* | |
|---|---|
| By paid rent | $ 200 00 |
| " " books, periodicals, printing and advertising | 684 29 |
| " " Salary to Assistant Secretary | 300 00 |
| " " Commission on collections | 76 20 |
| " " Gas and fuel | 172 24 |
| " " Insurance | 52 75 |
| " " Incidental expenses | 255 25 |
| " " Balance | 68 49 |
| | $ 1,809 22 |

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Treasurer.

Quebec, 12th January, 1881.

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| | |
|---|---|
| 1824 | Sir F. N. Burton, Lt.-Governor. |
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| 1829 | Lieut. Frederick Baddeley, R. N. |
| 1830 | Hon. Jonathan Sewell, Chief Justice. |
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| 1853 | " " " |
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| 1862 | John Langton, M.A. |
| 1863 | " " |
| 1864 | " " " |
| 1865 | " " " |

* From list published by L. A. Turcotte.

| | |
|---|---|
| [illegible] | [illegible] |
| 1874 | Prof. James Douglass. |
| 1875 | " " " |
| 1876 | James Stevenson, Esq. |
| 1877 | " " " |
| 1878 | " " " |
| 1879 | J. M. LeMoine, Esq. |
| 1880 | " " " |
| 1881 | " " " |

# Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.

*Founded in—1824.*

*Incorporated by Royal Charter—1831.*

PATRON:

**His Excellency, the MARQUIS OF LORNE, K.T., Governor-General of Canada.**

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# The Seigniorial Manor of the First *Seigneur* of Beauport, 1634.

*(To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.)*

DEAR SIR,—I have pleasure in laying, with your permission, before the members of the Literary and Historical Society, through your columns, the enclosed communication received this day, with the plate and inscription to which it relates, from the widow of the late Col. B. C. A. Gugy, of Darnoc, Beauport. It sets forth the recovery, from the ruins of the Beauport Manor House, of a lead plate, affording a written record of the laying of the foundation stone, on the 25th July, 1634, of the historical homestead of the fighting *Seigneurs* of Beauport,—the Gifart, the Juchereau and the Duchesnay. The *fac simile* and description of the inscription, on comparing with the lead plate itself, forwarded for examination by Mrs. Gugy, are so accurate, that they leave little for me to say. Nay, I should be inclined to detect here the hand of an antiquarian, had I not strong suspicions that Mrs. Gugy's amanuensis in this case, is her clever daughter, Miss Gugy.

The massive old pile alleged to have been the headquarters of the Marquis of Montcalm, during the siege of Quebec, in 1759, and in which many generations of Duchesnays and some of Col. Gugy's children were born, became the prey of flames in 1879, 'tis said, by the act of a vandal,—an incendiary; thus perished the most ancient stronghold of the proud feudal Lairds of Beauport—the stone manor of Surgeon Robert Gifart—the safe retreat against the Iroquois of the warlike Juchereau Duchesnays, one of whose ancestors, in 1645, had married Marie Gifart, or Giffard, a daughter of the bellicose Esculapius from Perche, France,—Surgeon Robert Gifart. Grim and defiant the antique manor, with its high-peaked gables, stood in front of thed welling Col. Gugy had erected, at Darnoc, in 1865 : it rather intercepted the view to be had from this spot of Quebec. One of the memorable landmarks of the past, it has furnished a subject for the pencil of Col. Benson J. Lossing, author of the "American Revolution," and "Life of Washington," who, during his visit to Quebec, in July, 1858, sketched it with others, for *Harper's Magazine*, where it appeared, over the heading "Montcalm's Headquarters, Beauport," in the January number, 1859, page 180.

Whilst the deciphering of some of the letters I. H. S.—M. I. A. at the top of the inscription are likely to exercise the ingenuity of our Oldbucks and Monkbarns, to whose intelligent care I shall leave them, the plate itself and its inscription will furnish to the student of history an indefeasible proof of the exact spot, and of the date, when and where stood the oldest of our seigniorial manors,—that of Robert Gifart, on the margin of the *ruisseau de l'ours*, at Beauport, in 1634.

J. M. LEMOINE,
President.

*Literary and Historical Society's Rooms, 5th April, 1881.*

N.B.—Mrs. Gugy has kindly consented to leave on our table, during the week, for the inspection of the curious, this suggestive old plate.

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*J. M. LeMoine, Esquire, President Literary and Historical Society, Quebec* :

BEAUPORT, 26th March, 1881.

The tablet found in the Manor House of Beauport by some workmen, last summer, and only recently restored to the proprietors, is a circular plate of lead or pewter much injured by the fire which consumed the building.

25 IVILET.IE.ETE.PI
PREMIERE.P.C.GIFA
SEIGNEVR.DE.CE.LI

This is rudely but deeply cut into the plate, and ur
patches traces of a fainter etching, part of which ma
this is uncertain; underneath can be seen a heart *reve*
ing from it upwards. All these are enclosed in a larger
The enclosed rough simile may give an idea of tl
the circle, the plate itself being about nine inches in

(With Mrs. Gugy's compliment

Darnoc, 26th March, 1881.

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## THE BEAUPORT MANOR INS

*(To the Editor of the Morning Chron*

Whilst regretting the loss of the coins and dry-a
panying the inscription of the Beauport Manor, on
might have thrown on this remote incident of Canadia
the case as it stands.

This rude inscription of 25th July, 1634, gives pr
Beauport Manor over any ancient structure extant in
erection of the Manor would seem to have preceded by
tion of the Jesuits' Sillery residence, now owned b
Beckett, which dates of July, 1637. Who prepared
engraved the letters? Who cut on the lead the figure
The stars? Are they heraldic? What did they typify?
ready prepared from France? Had the *Académie des*

But if the lettered Beauport stone mason, who never became a Hugh Miller, whatever were his abilities, did utilise his talents in 1634 to produce a durable record, in order to perpetuate the date of foundation of this manor, he subsequently got at loggerheads with his worthy seignior, probably owing to the litigious tastes which his native Perche had installed in him. Perche, we all know, is not very distant from Normandy, the hot-bed of feuds and litigation, and might have caught the infection from this neighborhood.

Governor Montmagny, in the space of eight short years, had been called on to adjudicate on six controversies which had arisen between Gifart and his vassals, touching boundaries and seigniorial rights, though the learned historian Ferland, has failed to particularize, whether among those controverted rights, was included the *Droit de Chapons* and *Droit de Seigneur*; could the latter unchaste, but cherished right of some Scotch and German feudal lords, by a misapprehension of our law, in the dark days of the colony, have been claimed by such an exacting seignior as M. de Gifart? One hopes not.

Be that as it may, the stone mason and *sarant* Jean Guion had refused to do feudal homage to "Monsieur de Beauport", and on the 30th July, 1640, six years after the date of the inscription, under sentence rendered by Governor de Montmagny, he was made to do so.

Francis Parkman, on the authority of the historian Ferland, will tell us how Jean Guion, vassal of Gifart, Seignior of Beauport, on that memorable 30th July, 1640, performed the stately ceremony of *Foi et hommage*, at this very manor to which the inscription refers:

"In the presence of a notary, Guion presented himself at the principal door of the Manor House of Beauport. Having knocked, one Boullé, farmer of Gifart, opened the door, and in reply to Guion's question if the seignior was at home, replied that he was not, but that he, Boullé, was empowered to receive acknowledgments of faith and homage from the vassals in his name. "After the which reply" proceeds the act, "the said Guion, being at the principal door, placed himself on his knees on the ground, with head bare, and without sword or spurs, and said three times these words: "Monsieur de Beauport, "Monsieur de Beauport, Monsieur de Beauport, I bring you the faith and homage "which I am bound to bring you on account of my fief Du Buisson, which I hold "as a man of faith of your Seigniory of Beauport, declaring that I offer to pay "my seigniorial and feudal dues in this season, and demanding of you to accept "me in faith and homage as aforesaid." (*Old Regime*, p. 246-7.)

Who will decipher the I. H. S.—M. I. A. letters at the top of the plate? Is there no descendant of the haughty Seignior of Beauport, Rob. Gifart, to give us his biography, and tell of his sporting days; of the black and grey ducks, brant, widgeon, teal, snipe, and curlew, etc., which infested the marshy banks of the stream on the *Ruisseau de l'Ours*, on which he had located, first his shooting box, and afterwards his little fort or block-house, against Iroquois aggression? Dr Gifart was a keen sportsman, tradition repeats. Did the locality get the name of *Canardière* on account of the *Canards*, the ducks, he had bagged in his time? Who will enlighten us on all these points?

ENQUIRER.

Quebec, 8th April, 1881.

QUERY.—Would I. H. S. stand for *Jesus Hominum Salvator*? and M. I. A. for *Maria-Josephus-Anna*?—the Holy Family—asks Dr. W. Marsden.

LAN 1634

25 IVILET.IE.I
PREMIERE.P.C
SEIGNEVR.DE.

This is rudely but deeply cut into the pla
patches traces of a fainter etching, part of
this is uncertain; underneath can be seen a
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The enclosed rough simile may give an
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(With Mrs. Gugy's co

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Owing to the unwillingness of the men concerned to give any information, it is difficult to learn much about whereabouts in the building it was found, nor what other articles may have accompanied it, but as far as can be ascertained, this oval plate (about ¼ of an inch in thickness) was rolled up and contained a few coins and some document; the first cannot be traced and are spoken of as "quelques sous;" the latter, they say, crumbled into dust at once.

The inscription as well as can be deciphered, is as follows:—

I.H.S. M.I.A.
LAN 1634 LE
NTE
25 IVILET.IE.ETE.PLA
PREMIERE.P.C.GIFART
SEIGNEVR.DE.CE.LIEV

This is rudely but deeply cut into the plate, and underneath may be seen in patches traces of a fainter etching, part of which may be a coat of arms, but this is uncertain; underneath can be seen a heart *reversed*, with flames springing from it upwards. All these are enclosed in a larger heart, point downwards.

The enclosed rough simile may give an idea of the lettering at the top of the circle, the plate itself being about nine inches in diameter.

(With Mrs. Gugy's compliments.)

Darnoc, 26th March, 1881.

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## THE BEAUPORT MANOR INSCRIPTION.

*(To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.)*

Whilst regretting the loss of the coins and dry-as-dust document accompanying the inscription of the Beauport Manor, on account of the light it might have thrown on this remote incident of Canadian history, let us examine the case as it stands.

This rude inscription of 25th July, 1634, gives priority as to date to the Beauport Manor over any ancient structure extant in Canada this day. The erection of the Manor would seem to have preceded by three years the foundation of the Jesuits' Sillery residence, now owned by Messrs. Dobell and Beckett, which dates of July, 1637. Who prepared the inscription? Who engraved the letters? Who cut on the lead the figure of the "flaming heart?" The stars? Are they heraldic? What did they typify? Did the plate come out, ready prepared from France? Had the *Académie des Inscriptions, etc.*, or any other *académie*, any hand in the business? No, for obvious reasons.

The lead-plate was imbedded in solid masonry. It is too rude to be the work of an engraver. Could it have been designed by Surgeon Gifart, the Laird of Beauport, and cut on the lead-plate by the scribe and *savant* of the settlement, Jean Guion (Dion?) whose penmanship in the wording of two marriage contracts, dating from 1636, has been brought to light by an indefatigable searcher of the past—the Abbé Ferland? probably.

But if the lettered Beauport stone mason, who never became a Hugh Miller, whatever were his abilities, did utilize his talents in 1634 to produce a durable record, in order to perpetuate the date of foundation of this manor, he subsequently got at loggerheads with his worthy seignior, probably owing to the litigious tastes which his native Perche had installed in him. Perche, we all know, is not very distant from Normandy, the hot-bed of feuds and litigation, and might have caught the infection from this neighborhood.

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# COUNT D'ORSONNENS' LETTER.

*A monsieur J. M. LeMoine, président de la Société Littéraire et Historique de Québec, etc., etc., etc.*

CHER MONSIEUR,—Votre lettre du 1er avril, publiée dans le *Morning Chronicle*, en groupant, autour du premier Manoir canadien, des grands noms canadiens, des faits historiques et des traditions, semble vouloir nous faire regretter encore plus la perte d'un monument dont il ne reste plus qu'une plaque de plomb gravée sans art, avec une inscription sans orthographe. Je suis allé, comme bien d'autres, voir ce morceau de plomb, qui contient, autant que l'imprimerie peut le représenter, l'inscription suivante:

I.H.S. M.I.A.
LAN 1634 LE
NTE
25 IVILET-IE-ETE-PLA
PREMIERE - P - C - GIFART
SEIGNEVR-DE-CE-LIEV

La première ligne a été, sans doute, gravée avec une pointe, l'incision plus indécise est aussi moins profonde, de même que les lettres NTE ajoutées au-dessus de PLA, pour faire le mot planté, que l'art du graveur ou la largeur du ciseau n'avait pas su contenir dans la troisième ligne.

Les lettres des trois dernières lignes ont été coupées avec un ciseau de un demi-pouce de large, l'incision est nette et bien dessinée; on voit encore les lignes qui ont été tracées dans toute la largeur de la plaque, au moyen d'une pointe, pour guider le ciseau du graveur.

Dans le centre de la plaque, on distingue avec peine un écusson portant un cœur renversé et flammé; au centre de l'écu, trois étoiles. Impossible de dire si elles sont posées en face ou sur un champ quelconque. Le tout a dû être surmonté d'un heaume, car on voit encore de chaque coté de l'écu des lignes courbes multiples, qui doivent nécessairement représenter les lambrequins; sur le côté gauche, un bout de banderolle, mais l'*artiste* a dû abandonner sa première idée, car le haut de la banderolle se perd dans les lignes du lambrequin.

J'ai lu dans la lettre qui accompagnait l'envoi de madame Gugy, que les ouvriers, qui avaient travaillé aux ruines, disaient avoir trouvé la plaque de plomb, *roulée* avec certains documents qui seraient tombés en poussière au toucher. La chose me parait impossible. Le dessous de la plaque indique qu'elle a été posée à plat sur un lit de mortier: et la partie gravée, du moins celle où sont gravées les armoiries, qu'une pierre pesante a été placée dessus, et c'est par l'enfoncement de sa surface inégale que la plupart des lignes gravées ont été détruites. On voit encore dans le plomb oxidé l'empreinte d'une coquille pétrifiée qui se trouvait agrégée au calcaire.

En roulant le bloc supérieur, les ouvriers ont pu plier le métal: de là l'erreur de croire que la plaque était roulée: elle a dû, comme toutes les choses de ce genre être placée dans une cavité comme fond, où on avait déposé le document tombé en poussière et les " quelques sous " que ces honnêtes ouvriers ont gardés pour eux, sans doute, sans en connaître la valeur.

Peu habitué à lire de telles inscriptions, mais connaissant la piété des premiers colons du Canada, j'essayai de donner un sens courant à l'inscription et je trouvai qu'on pouvait lire ceci:

*Iesu Hominum Salvatoris, Mariae Immaculatae Auspice.*

(Sous les auspices ou la protection de Jésus Sauveur des hommes et de Marie-Immaculée.)

L'an 1634, le
25 juillet—je—été planté
première par (ou pour) C. (chirur.) Gifart, Seigneur de ce lieu.

Jusqu'à présent la chose se lit bien, le sens en est raisonnable et positif. Supposant le chirurgien un homme instruit et lettré, l'inscription latine se complète d'elle-même. Mais, hélas! il y un mais,—la lettre C avant Gifart me trouble un peu. Comme

je n'ai sous la main aucun volume, aucune tradition du temps à consulter, je suis obligé de m'en tenir aux correspondances de journaux, et je trouve dans toutes le prénom de *Robert*—ce qui ne commence pas du tout par un C.! Le mot chirurgien qui était la profession de Gifard, se présente naturellement, mais l'article manque....

Oh ! le C, si c'était un R, ? plus de doute, l'affaire serait claire. Mais le C, le malheureux C, ne serait-il pas l'initiale de Cloutier, le charpentier ou l'entrepreneur avec lequel Gifart avait fait un contrat à Mortaigne, le 14 mars 1634, quatre mois à peu près avant la pose de la première pierre ? Alors il faudrait lire : j'ai été plantée par Cloutier, Gifart étant seigneur de ce lieu.

Je m'arrête, le souvenir de *certaine* inscription sur certain *pont* vient troubler toutes ces belles spéculations. A force de vouloir être savant, on pourrait faire dire à Robert Gifart des choses qu'il n'a jamais pensées.

Si, après tout, ce Gifart n'était pas *savant*, et qu'il eut voulu dire par I. H. S., Jésus-Christ, et M. I. A., Maria ; ce serait trop fort.—J'aimerais mieux la théorie de M. le Dr. Marsden, et de M. Bédard, *Maria, Joachim, Anna*. Le 25 juillet étant la fête de saint Jacques, et la vigile de saint Joachim, il serait plus raisonnable de penser qu'on aurait mis la construction du premier Manoir canadien, sous la protection et les auspices du saint du jour.

Reste à savoir si la Saint Jacques se fêtait le 25 juillet, la Saint Joachim le 26, en l'an de notre Seigneur 1634.

.....

Quoiqu'il en soit, cette date 1634, est un centenaire mémorable, car c'est en 1534 que Jacques-Cartier visita le golfe Saint-Laurent, et c'est en 1535, qu'il remonta notre beau fleuve jusqu'à Hochelaga, cent ans avant la première concession seigneuriale de Beauport.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, Monsieur,
votre humble servt.,
Cte. d'ORSONNENS.

L'INSCRIPTION DU MANOIR DE BEAUPORT.

Parmi une masse de vieux documents que je possède, concernant la seigneurie de Beauport et ses seigneurs, j'ai trouvé le reçu suivant:

"Je, soussigné, confesse avoir reçu un billet de cent cinquante livres de monsieur de Beauport, pour ce qu'il avait promis pour faire sa bâtisse de logis de Beauport.

"Faict ce 27ième juillet 1642.

" P. CLUST."

Cela donnerait peut être une explication des abréviations "P. C." de l'inscription trouvée dans les ruines du vieux manoir.

En effet, il est loisible de supposer que cet architecte a fait ce que ses confrères modernes font encore, et qu'il a gravé ses initiales sur l'inscription commemorative de la pose de la première pierre *plantée dans la bâtisse de Beauport*.

H. J. J. DUCHESNAY.

La Beauce, 14 avril 1881.

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## H. V's LETTER.

UNE RELIQUE HISTORIQUE

La *Minerve* a publié l'inscription de la plaque trouvée à Beauport. Le *Journal de Québec* l'a reproduite aussi: mais avec une certaine différence. Pour l'étude des personnes éloignées et pour l'utilité de la science, il est bien désirable qu'on en prenne de nombreuses impressions sur plâtre. Si madame Gugy accorde la permission nécessaire, elle méritera certainement la reconnaissance de ceux qui étudient notre histoire.

Il parait que le dernier chiffre de la date se lit avec difficulté. Il est toutefois très important de la déterminer avec toute la précision possible.

A mes yeux, la date du 25 juillet entraîne plusieurs conséquences qui disparaissent avec un autre chiffre.

I. Le 25 juillet est consacré à l'apôtre saint Jacques-le-Majeur. Ne peut-on pas traduire le second groupe trilittère M. J. A. par *Majori Jacobo Apostolo*. Le premier groupe, si connu d'ailleurs, étant latin, il est naturel de supposer que le second l'est aussi.

II. La fête de saint Jacques-le-Majeur, qui tombait un mardi en 1634, était chômée; par conséquent les travaux serviles ont dû être suspendus ce jour là.

III. Le même jour, 25 juillet 1634, Robert Giffard assistait à un mariage à Québec, ce qui peut expliquer pourquoi il était remplacé à Beauport par son fils Charles.

Mais la pose de la pierre angulaire d'une simple maison, un jour de grande fête, me semble difficile à expliquer, qu'on veuille ou non y faire intervenir les cérémonies de la Religion.

L'expression : *Je été planté* offre aussi une difficulté. A cette époque on faisait de nombreuses fautes d'orthographe, mais on avait presque toujours le mot propre.

Il est bien vrai qu'en terme d'architecture, on disait *planter un édifice* pour l'*asseoir sur la maçonnerie des fondements ;* mais je ne sache pas qu'on ait dit : *planter* les pierres des fondements.

Cette plaque n'aurait-elle pas été destinée à une croix plantée à l'endroit que Giffard voulait défricher ?

Il est d'autant plus naturel qu'il ait commencé ses travaux par cet acte de foi qu'il devait songer à faire bâtir l'église près de sa demeure. Dans cette supposition, on s'explique facilement que la croix ait été plantée un jour de fête solennelle, où tout le monde, surtout à cette époque, devait vaquer à ses devoirs religieux. Je vois dans les *Archives* de Beauport, par Mgr. Langevin, que la maison de Giffard, d'après M. Ferland, devait être plus près de la petite rivière que le manoir actuel.

C. Giffard, qui est désigné comme seigneur de Beauport, est le fils de Robert. Il était né en France et devait être encore assez jeune. C'est de lui que parle le *Journal* des Jésuites en disant que le fils de M. Giffard passa en France, en 1646, avec d'autres jeunes gens "tous fripons pour la plupart qui avaient fait mille pièces "à l'autre voyage, et on donnait à tous de grands appointements."

Le 28 octobre, il était parrain, et il s'embarquait le 31.

Il n'est plus question de lui après cette date, soit qu'il ait renoncé au Canada, soit qu'il ait péri prématurément. Le père reprit sa seigneurie de Beauport, qu'il fit agrandir le mieux qu'il pût.

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*P. S.*—En écrivant ce qui précède, j'étais un peu pressé; j'aurais dû remarquer cependant, que sous la lettre C, les lecteurs ne pouvaient deviner le prénom du jeune seigneur de Beauport. Il s'appelait *Charles*, et devait être né en France comme sa sœur *Marie*, qui devint Madame de la Ferté.

Dans l'intérêt de vos lecteurs je ferai remarquer que le *Dictionnaire Généologique* renferme, à l'article GIFFARD, certaines erreurs. Ainsi *Françoise* qui commence l'article est la même que *Marie-Françoise* qui le termine: elle se fit religieuse à l'Hôtel-Dieu. L'épouse de *Jean Juchereau de la Ferté* fut *Marie*, née en France, puisque son contrat de mariage, en 1645, la dite "agée de 17 ans environ," ce qui reporte sa naissance vers 1628. Charles assiste et signe un contrat. Ce n'est pas *Robert Giffard*, mais son fils *Joseph*, dont le corps fut transporté à la cathédrale, le 31 décembre 1705.

# HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

PUBLISHED BY THE

## Quebec Literary and Historical Society,

SINCE ITS FOUNDATION UP TO 1879.

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FIRST SERIES.

1. **Mémoires sur le Canada depuis 1749 jusqu'à 1760, en trois parties; avec cartes et plans lithographiés. VII et 211 p. in-8, *Québec*, 1838. Ré-imprimé en 1876.**

   Ce mémoire a pour deuxième titre : "Mémoires du S—— de C——, contenant l'histoire du Canada durant la guerre et sous le gouvernement anglais." Il fut communiqué à la Société Littéraire et Historique par M. le colonel Christie. L'introduction donne à entendre que l'auteur du manuscrit pourrait être M. de Vauclain, officier de marine en 1759.

2. **Collection de mémoires et de relations sur l'histoire ancienne du Canada, d'après des manuscrits récemment obtenus des archives et bureaux publics, en France. (8 mémoires reliés en 1 Vol.) in-8, *Québec*, 1840.**

   1. Mémoire sur l'état présent du Canada, attribué à M. Talon. 7 p.
   2. Mémoire sur le Canada (1736), attribué à M. Hocquart. 14 p.
   3. Considérations sur l'état présent du Canada (1758). 20 p.
   4. Histoire du Canada par M. l'abbé de Belmont. 36 p.
   5. Relation du Siège de Québec en 1759, par une religieuse de l'Hôpital-Générale de Québec. 24 p.
   6. Jugement impartial sur les opérations militaires de la campagne en Canada, en 1759. 8 p.
   7. Réflexions sommaires sur le commerce qui s'est fait en Canada 8 p.
   8. Histoire de l'eau-de-vie en Canada. 29 p.

3. **Voyages de découvertes au Canada entre les années 1534 et 1542, par Jacques-Cartier, le Sieur de Roberval, Jean Alphonse de Xaintonge, &c. Suivis de la description de Québec et de ses environs en 1608, et de divers extraits relativement au lieu de l'hivernement de Jacques-Cartier en 1535-36 (avec gravures *fac-simile*). Ré-imprimés sur d'anciennes relations. 130 p. in-8, Québec, 1843.**

4. **Mémoire du Sieur de Ramsay, commandant à Québec, au sujet de la reddition de cette ville le 18 septembre**

1759, d'après un manuscrit aux archives du Bureau de la marine à Paris. 84 et 38 p. in-8, Québec, 1861. (Dû à M. Geo. B. Faribault.)

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HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS, 2nd Series. 1 vol., 8-vo., viz:

Extract from a manuscript journal relating to the siege of Quebec in 1759, kept by Colonel Malcolm Fraser. . . . 37 p. in-8.

Journal du siège de Québec en 1759, par M. Jean Claude Panet. 24 p. in-8 Montréal, 1866.

The campaign of Louisbourg, 1750-58. . ., attributed to Chevalier Johnstone. 28 p., 8-vo., Québec, 1867.

A dialogue in Hades, a parallel of military errors, of which the French and English armies were guilty, during the campaign of 1759, in Canada. 55 p., 8-vo., Quebec, 1866. Attributed to Chevalier Johnstone.

The campaign of 1760 in Canada. 24 p., 8-vo. A narrative attributed to Chevalier Johnstone.

The invasion of Canada in 1775. Letter attributed to Major Henry Caldwell, 19 p., 8-vo., Quebec, 1866.

A journal of the expedition up the River St. Lawrence. . ., republished from the *New York Mercury* of 31st December, 1759. 19 p., 8-vo.

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HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS, 3rd Series. Published under the auspices of the Literary and Historical Society. 1 vol., 8-vo., Quebec and Montreal, 1871. Contents:

Histoire du Montréal, 1640-72. 128 p., 8-vo. Ouvrage attribué à M. F Dollier de Casson, S. S.

Journal des opérations de l'armée Américaine, lors de l'invasion du Canada en 1775-76, par M. J. B. Badeaux. 43 p. in-8, Montréal, 1871.

Recueil de ce qui s'est passé en Canada au sujet de la guerre, tant des anglais que des iroquois, depuis l'année 1682. 82 p. in-8, Québec, 1871.

Voyage d'Iberville. Journal du Voyage fait par deux frégates du roi, la Badine et le Marin, 1698. 48 p. in-8, Montréal, 1871.

Journal of the siege of Quebec, 1759-60, by general Jas. Murray. 45 p. in-8, Quebec, 1871.

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HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS, 4th Series. 1 vol., 8-vo., 1875.

A journal of the expedition up the River St. Lawrence (1759). 21 p.

General Orders in Wolfe's army during the expedition up the River St. Lawrence, 1759. 56 p. (Original in the hands of J. M. LeMoine.)

Journal du siège de Québec en 1759, par Jean Claude Panet. 31 p.

Journal of the siege and blockade of Quebec by the American rebels, in autumn 1775 and winter 1776, attributed to Hugh Finlay. 25 p.

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HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS, 5th Series. 1 vol., 8-vo., 152 p., Quebec, 1877. Containing documents relating to the war of 1812.

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# TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

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no 16

# Literary and Historical Society

# OF QUEBEC.

SESSIONS OF 1881-82.

QUEBEC:
PRINTED AT THE "MORNING CHRONICLE" OFFICE.

1882.

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# LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT,
J. M. LE MOINE, DELIVERED ON
25TH NOVEMBER 1881.

## Subject: "EDINBURG, ROUEN, YORK."

GLIMPSES, IMPRESSIONS AND CONTRASTS.

## EDINBURGH.

"Such dusky grandeur clothed the height,
Where the huge castle holds its state,
And all the steep slope down,
Whose ridgy back heaves to the sky
Piled deep and massy, close and high
Mine own romantic town."
(*Marmion.*)

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

As President, it is my duty, a pleasant one, rest assured, to open this evening, our annual winter course of lectures. On more occasions than one, your indulgence has made me forget my repugnance to address a public meeting. More than once, instead of being reminded of my shortcomings, I have found myself surrounded in these rooms, by friendly faces, greeted by cheerful, encouraging looks. In *lieu* of presenting you historical *tableaux* of the early, shall I say with the late Lord Elgin, the

upon himself. He had few wants to suppl
were thrifty and hardy. When he needed
he knew how to earn it, and he was not as
He built boats, planted, grafted, made fenc
he was an excellent surveyor,—and did a
that was required of him. Everything he
well. He always worked with energy an
leisure for himself which he secured, was
deserved. When his immediate needs wer
he thought he had enough to meet his pres
wants for a while, he would go back to his
ing the unfolding works of nature, and ma
what he saw and felt. He was not a self-
but he had his whims, and these sometime
difficulties and curious straits. Perhaps, no
skilful land-surveyor ever lived in Americ
Thoreau. He had more surveying than he
there was employment for him whenever
undertake it. He was in constant demand,
his own convenience, and worked only whe
He possessed rare mathematical knowledge,
tells us that "his habit of ascertaining the
distances of objects which interested him, th
the depth and extent of ponds and rivers,

to America from the Isle of Guernsey, early in the present century. The subject of this paper was born in Concord, Mass., on the 12th July 1817. He went to Harvard and graduated there in 1837, but without taking a degree or earning any especial distinction. After this, in company with his brother, he engaged in teaching a small private school. He soon gave up this employment, however, and entered his father's establishment, and applied himself diligently for a while, to the art of making lead-pencils. He believed in his own mind that he could make a better pencil than was then in use, and he actually performed that feat. He took his work to Boston, showed it to the chemists there, obtained their certificates to the value and excellence and quality of his pencils, and then returned home, not to make more of them, as we might suppose, but to renounce the craft altogether. His friends rallied around him, and told him how fortunate he was, and what a fine prospect in the way of money-getting, lay before him. But Henry astonished them all by saying that he should never make another pencil as long as he lived. "Why should I," said he, "I would not do again what I have done once." So it was, and he left the factory, and went on with his studies which were of a miscellaneous sort, and took his long walks in the silent woods. He loved solitude for its own sake, and when he wanted a companion, he preferred an Indian. He was often invited out, and dinner-party invitations were frequently sent to him, but he declined such favours regularly and promptly. He would not go to dinners because there each was in every one's way, and he could not meet the individuals present to any purpose. "They make their pride," he said, "in making their dinner cost much; I make my pride in making my dinner cost little." Once or twice he did accept an invitation to dine, and when asked at table what dish he preferred, he

heroic times of Canada, as oft' I have done, I shall to-night ask your attention and beckon you to follow me, far from our dear Canadian home. We shall indulge in a ramble, short though it be, over a foreign but not unfriendly land, in that haunted, olden world from whence sprang our fathers With your permission we shall dwell for a few moments on the performances, follow the foot-prints, treasure up the experience of those who have preceeded us; if possible, benefit by their wisdom, endeavour to learn from them, let us hope, some not useless lessons. A limited but agreable sojourn abroad, which brought me, on many points, to think still higher of my own country, has also made more manifest to me than it was hitherto, how many useful hints, how many teachings, the records, the monuments, the sights of other cities can furnish. It is my intention to select for our study to-night three conspicuous cities of Europe, in order to seek for contrasts if any, between them and our own ancient town. In the course of my wanderings in England, France, Scotland, Ireland, Belgium, Holland, &c., no sites, by their historical *souvenirs*, edifices, monuments, and scenery, have attracted me more than Edinburgh, Rouen and York; though of course, I have met with cities more wealthy, more extensive, more populous. In fact, there are striking analogies, as well as unmistakable points of contrast, between these antique towns and the capital of this Province, which also happens to be the most picturesque city of North America. A glance at Edinburgh, Rouen, York, may point out how the hand of man can heighten the advantages, add lustre to the charms which nature has conferred and make of a city, "a thing of beauty and a joy for ever." Possibly, we may find that wealth and population in cities, flow through various, sometimes concealed channels; that true progress does not mean a wanton destruction of the externals of a revered past; that whilst a progressive community is expected to throw open its portals to the fertilising wave of commercial activity, it can be helped to achieve importance, prosperity, nay fame, by preserving intact, for coming generations, as sacred heirlooms, the monuments of its history, the landmarks of its patriotic struggles, the remains, in verity, of its former greatness.

Let us begin by a short sketch of the "Modern Athens," the Queen City of the North—Edinburg—whose quaint old, and

beautiful new, town are familiar to many present here to-night. It was my good fortune to view the Scotch capital under circumstances which must ever leave in my mind an impression as lasting as it was pleasant. I saw it triumphant, most gaudy, in full holiday attire; its streets, its squares, its parks and public edifices, decked with much bunting, the gayest of flags, floral designs, triumphal arches, festive wreaths in the broad light of day, whilst by night the pageant's splendor was dazzling with Brush's electric light and myriads of gas lamps: all this in anticipation of the advent of royalty, to grace the great national Military Review. Proudly deployed, with streaming banners, under the walls of Holyrood — the historic palace of the royal Stuarts,—stood, as if animated with but one heart, one impulse, 42,000 Scotch Volunteers; many regiments in the picturesque mountaineers costume,—a body of men as to physique, martial-bearing, manly beauty, unsurpassed, I dare to say, on any point of the globe. They stood erect, calm, as calm, I would fain believe, as their fathers had stood on another historical spot, I had just visited three days previous, at Hougomont, on the vast plain of Brussels; except that instead of the frenzy of battle lighting up their eye, no other frenzy stirred them, but that of loyalty to that "illustrious Sovereign and gracious Lady," to use the eloquent and recent words of President Arthur at Yorktown, our gentle Queen, who for the first time, I then had a chance of seeing. Among Victoria's 250,000,000 of subjects, none I felt could exceed in devotion the stalwart volunteers of "Auld Scotia," who from every city and hamlet of the little Scotch world had, as if a pibroch had sounded on the hills, mustered from all directions on the 25th August last.

Is his loyalty to his sovereign a part of the Scotchman's strength, one of the elements which helps him on, the world over, in life's hard struggle?

It is not only in distant portions of the British Empire we find the Scot to the front in the field of thought or mart of commerce; our own dominion testifies also to that fact. I hope I may not give offence even in this period of upheaval, when the tide of popular rights is surging so high, in saying, *en passant*, a word in favor of successful loyalty. (*Loud applause.*)

That August week was indeed a bustling, busy one for all Edinburg. The iron horse had just landed my companion and myself, late at night, after the long ride from Euston Square Railway Station, London, under the shadow of the gorgeous monument erected on Princes street in 1844, at a cost of $80,000 to the man in Scottish literature, I revered the most: Sir Walter Scott. The first sunbeam brought me across the street, on my bed room window, the exquisite tracery of this lofty and graceful shaft.

Every object round me seemed to repeat the name and bespeak the renown of the famous Minstrel, the "Ariosto of the North": Waverley Monument, Waverley Hotel, Waverley Garden, Waverley Station, Waverley Market. In fact it looked as if the first to greet me was the immortal author of Waverley, "from his monument seated on a rock, in his niche, wrapped in a shepherd's plaid, with a book and pen in his hand, resting on his knee and his favorite dog Maida, lying at his feet, and looking up wistfully at his master."

There was poesy, genius, patriotism, confronting me—in the streets, in the air, above, below, all around me. Scott's fame overshadowed, permeated, glorified the land. (*Applause.*) I was too full of Waverley lore, of Lockhart's life-like portraiture of Sir Walter, to be easily satisfied. An Edinburg barrister, distantly connected with Scott's family, Mr. Thomas Scott, procured me an *entree* to Scott's town house in Castle street (now owned by Scotch Merchants) and on my stating I had come all the way from Canada, a pilgrim to the land of Scott and Burns, I was permitted, thanks to my cicerone, to invade the sanctum of commerce and to pry into a sanctum to me much more holy. I was introduced into the very room in which so much of Scott's literary labor was performed; the courteous merchant retiring from the table, I was allowed to sit in the very spot, at the identical table (the furniture having been religiously preserved), where in June, 1814, occurred the now famous scene of the "unwearied hand" which had that night startled William Menzies and his jolly fellow students, convivially engaged, so graphically

recalled by Lockhart. (*) The elevated window in the yard opposite, through which the students looked in, on Sir Walter, writing at the table where I now sat, is still the same. My eye scanned it closely, measuring the distance and the extent of the diminutive grass plot, in the little court adjoining Scott's "den" as Lockhart styles it.

Alas! how many changes in the Edinburgh world during these sixty-seven intervening years (1814-81) and Scott's memory is still fragrant, nay greener and fresher each year! In this iron age of utiliterianism, laying aside the intellectual aspect of the question, how much in hard cash have Scott's writings been

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(*) "Happening to pass through Edinburg, in June 1814, I dined one day with the gentleman in question (now the Honorable William Menzies, one of the Supreme Judges at the Cape of Good Hope), whose residence was then in George Street, situated very near to, and at right angles with Castle Street. It was a party of very young persons, most of them, like Menzies and myself, destined for the Bar of Scotland, all gay and thoughtless, enjoying the first flush of manhood, with little remembrance of the yesterday, or care of the morrow. When my companion's worthy father and uncle, after seeing two or three bottles go round, left the juveniles to themselves, the weather being hot, we adjourned to a library which had one large window looking northwards. After carousing here for an hour or more, I observed that a shade had come over the aspect of my friend, who happened to be placed immediately opposite to myself and said something that intimated a fear of his being unwell. "No," said he, "I shall be well enough presently, if you will only let me set where you are, and take my chair; for there is a confounded hand in sight of me here, which has often bothered me before and now it w'ont let me fill my glass with a good will." I rose to change places with him accordingly, and he pointed out to me this hand which, like the writing of Belshazzar's wall, disturbed his hour of hilarity. "Since we sat down," he said, "I have been watching it—it fascinates my eye—it never stops—page after page is finished and thrown on that heap of M S, and still it goes on unwearied—and so it will be till candles are brought in, and God knows how long after that. It is the same every night—and I can'not stand a sight of it when I am not at my books."—"Some stupid, dogged engrossing clerk, probably," exclaimed myself, or some other giddy youth in our society. "No, boys," said our host, "I well know what hand it is"—"t'is Walter Scott's." This was the hand that, in the evenings of three summer weeks, wrote the two last volumes of Waverley. Would that all who that night watched it, had profited by its example of diligence as largely as William Menzies"! (*Lockhart's Life of Sir Walter Scott, Vol. IV, pp. 28-9, American Edition.*)

worth yearly to the land of his birth? My obliging cicerone called my attention to Muschat's cairn, near Holyrood, as well as to the ruins of St. Anthony's chapel; we rambled on foot through south back of Cannongate and Cowgate to Grass Market, passing through into Cowgate, what was once the abode of prelates and nobles, now, of labourers and old furniture brokers; close by, had been enacted the Porteous mob tragedy; John Knox's old fashioned tenement and the neighboring closes were not forgotten. The crush in Edinburgh was such—not a bed to be had in the hotels—unless bespoken weeks previous, that we came to the conclusion to run down by train, some thirty-seven miles, and rest under the shadow of Melrose Abbey, until the Volunteers and the numberless strangers, attracted by the review should have left. The little town of Melrose is but an hour by train from the Scotch capital; and at 4 p. m. on that day, we were comfortably ensconsed in the *George and Abbotsford Hotel*, in view of the lofty, broken minarets of Melrose Abbey, so sweetly sung in the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*. We did not even wait for the pale moon to shed her pale light over the weird, time-honored cloister of St. Mary:

If thou would'st view fair Melrose aright
Go visit it by the pale moonlight;
For the gay beams of lightsome day
Gild, but to flout, the ruins grey.
When the broken arches are black in night,
And each shafted oriel glimmers white;
When the cold light's uncertain shower
Streams on the ruined central tower;
When buttress and buttress, alternately,
Seem framed of ebon and ivory;
When silver edges the imagery,
And the scrolls that teach thee to live and die;
When distant Tweed is heard to rave,
And the owlet to hoot o'er the dead man's grave
Then go—but go alone the while—
Then view St. David's ruined pile;
And, home returning, soothly swear,
Was never scene so sad and fair!"

Here is what out intelligent guide tells us: —" Melrose Abbey, now the property of the Duke of Buccleuch, was founded in 1136 by David I. It was granted by royal charter to the Cistercian order of monks, which had a short time previously been instituted in France. The monastery at Melrose was a mother church to all the Cistercian order in Scotland. In the retreat from Scotland of Edward II., in 1322, the English wreaked their vengeance on religious houses, and they despoiled the fair shrine of Melrose. In order to repair the abbey, King Robert made a grant to the abbot of Melrose of £2,000(*) for rebuilding the church of St. Mary. It is to this destruction of the church that is due the exceeding beauty of the view, for when the church was restored, the Gothic style of architecture had reached its finest development. The original church must have been a rude erection, when the whole monastery was built in ten years, for work was not done at railway speed in those days, but it would not be easy to say how many years were required to build the one whose very ruins delight every eye.

In the year 1384, the English, under Richard II, made an inroad to Scotland, and on their return the King lodged one night in the Abbey, and set fire to it in the morning. He made several grants to the Abbey afterwards, which leads us to hope that his majesty repented the ungrateful and sacrilegeous act. It may be that the chancel of the church was destroyed at that time, for the style of architecture there is the perpendicular Gothic,which commenced in the reign of Richard II. The stone used in this part of the building is different from that in the transepts. The transepts may well be considered as the oldest portion of what now comprises Melrose Abbey. The monastery at Melrose was destroyed in 1545 by the Earl of Hetford. There is a tradition that the English, on their way back to England at that time, had actually passed the monasteries of Melrose and Dryburgh, when the bells at one of these places were rung to express the joy of the inmates. The English, hearing the sound—were not slow to come back, when the joy was changed into mourning. The Scottish Reformation following shortly after, the Abbey

(*) Equal to about £50,000 of our money.

never recovered from the destruction perpetrated at that time. After the Reformation, James Douglas, commendator, took down a great part of the ruin to build houses. The date on one of the windows is 1590. The statues were demolished in 1649; and for a long period the Abbey was used as a quarry by the people of Melrose. It is said that there is not an old house in the town, but has, in its walls, a stone from the Abbey. Since the Abbey came into the possession of the Buccleuch family, every thing has been done, and is being done, to keep the ruin from further decay. The monastery buildings, were all on the North side of the church; it took a wall a mile in circuit to enclose them. The rules of the Cistercian order were very strict, and for a long period were rigidly enforced. When a time of laxity came, there were vigorous efforts made to return to the strictness of discipline and holiness of life inculcated at the first. But wealth flowed into the monastery. The nobles, stimulated by the royal example, heaped benefits upon it; and the Monks, like Jeshurun of old, waxed fat, and kicked off the restraints of godly discipline, and holiness of life was forgotten" so said our guide.

The shafts of satyre were aimed at them, as may be gathered from an old popular ballad.

"The monks of Melrose made gude kail
On Friday when they fasted;
Nor wanted they gude beef and ale,
As lang's their neighbours' lasted."

"Melrose Abbey, like all other churches of the older times, stands due east and west. From the west entrance to the Abbey until the organ screen is reached, little of the original structure remains, excepting the side chapels, which formed the outer portion of the south side. The first three of these chapels have been roofless for generations, the separating walls have also entirely disappeared. The roof over the fourth and fifth are still entire. What remains of the organ screen, crosses the nave on a line with the division of the fifth and sixth chapels, and from thence to the transept, the church is quite roofed over from north to south. The aisles, north and south, are covered by the origina ground-roof. The roof over the the nave and a piece of common

masonry on the north side, reaching to and supporting the roof, were both erectéd in 1618, when that part of the ruin was fitted up for a Presbyterian place of worship. It continued to be used as such, until 1810. The first six of the chapels in the south aisle have been used since the Reformation as places of sepulture by families of note in the neighbourhood. In the seventh, are carved representations of the heads of David I. and of his Queen Matilda. Standing upright in the eight ,is an ancient kneelïng stone, on one side of which is the likeness of four horse-shoes : and on the top an inscription in Saxon characters. It reads thus—

Orate Pro
Animâ Frat.
Petre AERaRii.
" Pray for the soul of brother Peter, the treasurer."

The charm of Melrose Abbey lies as much in the exquisite delicacy of the carving, and the beauty of the various parts, as in the graceful symmetry and united grandeur of the entire structure. The most perfect specimen of carving is pronounced by connaisseurs to be that on the capital of the pillar which bounds the south aisle on the east, separating the aile from the nave. This carving represents the leaf of the curly greens, or kale; and is so delicate and beautiful as to resemble the finest lace. The pillar on which appears this specimen of monastic taste and skill, rises on the north side to another capital, at the spring of the lofty and beautiful arch, which, with three others, supported the central tower. From the south transept, where this carving is generally best seen, can also be observed a small round window, high in the wall of the north transept. This window, of which the tracery is quite entire, is said to represent the Crown of Thorns," but we must interrupt our glib cicerone. It is supposed that there were originally sixteen altars in the Abbey. In this corner lies, according to the " Lay of the Last Minstrel," the grave of the famous Wizard Michael Scott. The grave next to it is believed to be that of Sir Ralph Ivers, one of the English commanders slain at the battle of Ancrum River. Beyond a footpath at the head of these graves, on the north-east side of a heap of fragments, is a stone which was a favorite seat

with Sir Walter Scott, when he came to feast on the grand and varied beauty of the scene. Under the floor of the chancel repose the ashes of many of the illustrious dead. Alexander II was buried here, as was also Waldevus, the second abbot of the monastery. The body of Douglas, the dark knight of Liddesdale, otherwise called the Flower of Chivalry, who was slain by a kinsman while hunting in Ettrich Forest during the reign of David II, was brought here for interment, after having lain one night in Lindean Kirk. James, Earl Douglas, slain by Hotspur (Earl Percy) at the battle of Otterburn in 1388, was also interred here with great military pomp and every honor that could be paid by the abbot and monks. The English spoiled the tombs of the Douglases in 1544, and for this they suffered severe retribution at Ancrum Miur in the following year. But the chief deposit in the Abbey, and that over which the ruin may well be considered a fitting and appropriate monument, is the "Heart of Robert the Bruce." In the King's last letter to his son, written about a month before his death, he commanded that his heart be buried in Melrose Abbey. But subsequently to that he wished rather that it might be sent to Palestine and buried in the Holy Sepulchre. Sir James Douglas, entrusted with the sacred deposit, set sail with a numerous and splendid retinue. In Spain he encountered the Saracens; and being too brave to retreat, he was overpowered by numbers and fell. The body was recovered and brought back for burial; and the heart of the Master he loved and served so well was interred, agreeably with the former wish of the King, under the High Altar of Melrose Abbey. The chancel is lighted by three beautiful windows; the one to the east is that of which Sir Walter Scott has thus written:—

"The moon on the east oriel shone
Through slended shafts of shapely stone,
By foliaged tracery combined:
Thou wouldst have thought some fairy's hand,
Twixt poplars straight, the ozier wand
In many a freakish knot had twined;
Then framed a spell, when the work was done,
And changed the willow wreaths to stone."

The cloisters are much admired for the chasteness and beauty of the carving. The cloister door is that by which the aged monk in the "Lay" is said to have brought Sir William of Deloraine when he came at the request of the Lady of Buccleuch to take the book from the grave of the wizard. In the Gothic,nature alone was imitated ; hence the endless variety and beauty of the designs. In the ornamented frieze, running along above the false Gothic arches on the east wall, no two of the ornamental figures are alike ; it is thus described by Lockhart. "There is one cloister in particular, along the whole length of which there runs a cornice of flowers and plants, entirely unrivalled, to my mind by anything elsewhere extant. I do not say in Gothic architecture merely, but in any architecture whatever. Roses and lilies, and thistles, and ferns, and heaths, in all their varieties, and oak leaves and ash leaves, and a thousand beautiful shapes besides. are chiselled with such inimitable truth, and such grace of nature, that the finest botanist in the world could not desire a better hortus siccus, so far as they go." It is said that the stones of the floor in front of the seats on the east cover the ashes of many of the departed.

> "The pillared arches over their head—
> Beneath their feet the bones of the dead."

It would be difficult indeed, to say whereabouts in the Abbey, the dead have not been buried. Tom Purdie's tomb, in the churchyard, near the Abbey must not be forgotten—here on a large red tombstone erected by Sir Walter, can be read the inscription to his loyal Woodforester, who died on the 29th Oct. 1829. (*)

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(*) On the west side is inscribed:

IN GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE
OF
THE FAITHFUL
AND ATTACHED SERVICES
OF
TWENTY-TWO YEARS;
AND IN SORROW

T'is indeed a grand old shrine for pilgrims of every nation, though a ruin. Let us recall its palmy days of yore.

"Imagine the roofs of Melrose Abbey, its flying buttresses and gothic pinnacles all entire; the tower whole, surmounted by its open balustrade, and reverberating with its harmonious chimes of bells; imagine the windows perfect, and filled, with their many coloured glass,—and you have before you, what was in former ages an object of unbounded reverence and admiration, to the brave—the good and the true land which Bruce had rescued from the hands of the destroyer; the land which Wallace had trod"—the land dear to many here to-night "auld Scotland." (*Loud applause.*)

We took an open carriage at the *George*, to reach from Melrose to Abbotsford, a very beautiful drive of three miles, following the windings of the Tweed, Sir Walter's cherished Tweed—through an undulating, pastoral country. Owing to a depression

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FOR THE LOSS OF A HUMBLE
BUT SINCERE FRIEND,
THIS STONE WAS ERECTED
BY
SIR WALTER SCOTT, BART.,
OF ABBOTSFORD.

**The inscription on the east side runs thus—**

HERE LIES THE BODY
OF
THOMAS PURDIE,
WOOD FORESTER,
AT ABBOTSFORD,
WHO DIED 29TH OCTOBER
1829,
AGED SIXTY-TWO YEARS.

THOU HAST BEEN FAITHFUL
OVER A FEW THINGS;
I WILL MAKE THEE RULER
OVER MANY THINGS.
MATTHEW CHAP. XXV. V. 21st.

in the land and an intervening grove of trees, Abbotsford is not seen except when you arrive close by; there it sits, graceful and picturesque, on a terrace facing the Tweed. The Mansion, as we all know, was built up at different times, and more in accordance with Scott's fancies than any regular plan. After waiting some time for the return of the porter absent escorting a party of American tourists, through the Castle, our turn came. It was shall I confess it,with most indescribable feelings, I ascended the stone steps of the narrow staircase, leading to the once busy haunt of thought above Curiosity, joy, regret, each seemed successively to claim mastery over my mind. Often had I heard it stated that Abbotsford does not come up to the ideal embalmed in Lockhart's pages. It may be so, for some; especially for those accustomed to the quasi-regal design of many mansions of the Plutocracy in the old and in the new world. I cannot say I experienced any disappointment, especially when I looked out on the rushing Tweed, from the main window in the Library, from which commanding point I could watch the circling eddies, (the river was swollen by the rain of the previous night) and hear the murmur of the silvery stream. The closing scene of Scott's life, so tenderly recalled by his biographer and friend, John Gibson Lockhart, I mostly fancied I could see it. "About half-past one p. m., on the 21st of September, (1832,) Sir Walter breathed his last, in the presence of all his children. It was a beautiful day, so warm that every window was wide open, and so perfectly still, that the sound, of all others most delicious to his ear, the gentle ripple of the Tweed over its pebbles, was distinctly audible as we knelt around his bed, and his eldest son kissed and closed his eyes."

I must proceed—The external walls of Abbotsford are adorned with many old carved stones which have figured at one time in very different situations. On one above the visitors entrance can be traced the inscription, "Ye Sutors of Selkirk," and the whole building may be called a compound of the Gothic with the castllated, and will ever be admired as a realisation of the poet's thou ght rather than a structure of so much stone and lime. To enable strangers to see the interior without disturbing the privacy of the family, the late Mr. Hope Scott built more rooms towards

the west, and arranged that visitors should enter by the old Hall; so that the Study, Library, Drawing-Room, Armoury and Entrance Hall, are now given up at certain seasons of the year for the gratification of the thousands of strangers who come from all parts of the earth to visit this shrine. The rumour circulated by the press, that Abbotsford had recently passed from the possession of its present owner, Mr. Maxwell Scott, to that of Baron Albert Grant, of Lombard street, London, is incorrect. I have as my authority the Baron's own word. The Entrance Hall was the first part of the house which was shewn us. "The floor is laid with black and white marble, the walls lined with old oak panels from Dunfermline Abbey, and the groined roof painted to correspond. Round the cornice there is a line of armorial shields of the families who kept the borders, such as the Douglases, Kerrs, Scotts, Thurnbulls, Maxwells, Chisholms, Elliots, and Armstrongs; and all round the walls are hung coats of mail, pieces of armour, and curiosities, or as Burns would have put it,

> "A fouth o'auld nick-nickets,
> Rusty iron caps and jingling jackets·
> Would keep the Lothians three in tackets
> A towmon guid."

Among special things pointed out, are the keys of the old Tolbooth of Edinburgh, known as the "Heart of Midlothian;" a clock which belonged to Marie Antoinette; and a suit of clothes at one time worn by Sir Walter, consisting of a broad-skirted green coat, plaid-trousers, heavy shoes, and broad-brimmed hat. From this we passed into the armoury, which runs across the house, and forms a sort of ante-room between the dining and drawing-room. It contains some curious coffers and interesting pieces of armour, such as the breast-plate of James IV., Rob Roy's gun. Montrose's sword, Claverhouse's pistols, James VI.'s hunting bottle, Robert Bruce's candlestick, Queen Mary's offering box, &c., as well as some specimens of Indian weapons. The Drawing-room is a moderate-sized room, with two windows looking toward the Tweed, covered with a quaint Chinese paper. In one corner stands a beautiful tortoiseshell cabinet, which is said to have belonged to Queen Mary; and on the walls are hung

Raeburn's full-lenght portrait of Sir Walter, and portraits of Lady Scott and daughter. There are also a frame of fine water-colour drawing by Turner, and a curious painting of the head of Queen Mary after execution. Next comes the Library, the largest room of the suite about 50 by 30 feet, and containing about 20,000 volumes. The roof is deeply groined and embossed with roses and other ornements copied from Melrose Abbey and Roslin Chapel and in an oak niche at the east end stands Chantrey's bust of the Poet. Above the fire place hangs a full-lenght portrait of Sir Walter's eldest son, painted by Sir William Allan. Two richly-carved chairs, from the Borghese Palace at Rome, and other interesting pieces of furniture, mostly presents to Sir Walter, are arranged round the walls: a circular table in a recess contains many curious relics, such as Napoleon's writing portfolio, snuff boxes, &c. The Study is a smaller room, next the Library, also filled with books in oak cases, and in one corner is the stair leading up to Sir Walter's bed room, arranged so that he could slip down quietly in the mornings, and have his day's work finished before his visitors came down to breakfast. In the centre stands the writing table and leather covered arm chair which he used in writing—the most interesting relics in the house. In a small recess there is another object of peculiar interest—the bronze cast of his head, taken after death. Regretting that the rules of the house restrict visitors to merely seeing these rooms, with my companion we wandered about the garden, gathered some ivy, and then drove to Scott's last home—were we read in St. Mary's aisle of Dryburgh Abbey, the inscription on his tomb. Dryburgh Abbey, as the name implies, was founded on the site of a druidical temple—where christian missionaries lived over thirteen centuries ago. The founders were Hugo de Morville and his wife Beatrix de Beauchamp, in the year 1150.

Returning to Melrose, I paid a second visit to the Abbey; we then took train, for Edinburg, which we reached early. Of all the interesting spots I visited in the metropolis of Scotland, none were more so than Edinburgh castle; the guide, an old sergeant well up in Scottish lore, received us at the gate: we followed in the wake of some Scotch volunteers. An old drawbridge—batteries for the defence of which will be observed on each flank—

crosses a dry *fosse*, now forming a capital " fives court " for the use of the garrison. Turning to the right, the first object of interest as we trod the rock-o'vershadowed " covert way," was an ancient gateway, within which the groves where the portcullis descended and the fittings for massive gates may be seen. The structure over the gateway was formerly a State Prison, having had distinguished prisoners, such as the Marquis of Argyle, immured in it; and was last used as a prison about eighty years ago. The two hounds sculptured over the gateway recall the time when the Duke of Gordon was Governor, at the period of the Revolution. The Argyle Battery on the right, the Armoury, with storage for 30,000 stand of arms, down a roadway in front, and the officers' quarters, occupying the lesser height on the west of the rock, present no special feature of interest. We followed a causeway leading past these buildings, entering the citadel by a steep road on the left leading under a gateway. In the palace court there is the small apartment in which the Regalia, the ancient " honours" of Scotland, are shown, and the octagonal room,with panelled and inscribed walls,within which Mary,Queen of Scots gave birth to James "First and Sixth." From the window of the latter room a magnificent view to the south-east is obtained. The crown jewels have been well described by Scott and by Lockhart. " Leaving the courtyard, on the right is seen the Half Moon Battery, with the clock and gun by which the audible one o'clock signal is fired daily from the ramparts. Ascending a few steps, the summit is reached, called the King's Bastion, on which is placed the ancient cannon called Mons Meg. " Many legendary stories of this piece of ordance exist, but the presence of an almost identical gun called Mad Meg at the corner of Friday Market, in the city of Ghent, gives support to the Flemish origin of the gun found here." Her Majesty the Queen being that day expected to arrive at Holyrood, when the volunteers review was to take place on the morrow, we were not admitted to visit the interior of this hostoric pile; our obliging friend, Mr. Scott, pointed out to us in front of the palace a fully carved fountain, a restoration of a like structure at Linlithgow Palace, and presenting effigies of historical personages from early times. The handsome railing extending on both sides were erected round the Palace on the visit of George IV, in 1822. In the

interior our friend described the historic rooms of the Palace. "They are to the left, and consist of the Picture Gallery or Throne Room, with portraits of Scottish kings, historic and legendary, from 330 B. C.; of Queen Mary's Bed-Room, Supper Room, Private Room, Lord Darnley's Room, &c. "The rooms and stair-cases are highly interesting, but the furniture shown is of very doubtful authenticity. The Abbey is only now represented by the ruined nave, some parts of which, notably the western doorway and tower, and the intertwined arcade on the north wall, are of considerable interest architecturally. The contents of the rooms and Abbey are numbered and catalogued." We wandered around the Queen's Drive, seeing thus the greatest extent of the Royal Park. By walking over the Radical Road, whence a singularly interesting view of the city is obtained, and thence clambering up one or other of the well-marked footpaths to the summit of Arthur Seat, 822 feet above the level of the sea, a great enjoyment is in store. On completing the circuit of the hill, and reaching again the level of Holyrood, the site of Muschat's Cairn—famous in the *Heart of Midlothian*—was seen. On the spur of rock overhanging St. Margaret's Loch, St. Anthony's Well, a perennial spring issuing from below a large stone, and St. Margaret's Well, in the hillside. The Scott monument on Princes street—the most superb thoroughfare in the city—is an open Gothic canopy or Eleonor Cross. Many of the details of the monument are copied from the ruins of Melrose Abbey. An internal stair admits to four galleries at different levels, from the highest of which (180 feet from the street level,) a particularly interesting view of Edinburgh is obtained. In the niches are a large number of statutes representing characters in the Waverley novels; the best in point of artistic power being that of Diana Vernon, by George Lawson, a Scottish sculptor residing in London. This figure is on the outside niche of the south-east pier. Under the canopy is Sir John Steell's marble statue of Scott, having his favorite dog "Maida" beside him. A cast from this statue was recently made by Sir John Steell for the Central Park in New York. Next to this monument, stands a bronze statue to Adam Black, publisher, and once, Lord Provost and member of Parliament for the city. This is the work of

John Hutchinson, R. S. A. A few yards farther west, is seen Christopher North's, a bronze statue in which Sir John Steell has reproduced with great success the noble leonine presence of Professor Wilson. Opposite this, a glance may be given to a figure of St. Andrew, the "Patron Saint" of Scotland, placed over the doorway of the North British Insurance Office. The large building with Doric pillars and a noble octostyle portico is the Royal Institution, giving accommodation to the Royal Society of Edinburgh, the School of Art, the Sculpture Gallery, and the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Over the front is a colossal seated statue of Queen Victoria, in her robes, with orb and sceptre, the work of Sir John Steel. In rear of this building stands another Grecian temple, with pillars of the Ionic order, containing the National Gallery of Scotland, and the rooms of the Royal Scottish Academy, whose annual Exhibition is held from February to May. In the Museum of Antiquities are a number of rare Scottish remains, embracing some remarkable native gold and silver ornaments,—the famous Crozier of St. Fillan." The Quigrich or Crozier of St. Fillan, so intimately connected with the devotion of the great King Robert Bruce, had an additional interest for me, when I read its history so eloquently told in a memoir by a Scotch savant and antiquary, John Stuart, L.L.D., late Secretary to the Society of Antiquarians of Scotland—how it was discovered in the Dewar family of Ontario—identified and pointed out in the *Canadian Journal* of Toronto, in 1859, by Professor Daniel Wilson of that city—our illustrious contryman! It cost the Society $600. Our attention was next drawn to stones with "Ogham" and Runic inscriptions; amongst the more interesting modern relics may be reckoned Jenny Geddes' stool, flung at the head of the Dean of Edinburgh, when Episcopacy was sought to be reintroduced in 1637; John Knox's pulpit; the "Maiden" or Scottish guillotine, by which the Regent Morton, the Marquis of Argyle, and many others, were executed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; the Thumbikins; the Solemn League and Covenant; and some other remains of the social manners of last century. Thanks to the well-informed Treasurer of the Museum. Mr. D. Douglas, I was enabled to make a tolerably minute survey of the Museum of the antiquaries of Scotland. "The "National Gallery"

possesses a valuable series of grand examples of William Etty, a magnificent Gainsborough—the Hon. Mrs. Graham, Lord Lynedoch's young wife, whose early death caused her husband to seek his fate in the battle-field, but who won renown instead in the Peninsular Wars—several fine Raeburns, David Roberts' "Rome," Sir J. Noel Paton's "Oberon and Titania" pictures, and many fine specimens of ancient and modern art. Flaxman's statue of Burns, Lawson's *terra-cotta* Bard, and some models in wax by Michael Angelo, are amongst the sculptures of the gallery. A glance on the left shows Sir John Steel's marble statue of Allan Ramsay, author of "The Gentle Shepherd," whose octogonal house, now called Ramsay Lodge, may be observed on the height behind, being the house nearest the Castle. Opposite the statue is a good example of Venetian architecture in the ornate building of the Life Association of Scotland, and alongside this building is the elegant frontage of the New Club, along Prince street, the picturesque outlines of the Castle are more and more unfolded, the last glimpse as the west end of Prince street is reached, being the ungainly bulk of the New Barracks, built in 1796. At the west end of Prince street is seen the sitting bronze statue of Sir James Simpson, the "Great Messiah of Midwifery," as Gerald Massey called him. This statue is by William Brodie, R. S. A. Beyond it is St. John's Episcopal Church, built in 1818, of a late Gothic style, and filled with good painted glass windows. On the sward in front is a memorial, consisting of an Ionic cross, with medallions, of the late Dean Ramsay, who was for many years incumbent of that church, but is best known for his "Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character." In the valley below stands the Church and Churchyard of St. Cuthbert's or West Kirk Parish. This is a very plain edifice, built a century ago, at the very bathos of art in Scotland, but occupying a site where a place of worship has stood for at least ten centuries. There are a number of interesting tombs here, with a good mural tablet in *relievo*, in memory of Dr. David Dickson, minister of the parish for forty years. Napier of Merchiston, (inventor of Logarithms) and De Quincey the opium-eater are buried here. In front of the Caledonian Railway Station is the Sinclair Fountain, much abused as an obstruction to the street. It was built by Miss Catherine Sinclair, one of the six daughters of Sir John

Sinclair of Ulbser, of the "Statistical Account," herself well known as an authoress. Charlotte Square, is noticeable as containing the fine Dome of St. George's, one of the City Parish Churches; and yet more as the site of the Scottish National Memorial to the Prince Consort. The equestrian figure, the panels illustrating great events in the Prince's life, and the emblematic and heraldic ornaments, are by Sir John Steel. The sculptor prepared the entire design, but proposed that other artists should be associated with him in the subsidiary groups. The group on the left front of the statue, representing Labour, was modelled by George McCallum, a young sculptor of great promise, and on his death was carried out by D. W. Stevenson, A.R.S.A. Learning and Science are from the design of Mr. Stevenson; the "Services" were prepared by Clark Stanton, A.R.S.A.; and the other front group, showing the nobility offering their homage, is by W. Brodie, R. S.A. The pedestal of red granite is composed of remarkably fine blocks. The larger panels show the Marriage of the Queen, and the opening of the Great Exhibition of 1851, both giving portraits of many eminent men; and the lesser panels illustrate the domestic and artistic features of the Prince's career. Leaving Charlotte Square by the east, and proceeding along George street, we find, at the intersection of Castle street, Sir John Steel's bronze statue, on a red granite base, of Dr. Chalmers, one of the most prominent leaders of the Disruption in 1843, and Moderator of the first General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland. Turning aside to the left for a moment, the house No. 30, Castle street may be seen, in which Sir Walter Scott lived and wrote many of his works. Coming to Frederick street, the intersection shews Chantrey's bronze statue of William Pitt, on a freestone base."

Ladies and gentlemen, I have pointed out to you a few of the leading features of this beautiful capital, which many think, as to picturesqueness of position and scenery, casts in the shade, even brilliant, unique Paris. Perhaps the noblest of all views of Edinburgh is that obtained when sailing up the wide Estuary or Fifth of Forth to the port of Leith or Granton. "To see it from the water, "throned on crags," and lying beautiful under the calm light of a summer evening is to get a full foretaste of that

delight which closer inspection is sure to enhance. If the traveller approaches from the south by the East Coast or the Midland route, the train skirts the base of Arthur's Seat, and gives, before entering the city, furtive peeps at old Holyrood Palace and Chapel. Passing through a tunnel, cut in the solid rock of the Calton Hill, the passenger, on emerging, sees high on the north side the castellated buildings of the Jail, the house of the Governor, with a fine round tower, occupying the summit of a high cliff which beetles above the track. Approaching from the south by the West Coast route, the rear view of the Castle is seen on entering the station, while, if the visitor approaches from the west, the train passing through the fine gardens of Princes Street has the abrupt cliff of the Castle overhanging it. Each approach opens up characteristic features of the city, showing some of its rugged, rocky, picturesque outlines." It was my happy lot to see the "Modern Athens" during August's leafy month, summer's crowning glory; how much I would have liked to view it in winter's white garb and ramble round with such a word painter as Alexander Smith, whose chromo will close this sketch:—

"Edinburgh is complete in its storied beauty whether beneath the autumn sun, or white and silent winter snow. We have just come in; surely it never looked so fair before. What a poem is that Princes street! The puppets of the busy and many-colored hour move about on its pavement; their interest how slight, their pursuits how trivial? while there, across the ravine, Time has piled up the Old Town ridge on ridge, gray as a rocky coast washed and worn with the foam of centuries; picked and jagged by picturesque gable and roof; windowed from basement to cape, the whole surmounted by St. Giles' airy crown. The new is there looking at the old. Two Times are brought face to face, yet separated by a thousand years. Wonderful on winter nights, when the gully is filled with darkness, and out of it rises against the sombre blue and frosty stars, that undistinguishable mass or bulwark of gloom, pierced and quivering with innumerable lights. There is nothing in Europe to match that, I think. Could you but roll a river down the valley, it would be sublime —finer still, to place oneself a little beyond the Burns Monument, and look towards the Castle It is more astonishing than an eastern dream. A city rises up before you, painted by Fire on

Night; high in air, a bridge of lights leaps the chasm; a few emerald lamps, like glow-worms, are moving silently about in the railway station beneath; a solitary crimson one is at rest. That ridged and chimneyed mass of blackness with splendor bursting out at every pore is the wonderful Old Town, where Scottish history mainly transacted itself, while on the other side the modern Princes street is blazing through all its length. During the day the Castle looks down upon the street as if out of another world, stern, with all its peacefulness, its garniture of trees, its slope of grass. The rock is dingy enough in color, but after a shower its lichens laugh out green in the returning sun, while the rainbow is brightening on the lowering sky beyond. How deep the shadow of the Castle at noon over the gardens at its feet, where the children play! How grand when its giant bulk and towery crown blacken against the sunset! Fyir, too, the New Town, sloping to the sea. From George street, which crowns the ridge, the eye is led down sweeping streets of cold, stately architecture, to the white gleaming villas and woods that fill the lower ground and fringe the shore; to the bright azure belt of the Forth, with its smoking steamer or its creeping sail; beyond, to the Lomonds of Fife, soft, blue, and flecked with fleeting shadows in the keen, clear light of spring, dark purple in summer-heat, tarnished gold in the autumn haze: and higher still, just distinguishable on the paler sky, the crest of some distant peak, carrying the imagination away into the illimitable world. Residence in Edinburgh is an education in itself. Its beauty refines one like being in love. It is perennial like a play of Shakespeare." (*Prolonged applause.*)

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# ROUEN.

"Quaint old town of toil and traffic
Quaint old town of art and song."

Let us shift the scene and venture on a short ramble through the highways and byways of a very antiquated—very enterprising French town—the capital first of the duchy, next of the province of Normandy, on the left bank of the Seine—Rouen. A city of 102,470 souls only, Rouen has made a name for herself as a manufacturing centre. Her cotton and calico prints, known as *Rouenneries*—her sugar refineries, confectionaries, soap factories, tanneries; her iron, copper, and lead founderies; leather works, cutlery, dyeing establishments, &c., have won for her the proud surname of the Manchester of France. Her port, thanks to dredging operations, in the lower Seine, offers facilities to the large ships of every nation; extensive indeed are her exports to, and imports from, England, Algiers, Senegal, Spain, Portugal, Italy, America. Her shipping inward and outward in the year 1875, represents a tonnage of 537,017 tons, divided between 3,467 ocean ships; whilst her coasting trade inward and outward for the same period, kept employed 5,013 vessels, that is a tonnage of 720,332 tons: a French line of steamers from Rouen to Canada, is talked of for next summer. Soon, we shall have a direct, a monied interest in the old French town.

The capital of Normandy, now the shire-town of the *département* of Seine-Inferieure, can boast of an Archbishop (at present the talented Cardinal de Bonnechose), a Court of Appeals, whilst the third army corps and the second military division, have their head-quarters at Rouen. Very important educational, scientific and industrial establishments centre here. Chairs of theology; medical and pharmaceutical schools; the *Lycée Corneille*: branches in fact of the *Académie Universitaire* of Caen, together with Government or departmental courses of agriculture and rural economy; municipal schools of painting, guilds of trades and commerce; a national academy of sciences, *belles lettres* and arts; a free

school for commerce and trades; agricultural and horticultural associations; societies of natural sciences, medicine and bibliophilists; famous cattle fairs; a society for Normandy annals, a chamber of agriculture; even to a commission of antiquaries named by the state. This, it must be confessed, is a tolerably large outfit for a town of merely 102,470 souls. It will not have escaped your attention that the Manchester of France, as the Rouennais proudly style their beloved city, rejoices in a society for the promotion of the study of Norman antiquities and Norman history—a proof, if any were needed, that in Rouen, culture and commerce are not deemed foes. Rouen from the latin *Rothomagus* (Palace of Roth or Venus) dates very far back. The time was when Roman sentinels mounted guard in its streets. In the fifth century, it was overrun by the Barbarians, who dislodged the Roman legions. In 844, we read of the Northern Vikings, or Normans ascending the Seine in their galleys and pillaging the city. Later on, it became the French capital of the English Sovereigns until English power received a check in 1430, through the instrumentality of the heroic Maid of Orleans. Joan of Arc, to whom a fountain and statue were erected in 1755 on one of the squares of Rouen, now known as *La Place de la Pucelle*, a site adjoining to the spot on which she was burnt in 1431. English sway disappeared from French soil merely in 1450, when was fought the battle of Formigny. However, renowned as a manufacturing town, Rouen never forgot what cities as well as men owe to themselves: reverence for the monuments of a great past. With the exception of Paris, no city on French soil has preserved more curious monuments or more interesting vestiges of its early times: her superb churches are the admiration of all Europe. The Cathedral of Notre Dame, Saint Ouen, Saint Maclou, Saint Gervais, Saint Godard, Saint Patrice, Saint Vincent, are all in one way or other remarkable edifices.

The Cathedral of Rouen. It was erected on the site of a church previously destroyed by fire in the year 1200, from funds provided by John Lackland; the chief portion of the building dates from the first years of the XIII century, though some parts such as the base of the northern tower are older and belonged to the structure destroyed in 1200. This grand old temple of worship

is 408 feet (136 metres) long, 100 feet broad, the transept is 162 feet in length It contains twenty five chapels; three are in it, 130 windows, on designs most varied, marvellously beautiful, some of them dating back to the 13th century. It would require a volume to describe this magnificent Cathedral. The choir, 108 feet long, contained formerly the tombs of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, of his brother Henry Court-Mantel, of their uncle William and of the famous Duke of Bedford; these tombs, mutilated, it is said, in 1562 by the Calvinists, disappeared when the choir was rebuilt in 1836. Searches made in 1836, brought to light the heart and a statue of Richard; and in 1862, the heart of the King Charles V. Funereal inscriptions and tombs are still numerous in the Cathedral of Rouen. In the *chapelle du petit Saint Romain* may be seen the tomb of Rollo, first Duke of Normandy; the remains of William, the son and successor of Duke Rollo, lie in the *Chapelle Sainte Anne.* In another chapel, under an arcade, is the reclining statue of a bishop, whose soul, under the symbol of a child, is escorted to heaven by angels with outspread wings: this is the sarcophagus of Archbishop Maurice, who died in 1235. There are three or four other tombs in the chapel of the Holy Virgin, of great beauty: one to Pierre de Brézé, Comte de Maulevrier, killed at the battle of Monthlery, in 1465. To his grandson, Louis de Brezé, a neat sepulchre was built by his widow, the beautiful Diana of Poitiers. A splendid funereal monument was raised between the years 1518 and 1525 to the two Cardinals d'Amboise in this cathedral; two fine figures in black marble, in a kneeling attitude, with bare head and hands crossed, stand on the black marble tomb; numerous other *mausolea* attract the attention of the visitor.

Saint Gervais.—Towards the north-west extremity of the city, the church of Saint Gervais is full of interest for the antiquary. Erected doubtless on the site of the chapel, where the Archbishop Saint Victor placed the relics of Saint Gervais, which he had received from Ambrosius, it has been several times rebuilt. In the chrypt under the choir, rest the remains of the two first archbishops of Rouen—Saint Mellon and Saint Avitien. Here, prior to being interred in the Abbey of Saint Stephen, at Caen, was brought from Nantes, in 1087, the body of William the Conque-

ror; a stone bench runs round the crypt. The walls appear to be of Roman construction; it is the oldest christian monument of Normandy.

SAINT GODARD.—This fane is in the ogival style of architecture, of the sixteenth century, except the spire, which is low and ornamented with ionic pillars; the latter portion is more modern. Those of its stained glass windows who have escaped destruction, daté of the sixteenth century, and were, it is said, designed from the cartoons of Raphaël and his pupil, François Penni; the coloring of these ornate windows is surpassingly bright, of a limpid, rosy, red wine hue, and so strikingly beautiful that they gave rise to the proverb; "Red like the glass windows of Saint Godard."

SAINT MACLOU.—This temple of worship on the street *de la Republique*, is a charming example of the florid gothic style; it was built in 1436, on plans furnished by Pierre Robin. The main front is remarkable for the lightness and finish of its sculptures; five doors led to the interior; two have been condemned and closed. The centre door is surmounted by a *basso-relievo*, which figures the judgment Day. Views and allegories from Scripture or the lives of the Saints profusely deck the pannel; and similar allegorical subjects are represented on the other doors. Saint Maclou is conspicuous for its sculptured, admirable church doors.

SAINT OUEN.—This Church is worthy of being compared to the most famous Cathedrals; it was begun in 1318. Its facade is crowned by an ogival gallery, containing eleven statues; among others, those of Archbishops Flavius and Ambert; of Richard I, Duke of Normandy; of Richard II; of William the Norman; of Henri II, of England, and of Richard *Cœur-de-Lion*. The main tower, 246 feet high, is a model of strength and elegance.

You will, I trust, forbear my bringing under your notice all these medieval churches. Of the many to me new and pleasing objects I saw, none were more striking than those speaking relics of a dim, religious, but not forgotten past.

Three statues are met with in Rouen; one to Boieldieu, the composer; another to Pierre Corneille, the tragedian; a third, an equestrian statue in bronze to Napoleon I, it commemorates a visit of the Emperor to Rouen, and exhibits him in the act of conferring the ribbon of the Legion of Honor on an *employé* in a factory. The tower of Joan d'Arc deserves also mention. It is the remains of the dungeon once attached to the castle of a warlike French Sovereign—Philippe Auguste. For the visitors, it has a double interest, as being one of the oldest monuments of of the ancient military architecture of France - a miniature of the tower of the Louvre, built under the same Prince. It also recalls a painful but honorable souvenir of the dauntless Maid of Orleans: in the first story of this tower, she had once to stand and confront those deadly instruments of torture used in the middle ages to extort confessions.

We had also lively pleasure in inspecting in the restored part of an old cloister, the Rouen Museum of Natural History, of antiquities, of precious porcelain, &c., some 1400 specimens of exquisite ware from Sevres, Dresden, Nevers, Moustiers, Strasbourg, Holland, without forgetting the most curious and unique old blue china violin, one of the marvels of Rouen. This last museum is known as the *Musée Céramique*, erected in 1864. A grievous wrong I would be perpetrating on the quaint capital of Normandy did I omit noticing its timepiece and its tower, *la Tour de la Grosse Horloge*. This structure, a square, of simple Gothic style, according to the inscription at the foot of the staircase, seems to have been erected between 1389 and 1398. In this tower is hung the historic silver bell—*la cloche d'argent*; thus named, because according to a venerable tradition, pieces of silver were dropped in the smelting pot. The bell has indeed a silvery tone, but no other silver is connected with it except what was raised from the people to pay for it. It recalls Norman times, and like William the Conqueror's curfew-bell, it tolls every night at nine o'clock for bed time. It is set in motion again on election days,— peals out its loud chimes at night, as a fire alarm. The City Hall unites among other treasures of art, extensive collections of sculptures and paintings; here the French, Flemish, Dutch, Italian and Spanish masters are well represented.

Let us hurry on; from *Rue de laGrosse Horloge*, the street of the great clock, one reaches that gorgeous pile, known as the Court House, *Palais de Justice*. Commenced in 1499, it is now the most stately edifice as a Court House, in France. The architecture is that known as ogival of the transition period, between that and the *Renaissance*. It has been gradually altered in size and ornamentation by successive French Sovereigns, Louis XII and others, to its present dimensions and beauty. The facade to the South, is one hundred and ninety-five feet in length and is unique in architectural design. The exquisite octogonal tower in the centre, angular pillars, surmounted by dais and statues, the elaborate sculptures, encircling the windows, the series of arcades, which form a gallery on the whole length of the upper part, the leaden railing which sets off the roof, everything in fact is in excellent taste. The statues chiselled by Lebrun represent Louis XIII, Ann of Brittany, Cardinal George d'Amboise, the gallant Monarch Francis I, Justice, a ploughman, a Monk, an artist, in fact all the classes which had a hand in building the edifice. Time precludes us from entering into fuller particulars, but you have enough to judge of the style and state of preservation of old and modern monuments and buildings in the ancient town of Rouen. Two handsome bridges, one a light suspension bridge, erected in 1836; the other, a solid stone structure built in1813, and some of whose arches rest on the Ile Lacroix, connect the two portions of this thriving town, divided by the Seine. The city proper stands within an arc of a circle formed by a belt of *boulevards* opened in 1770, on the site of the old ditches From the neighbouring heights of Bonsecours and Canteleu,a full view is obtained of the spires of Rouen, its houses, public edifices; as well, as of the placid course of the Seine, dotted with verdant isles, stately ships, smoking, swift steamers; lined with broad, regular quays, in view of the lofty chimnies of workshops,amidst a fertile valley crowned by green and distant hills.

Ladies and gentlemen, we have tarried long enough contemplating the attractive, though artificial beauties of cities; with your leave, we will take train for *Pont de l'Arche*, near Rouen. I am panting for a glimpse of the country—its tranquil, pastoral, green fields. Let us light in the centre of an old Norman village

and see whether it resembles our own French villages. We are at Pîtres(*)—once the seat of royalty—now a modest,rustic *commune*—the quiet home of an industrious peasantry. There it lies basking in the scorching rays of an August sun—under the shadow of lofty hills, at the junction of the lovely valleys of the Seine, the Eure, the Andelle rivers; the highest of those hills goes by the name of the Hill of the two Lovers, *la côte des deux amants*. Later on we shall learn why. From a diminutive railway station, the highway, constructed of coble stones, runs over a little bridge, along hedges, rugged stone walls, and pastures to the small but eminently historic village church. In more respects that one, the landscape reminds you of Canada, except that the inhabitants look porer, ruder in their ways, less educated, than our people. Here, a one story farm house; next to it, a barn with a thatched roof; close by, peasants in coarse blue or gray blouses, (no mowing machines here) reaping the harvest, with the same primitive sickle, used for hundreds of years by their sires; the women in white *calines gauffrées*, caps, *sabots*, *mantelets*, leading the work-horses to the wheat fields, or barn.

The meadows and pasture lands adjoining the farm houses are in general well provided with shade-trees, such as they are. Unfortunately, the uniform mutilation of the tree, by cutting away all its branches down to short stumps, in order to make charcoal and *fagots*,—gives it a heart broken, hide-bound aspect. Sorely beset and lanky, the tree looks like a gigantic, closed umbrella, crowned by a leafy cap with a fringe of green leaves descending to a few feet from the soil. We noticed these painful deformities not only in Normandy, but even quite close to Paris; one has to go to England to see proper respect shown to parks and trees. Normandy however, as a set-off, interested us by its magnificent breed of draught and heavy cart horses: they are generally grey or white. One occasionally meets with these splendid specimens of the equine race, in Paris and in England: they fetch 2500 francs, about £100, each. They were more active and handsome, than the Flemish horses, we saw on the quays of Antwerp. The huge Antwerp dray and truck horses look like mo-

(*) The population of Pîtres is about 1000 souls.

derate sized elephants. Let us resume our review of Pitres. The little church was delapidated ; its churchyard neglected, over run with rank grass, very much alas ! like some of our own. In rear or in front of the dwellings, the old style vegetable and flower beds : sun flowers, roses, carnations, popies, *marguerites*, pionies, sweat-briar. A trim little garden led up to the *presbytère* or manse ; within, we found a charming, hospitable enlightened, white-haired *curé*. What a pleasant welcome awaited us, Canadians, when we presented our letters of introduction !

We found ourselves bound to accept, the cordial invitation of *Monsieur le Curé*, to partake with him, of what he was pleased to style his poor, country fare. " Pitres, is too distant from Rouen, said he, for me to have always on hand fresh meat, but if you can make up your mind to eat a Norman hare, I shall have a young and fat one killed." Having readily assented to his offer, we retired with our worthy host to his garden ; examined the flower beds, plantations, pear and apple trees, as well as a species of coarse vines cultivated in Normandy. Soon Marie, the extremely active and very talkative old *menagère*, made her appearance, saying that *le dejeuner* was ready " such as it was," she added with a sigh. Travel and exercise had indeed sharpened our appetite ; my travelling companion and myself, we did ample justice, first, to the *potage* or soup ; next, to the juicy, roasted hare ; then, to the Gruyere cheese, which was exquisite ; after that came a little dish of *blanquette ;* then apples, plums, pears followed ; Norman cider a delicious beverage, brimming over in silver mugs ; then some prime old Bordeaux was passed round ; a cup of divine Mocha coffee came next ; sweatmeats, and a *petit verre d'eau-de-vie, pale et vieille* (that is a tea spoonful of old cognac in dainty Sevres glasses,) closed the feast. The *pousse caffé*, which had to be swallowed *en trinquant à la mode de Normandie* (that is, glasses had to meet:) all this for a Norman *Curé* receiving from the State but 900 francs per annum, seemed to us marvels of hospitality, *savoir-faire* and taste. The Abbé was not only hospitable, but a travelled, scholarly gentleman ; he detailed to us the annals of Pitres, whose history he had written. After exhausting his enquiries about Canada, its customs; whether the English oppressed the French ; its population, commerce, litera-

ture, &c., it was our turn to put questions about our host's own Normandy; what traces, if any, still existed of the Norman invasion in the 9th century? What was the history of the little parish church, which we were told, dated back more than one thousand years? Why the neighbouring mountain was called the "Hill of the Two Lovers?" Our host replied: "For more than twenty years I have had charge of this parish. With a view of restoring the crumbling walls of our historic chapel, I have devoted my spare evenings to compiling the history of Pîtres, though the fund is still small, proceeding from the sale of the work. You will, no doubt, be startled on learning that a thousand years ago the King of France had a royal castle in this unpretending hamlet. Pîtres, at its dawn was a Roman military post—a royal residence under our Merovingian dynasty - the site of a palace, aud a fortress for the Princes of the second race. The lapse of years would doubtless have converted Pîtres into an important city, but an unforeseen event altered its destinies: the inroads of the Northmen in the ninth century destroyed its future,and in consequence of the forts and structures built to stop these barbarians at *Pont de l'Arche*, the life and activity of Pîtres, centered at *Pont de l'Arche*. T'is a long story. It was specially a prince of the Carlovingian race, Charles "the Bald," who gave to Pîtres lustre in days of yore. Pîtres was famous for its mint and coinage, and it is more than likely it was on this account, Charles "the Bald" published there, in 864, the law known as the *Edit de Pitres*, concerning coinage. Pîtres was also selected by Charles "the Bald" as the meeting place of the Diets or National Assemblies known as "Councils of Pitres." In 861-2, in the identical little church yonder, which I have undertaken to restore, the French King, Charles the Bald, held his States General, at which were present the Archbishops of Rouen, Reims, and Sens, the Bishops of Paris, Evereux, Coutances, Soissons, Senlis, Tournay, Chalons-sur-Saone, Laon, Meaux, Troyes, Autun, Lisieux, Seez, Beauvais. In 864, a still larger Council met there, some fifty Archbishops and Bishops; but I must refer you to my work on Pîtres, for full particulars. As to the name of the Hill, the origin is both romantic and tragic. Long, long ago, a proud Baron of Pîtres, had a beautiful daughter: a youth whose birth was not noble, had saved her life at a boar hunt, and

claimed her hand. The Baron adding cruelty to pride, assented, provided the youth should, unassisted, and without resting, carry his intended to the top of yonder hill ; he won his suit, but dropped dead on reaching the top.

"Of palpitation of the heart," my companion suggested :"

Whether the youth was too weak or his *inamorata* too fat, our host could not say. After such a catastrophe, *Madlle* doubtless retired to a cloister.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have described, such as we found it —a village in Normandy. Pitres, you may not be aware, had special attractions for us. More than two hundred years ago, an adventurous gentleman from Pitres landed on our shores and became a Canadian Seigneur; I am one of his lineal descendants. Let us recross that rebellious, unquiet English channel, a terror to all those unprovided with such commodities as "sea legs." Nor will it be to that great Babylon of fog bustle, wealth, intellect, fashion, population and squalid poverty, London ; nor is it to those marvellous and smoky hives of human industry, commerce or shipping, Leeds, Manchester, Sheffield, Liverpool, that we will direct our steps. Oh ! no. We shall from Euston Square Station take train in the fleetest of English railways, the Flying Scotchman, *ocior Euro* and allow the steed that never tires, to waft us at the rate of a mile per minute or so, over hill and dale, across lawn and hedgerow, high above house-top, high above river, through long, dark tunnels like Lefroy's, into the most noted cathedral town of Merrie England. Come, we shall penetrate within those famous walls of York, bristling with the memories of seige and battle, within those grey, lofty midieval city gates (bars as they call them) from whose towers more than one nobleman, highwayman or murderer's head, ghastly and grining, looked down on the gladdened or sorrowing crowd below. If a sight of famous old York has been to you as from our early years, it was to us, a hope, a dream, too good scarcely to be a reality, come we shall ascend and ramble round these circuitous walls, portcullis and bastions; follow in the wake of an old friend by many here remembered, Major F. Lees, formerly an officer in our garrison, now a resident of a city as picturesque as our own ;

York. We shall next go and inspect the hoary aisles of its superb old Minster, whose grim, weather-stained spires catch the eye from afar. Those marble sarcopagi dimmed with the dust of centuries, those eloquent mural inscriptions, those erect or recumbent figures of kings, of warriors fierce, of patriots and statesmen, of white-bearded bishops, of pious or proud abbots, that sombre, subterranean crypt of the Minster, old even a thousand years ago, think you they have no dark secrets to tell, no thrilling tale of heroism, war, love, treason, devotion, to recount ?" (*Loud applause.*)

Ladies and gentlemen,—That unfailing monitor (the clock) reminds me I have trespassed beyond the traditional hour allotted to lecturers, so that we shall reserve for another evening our ramble in York when all here present are invited to attend without further invitation."

Mr. LeMoine, who was frequently applauded during the delivery of his lecture, which occupied one hour and thirty minutes, then sat down and Prof. John Harper, B. A., rector of the High School, moved a hearty vote of thanks for the very enjoyable literary treat which the President had furnished. The Hon. G. Ouimet, Superintendent of Education, seconded the motion in a neat speech. (*Morning Chronicle, 28th Nov.*)

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# YORK. (*)

*Queen Margaret* :—" Welcome, my Lord, to this brave town of York."
*K. Henry VI, pt. 3, Scene 2.*

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

When last we met in these rooms, you were kind enough to accompany me in a rapid excursion through Edinburgh, the beautiful—the land of Scott and Burns, of ill-starred Queen Mary, of stern John Knox. We then committed ourselves to the well known mercies of the English channel, from New Haven to Dieppe—the busy little sea port—once dear to Jacques Cartier; we next rambled round the Manchester of France, thrifty, antique Rouen; finally, if you recollect, we settled down to a Norman luncheon at Pitres, near Rouen.

We shall now with your permission retrace our steps to Albion's shores "the land of the Brave and the Free," and take train for the classic, historical cathedral town of York; though before entering it, you will allow me to say a few words of that Eden of England—the lakeland of Cumberland and Westmoreland.

In visiting Britain it is there you must go, in order to woe nature in some of her coyest—most seductive—most tender aspects. What a contrast for one, fresh from the festive woods, singing waterfalls, tranquil, moonlit lakes of Cumberland, to go and contemplate the solemn grandeur of York Minster—to feel the hushed, death-like silence of its sombre crypt,—to realise the awe engendered by the sound of one's footsteps, repeated through this populous city of the dead, in the surrounding vaults!

Windermere, Ambleside, Grasmere, Coniston, Ullswater, Derwentwater, Keswick, had just then revealed to my dazzled view their wonderous landscapes, some of their entrancing sou-

(*) The portion of this address relating to York was delivered on the 21st December 1881.

venirs. The Trosacks of Scotland, I could imagine, might beat Lakeland, by the height, the boldness of their peaks, the extent of their land-locked firths, but in picturesque beauty, never! Stirring sights had crowded on me, at Grasmere, sweetly sung by Felicia Hemans (*) and by Harriet Martineau; I had stood at the foot of Wordsworth's grave—culled a sprig of ivy from his thickly-festooned house-gable at Rydal Mount—gazed at the tomb of Hartley Coleridge in the little rustic churchyard at Grasmere, close to its whimpering burn.

On a wooded knoll, I had viewed Greta Hall, for years Southey's pleasant retreat close to Crosthwaithe Church, at Keswick, where repose his remains—the resort now of pilgrims from most distant lands. Greta Hall, was pointed out to us, when our carriage rumbled over Greta Bridge: a pretty, limpid stream—our good friends across the sea, call it a river!

Memory had brought me in communion with those sweet singers—now sleeping peacably amidst the heather-crowned hills and breezy dells of their native land:

> "Bards sublime
> Whose distant footsteps echo
> Through the corridors of Time;"

The scenes, the haunts in which these ethereal beings, had once moved, instinct with life, still echoing their songs—their joys—their home-sorrows—their world-wide fame, I had dwelt among them, taken possession of them; as it were been subjugated

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(*) Mrs. Hemans thus writes of Grasmere Valley:

> "O vale and lake, within yon mountain urn,
> Smiling so tranquilly, and yet so deep!
> Oft' doth your dreamy loveliness return,
> Colouring the tender shadows of my sleep
> With light Elysian; for the hues that steep
> Your shores in melting lustre, seem to float
> On the golden clouds from spirit lands remote;
> Isles the blest; and in our memory heep
> The place with holiest harmonies!

by their own romantic atmosphere. T'would be hard, my friends, even for one not to the manner born, to feel insensible to the witchery of such associations—to seal his soul against the softening influence exhaled from those homes so charmingly sung by Mrs. Hemans:

> " The stately Homes of England,
> How beautiful they stand
> Amidst their tall ancestral trees,
> O'er all the pleasant land ! "

For a lover of the country,one who for years has revelled in the sweet intimacy of stately trees and fragrant flowers,t'is harder still to approach, or, once enjoyed, to quit unmoved some of these hospitable english manors (it was our good fortune to enter more than one) full of cheery, family memories ; basking in vernal bloom, resplendent with sunshine and foliage ; adorned—such as Englishmen know how.—with velvety lawn, cricket and tennis grounds, drives, ponds, hedges, far-outspreading oaks –graceful elms, venerable yews—and that superb denizen of English parks —the copper-beach, imported, t'is said, in Britain by the Normans. Of this truly gorgeous tree, I saw some excellent representatives, among other spots, at two country seats, which will long remain green in my memory : Rothay-Holme, next to Canon Bell's picturesque dwelling (some here may remember hearing last summer this eloquent divine at Quebec) at Ambleside, the summer-residence of Lt. Col. Godfrey Rhodes and, at Acomb Park, York, the leafy manor of Major Frank Lees, late of the 25th Queen's Own Borderers.

After leaving the train at Lakeside station (Newby Bridge) at Windermere, anciently called Wynandermere, the largest of those sheets of water, as Wordsworth has it :

> " Wooded Winandermere, the river Lake,"

we ascended in the Railway ferry steam launch, the *Queen of the Lake*, to the fast expanding town of Ambleside, once a Roman post; Ambleside, the " village of Pine Groves," I might add, from my own observation —of the rooks and roaring ghylls and waterfalls. Swiftly indeed did we sweep over Windermere's

clear, cool, pellucid--th'o to the swimmer, treacherous waves; a portion of the trip, the mist descending from Lasswade and Helvellyn and other towering hills, drenched us; the remainder of the voyage, our tiny steamer, was touched by the last jocund rays of the setting sun; soon we saw Loowood and Bowness Bay in their perennial, sylvan beauty, doubtless, just as they were on that serene morning of May 1825, which witnessed Canning's, Scott's, Southey's, Wordsworth's and Wilson's memorable regatta, under the guidance of the "Admiral" Christopher North. By virtue of the word painting of that glorious old master, among the fleet, graceful yatchs, furrowing the lake at sunset, I almost fancied I could conjure before my mind's eye, the *Emma*, the *Nautilus*, the *Gazelle*, the *Osprey*, the *Garnet* and other "felicitous, white-winged creatures" immortalised by the eloquent Professor on that auspicious occasion.

It was fresh from the enjoyment of this blythe, fairy land, this dainty, lake scenery that the impressive spectacle and hallowed *souvenirs* of quaint, solemn, medieval York came trooping on my eager gaze."

## YORK—EBORACUM.

"York, York, for my monie,
Of all the Citties that ever I see,
For merry pastime and companie,
Except the City of London."

York, probably the most ancient city in Britain, and according to historians, a flourishing place two thousand years ago, is the capital of the largest county in England—Yorkshire, and the most celebrated town of the North of England. A city of 60,000 souls, it stands on both sides of the little river Ouse, which winds its way to the Humber.

Like great London, York boasts of a magnificent Lord Mayor; like Canterbury, it feels happy in owning an archbishop; like Quebec, it is proud, very proud of its historical souvenirs and monuments, its walls, bastions and gates, except that in York, he who would dare hint at the removal of its gates and city

[illegible] might render himself unsafe, if he should escape hanging.

York lies about midway between London and Edinburgh, being 188 miles from London, and 201 miles from Edinburgh. Its new Railway Station, built on a curve, in the Italian style of architecture, is the handsomest Station in England and the largest, being 800 feet in length, that is 102 feet longer than the great Midland Station, next to the Charing Cross Station, in London. It has a lofty vaulted roof, elegantly designed and decorated with ribbed glass. 148 Railway trains rush daily through this superb structure, of which the city is justly proud. Like many other ancient towns, York's annals blend the legendary with the historical element.

Geoffrey of Monmouth, attributes its foundation to Ebraucus, a King in Britain, about the time that David reigned in Judea. Ebraucus, called it after his own name, CAER-EBRAUC, the city of EBRAUCUS. A thousand years later, it was known to the Romans as Eboracum. Commentators are not agreed as to how the name was changed to York. In Domesday Book it is written Euerwic—this is supposed to mean a town on the Ure, which name the rever Ouse bears at its upper part. Worsae says, the Britons called York, EABKROIC; the Anglo-Saxons, EOFORWIC, and the Danes, Jorvik: which seems to furnish the derivation of York. York for centuries was a flourishing Roman city, and the foundation of Roman York probably dates from the year 79, when Agricola by the subjugation of the Brigantes, completed the conquest of the northern part of Britain. "This illustrious commander, we are told, made this city one of the chief stations on his line of march to the north, where he commenced building the chain of forts, afterwards completed by Hadrian, and called the Picts Wall. In A. D. 140, when the wall of Antinonus was built, Ptolemy mentions Eboracum, as being the head-quarters of the sixth legion—"Legio Sexta Victrix"—traces of whose occupation and residence in the city are found continuing during a period of three centuries. In A. D. 280, Severus, then Emperor, arrived at Eboracum, accompanied by his son Caracalla and Geta, to repel the incursions of the Caledonians. The latter was left in York (then, probably, the chief city of the whole province

of Britain) to administer justice, aided by Papinianus, one of the ablest lawyers of ancient Rome. Severus, after his return from a campaign against the Picts, died in York on February 4th, A. D. 210. This period was perhaps, the time of its greatest splendor. Eboracum was at that period distinguished by the presence of the three most learned jurists in the Roman Empire: Ulpianus, Paulus, and the more celebrated Papinianus, the Papinian Prefect, who was afterwards put to death in Rome for refusing to pronounce an oration exculpating Caracalla from blame for the murder of his brother Geta. The imperial palace is supposed to have occupied the site, commencing near Christ Church and extending down Goodram gate, St. Andrews gate, and through Bedern, to Aldwark; Christ Church being called in all ancient charters "*Ecclesia Sanctæ Trinitatis in Curiâ Regis.*"

The body of Severus was burned near York, and the ashes conveyed to Rome in an urn of porphyry. The place where the funeral obsequies were performed was probably one of three eminences, a mile and a half to the west of the city, near the village of Holgate, commonly known by the appellation of Severus's Hills, close to Acomb." How often have I driven past the spot, in July, August and September last, on returning from an antiquarian ramble, through the ruins of Clifford's Tower, through the moss-mantled remains of St. Mary's Abbey, or of the Multangular Tower, or along some of the narrow, crooked lanes of York which with the heights of Scarborough, reminded me strangely of dear old Quebec. Let us proceed:

"On the division of the roman Empire, between Galerius and Constantius Chlorus, Britain fell to the share of the latter, who fixed his residence in York, where he died two years after his arrival, A. D 306. The body of this Emperor, like that of Severus, was burned, and the ashes carried to Rome. His successor, Constantine the Great, was immediately proclaimed Emperor by the army at York, where he was at the time of his father's death .....Constantine immediately left for Gaul, and with him the history of York, during the Roman occupation, which had lasted nearly 400 years, ceases to be important, as the troops were gradually with drawn."

The extent of the Ancient City of Eboracum has been distinctly traced. It was entirely on the left bank of the Ouse, and formed a rectangular town enclosed by a wall with a rampart mound of earth on the river side, and perhaps, a fosse without. It may not be out of place to repeat that the old city wall has been religiously preserved, as well as the City Gates or Bars as they style them, and that though the wants of commerce or the utilitarianism of the age, have been attended to, he would indeed be a bold man, who would dare suggest the removal of those sacred walls and grim Gates of York, which each year attract to the city thousand and thousands of visitors from all parts of Europe and America.

I subjoin here a graphic sketch of York:

"Not weak, however, are the visible and tangible proofs of Roman occupation, for though there is no great gate still standing as at Lincoln, there is probably no English city so full of fragments of wall, of pavements, and of monuments to the invaders. About seventy acres of the centre of the present city, enclosing a rectangle of about 550, by 650 yards, formed no doubt the Roman camp, in the middle of which, again stood the Prætorium, afterwards the imperial palace, the site of which is near the present Christ Church. Of their monuments now above ground the "multangular tower" near St. Leonard's Hospital, which is a ten-sided building forming an angle of the Roman wall, is far the most interesting, especially as it still bears on its inside some roughly scratched legionary inscriptions. In the *hospitium* of the abbey church, too, there are a fine pavement representing the seasons and various altars. The long Saxon occupation which followed was, as is well known, sadly interrupted by the Danes. It was near here that Ragnar Lodbrok was so impolitically cast into a pit full of snakes, an act which was bitterly revenged. In York, too, Siward, sick to death and feeling his strength begin to pass away from him, determined to die in harness, and sat up to do so clothed in armour and with a spear erect in his failing hand. York was in fact, at one time almost wholly populated by the Danes, and plenty of proof of their occupation may be found in the numerous "thorpes" in and about the city. It took two years after the Conquest for the

Normans to come in force before York, but when they came they left their mark, for a short, sharp battle outside the walls made William, who commanded in person, master of the city and castle which he fortified strongly. The Danish inhabitants, however did not take kindly to their Norman cousins, to whom they were bad neighbours, and whom they cruelly annoyed from the cover afforded them by the Forest of Galtres, which extended right up to the city walls. William had to come back the next year to strengthen his garrison, but in 1070 the townsmen, aided by an imported army of Danes seized and sacked he castle with terrible slaughter, not a Norman escaping. The Conqueror's savage oath on hearing the news is matter of history, as is how he kept it Just after Cœur-de-Lion's coronation the castle was again the scene of a gruesome tragedy, for a number of landless knights and other broken men deep in debt to the Jews seized the opportunity of the scare begun in Westminster Hall to try to wipe out old scores by fire and sword. They burned the " starrs," and penning up the Jews in the castle, were about to murder and plunder them in detail, when most of their victims with desperate courage forestalled them by burning their property and killing their families and themselves. With so many bloody memories hanging round the castle there is little wonder that, like the Tower of London, it had its ghost. It was a curious one creeping out under the door of a porch in the Clifford's Tower, in the form of a scroll of paper (was it a " starr " ?,) then turning into a monkey, and then into a turkey cock, as may be read at lenght by all curious as to demonology and witchcraft, in Sir John Reresby's memoirs. One can hardly touch on the noticeable things which happened at York in later years, for except London probably no city has had such a succession of stirring incidents. It walls twice gave breathing time to the unlucky second Edward — after his defeats at Bannockburn in 1314 by the Bruce and in 1322. His son married Philippa of Hainault in the minster here, the marriage festivities of the two children being celebrated with the profusest magnificence for three weeks, if we believe Froissart, but were sadly marred at their finish by a bloody quarrel between the little bride's followers and the citizens, in which about eight hundred men were killed. Later on Philippa, no longer a child, brought here the Bruce, taken prisoner by her at

Neville's Cross; and in the next century the city saw the, to citizens, almost incredible sight of a prelate beheaded, for a Scrope, who was than Archbishop of York, having meddled with one of the Percies' plots, suffered in a field near Clementhorpe. Half a century later saw Richard Plantagenet's head stuck on Micklegate Bar,

So York may overlook the town of York,

to be taken down reverently next year when the tables were turned at Towton. When the Wars of the Roses were over, more pleasant things happened here. Henry VII. soon after his coronation had a right royal reception at York, with pageants innumerable, and galleries across the streets, whence "sweet cakes, wafers, and comfits in quantity like hailstones," were thrown, in humble imitation of the Carnival at Venice. Lambert Simnel sought help from York in vain, for the citizens were loyal, and later on were rewarded for their loyalty by the pleasant sight to north country eyes of the hacked and arrow-pierced corpse of James of Scotland, sent here after Flodden. Next we catch a glimpse of Wolsey, named Archbishop of York, but never resident here or even installed, for the king prudently stopped the installation very shortly before the day fixed for the ceremony by having him arrested for high treason. *En route* from Scotland to his pleasant English inheritance, James I stayed here some little time, and with his own happy knack for making himself ridiculous, signalised his stay by taking a childish liking for a local kind of cake called "main bread," and by characteristically endeavouring to thrust it down the throats of the inhabitants by specially ordering its manufacture, and by anathematising the still popular "spice bread," almost as violently as he did tobacco. The beginning of Charles I's troubles found him at York, for he went there to meet the Covenanters in 1639, and held a great Council of his peers there in 1640. Two years later he returned, and, worried almost to death for want of funds and friends, was driven to stint his table and to copy despatches with his own hand for want of a trust-worthy secretary. The Royal palace was on the site of St. Mary's Abbey, and by a grim irony of fate was afterwards turned into a blind school, while the printing office, whence the whole country was flooded with Royalist

tracts and pamphlets, was in St. William's College. In 1644, the city was besieged by the Parliamentarian army of 40,000 men, the siege being temporarily raised by the arrival of Prince Rupert, who issued from the gates of York a few days after, only, as every one knows, to be cut up root and branch on Marston Moor, the city and castle being surrendered a few weeks later. On the religious life and the church work of York volumes might well be written. Perhaps the best known miracle play in England was that of the Corpus Christi Guild here, as we find it recommended by a worthy friar minor, Wm. Melton, styled "Professor of Holy Pageantry." There was also the guild of Our Lord's Prayer, to commemorate a miracle play on that subject; and some idea of the number of the trade guilds may be gleaned from the fact that in 1415 ninety-six crafts joined in procession, exhibiting fifty-four distinct pageants, and carrying blazing torches. The Minster is the pride of the north of England. Burned no less than five times—in 741, 1069, 1080, 1829 and 1840—it has, phœnix-like, risen again, and is now perhaps one of the finest places of worship in England. Its chapter-house, which still bears the truthful, if boasting, inscription of "ut rosa flos florum sic domus ista domorum," and its great east window, with its original painted glass, are certainly unequalled; while the vestry room holds antiquarian treasures of the highest interest. Of the numerous churches the visitor should note Christ Church, which stands in the "Kings Court, plausibly surmised to mean the imperial Roman palace; and there is Saxon or Norman work in St. Helen, Stonegate, St. Margaret, Walmgate, St. Lawrence, and St. Mary the Younger; nor should All Saints Pavement, with its octagonal lantern, through which shone the beacon which helped weary wanderers to find their way home when lost in the great Forest of Galtres, or All Saints, North-street, with its "bede" window with scenes from the last judgment and quotations from a local poem called the "Prick of Conscience," be passed over."

Ladies and Gentlemen.—In the distinguished audience here present, I am reminded of two distinct classes of listeners: the first, composed of cultivated, travelled persons, who probably know as much, more perhaps, than I could tell them of famous

old York: they constitute, however the minority—an enlightened—powerful minority, if you like. The other class, the most numerous, have not yet seen York; may never see it, but long to do so, and until they do, they will I think, beckon me on to tell what I know about the good city; they compose the majority. Instead therefore of merely hurrying though the interesting sights and scenes so familiar to the minority, I have drawn copiously from the notes and sketches. so carefully, so ably prepared by the *litterati* of York, for the especial benefit, of the distinguished visitors attracted there in September last, by the Jubilee of the British Association. We shall therefore, with your leave first, pay a visit to the venerable Minster of York and saunter through its sounding aisles, aided by these notes and sketches.

York Minster.—Antiquarians like to trace the origin of this splendid Cathedral to the little wooden oratory, which on Easter Sunday, 12th April 627, stood on the spot, where now stands the Minster, and in which oratory was baptized by Paulinus, Edwin, King of Northumbria. Shortly after Edwin commenced to build a larger church of stone, dedicated to St. Peter. Edwin's stone church was subsequently destroyed. In 636, Oswald, restored the Minster. In 669, Archbishop Wilfred repaired this fine Temple of worship, covered the roof with lead and put glass in the window's. In 741, the Minster was nearly burnt to the ground. In 769, Albert, archbishop of York, assisted by the learned Alcuin, rebuilt the cathedral in the finest style of Saxon architecture. It was again destroyed by fire at the time of the Norman conquest, and rebuilt on a larger scale in the Norman style by Archbishop Thomas. In 1137, fire again played havoc with the church; it was restored in 1171, by Archbishop Roger. such is a brief glance at its early history. The present structure dates from 1215, and is due to archbishop Walter de-Grey, eager to build a cathedral on a grand style: the chief parts of the Minster date, as follows:

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|---|---|
| The Nave and West Front | 1291—1345 |
| " Western Towers. | 1430—1470 |
| " Central Tower | 1400—1420 |
| " North Transept | 1228—1240 |
| " South " | 1230—1256 |

The Chapter House ..... .....1300—1330
" Choir Screen..... .....1475—1485
" " ..... ..... ... ..... .1373—1400
" Lady Chapel or Presbytery... .....1363—1473
" Crypt (the two portions).....1070—1170

The styles of architecture represented are :

*Saxon.* – Some fragments in the Crypt.

*Norman.*—The Crypt, where may be seen parts of the Norman Chancel. Parts of the central Tower.

*Early English.*—North and South Transepts.

*Decorated.*—North and Chapter House.

*Perpendicular.*—The Lady Chapel, the Choir, the Central and Western Towers.

On the 2nd February 1829, Jonathan Martin, an insane man, set fire to the choir: the building was restored by a national subscription at a cost of £65,000, and the cathedral was re opened for worship on the 6th May, 1832. On the 20th May 1840, through the carelesness of a workman, the Minster again suffered from fire. The South-West bell tower together with the roof of the nave, were destroyed. A second subscription was set on foot and the damages repaired at a cost of £23,000. " York Cathedral is build in the form of a cross. Its length is 524 feet and its extreme breadth, north to south, 250 feet. Its special features are the dignity and massive grandeur of the whole, whether viewed from the exterior or interior. In the height of the roofs, both nave and choir, York exceeds every other English cathedral. The west front is considered a marvel of architectural excellence; its two towers have on each side perpendicular windows, and rise to the height of 202 feet, surmounted with lofty pinnacles. The west window, which is of two divisions of four lights each, is an unrivalled specimen of the leafy tracery that marks the style of the middle of the fourteenth century. Underneath is the great west entrance, consisting of an outer arch, deeply recessed, the mouldings of which contain details of exquisite de-

liacy, and figures representing the history of Adam and Eve. It is subdivided in the centre with two doorways supporting a circle filled with tracery.

The north transept contains an elegant window known as the "Five sisters." From the base springs an arcade of trefoil arches, the whole forming perhaps the most beautiful specimen of early English architecture in Great Britain. This transept is 264 feet in length, and 104 feet in breadth. The choir on both north and south sides is divided into two parts by projections in the form of small transepts, which rise above the aisles, and are pierced by long narrow windows on all their sides. At the east end is the Great Window or "Wall of Glass," consisting of nine lights, and measuring 77 feet in height by 32 feet in width. It is the largest window in England, perhaps in the world.

Time precludes me from enlarging on the beauty and massive grandeur of this celebrated fane. I have seen several remarkable churches: *Notre Dame*, at Paris—the cathedral and churches of Rouen—*Sainte Gudule*, at Brussels; the magnificent old cathedral at Antwerp; the cathedral, at Ely, with its gorgeous stained glass windows and jewel-inlaid *reredos*; historic St. Pauls; matchless Westminster Abbey—but with the exception of the latter, I visited no medieval temple of worship, where I cared to linger longer than in the Minster of York.

After the Minster, probably the most curious objects to be viewed in York, are the well preserved ruins of the beautiful St. Mary's Abbey, in and round the elegantly kept gardens of the *Philosophical Society*—adjacent to the handsome new bridge over the Ouse—Lendal Bridge. The Abbey, a Benedictine Monastery, once in point of wealth and influence, the most important in the North of England—was founded in 1078, by Stephen, a monk of Whitby. Six other monasteries were attached to it The Lord Abbot, with *he* of the Abbey of Selby, were the only mitred abbots north of the Trent, who by virtue of their rank were summoned as Lords of Parliament. The first Priory was destroyed by fire and its reconstruction which lasted twenty four years, began in 1270: the present ruins are the remains of this building; at the Reformation it shared the fate of other religious houses

and was surrendered to the Crown in 1540, by William Dent, the last abbot; the clear rental at the time being £1650—equal to about $80,000 of our money. It was then, says an old chronicler, occupied by 50 monks and perhaps by 150 servants. One of the most remarkable portions of the monastery, I visited, was the *Hospitium* or Guest-Hall—the lower story said to have been the refectory, is of stone. The upper story is now used as a museum of Egyptian and Roman antiquities: one's attention is invariably directed to the hair of a Roman lady; some maintain, of a British princess, 15 or 16 years of age—which was nearly perfect when discovered in a stone coffin, lined with another of lead and filled in with gypsum. In the hair are two fine pins of polished jet. Specimens of valuable Samian ware are also stored here; in the lower room, are some remarkable Roman altars and probably the most unique collection of Roman coffins in the world, stone and lead coffins, soldiers' graves, Roman baths, &c. The coffin of the lady who owned the hair is conspicuous.

The museum of the Yorkshire *Philosophical Society* with its collection of statues, minerals, birds,&c., next claimed my attention; in continuing our walk, we reached York Castle, which now, in an area covering about four acres, comprises the Prison, the Assize Court, and Clifford's Tower built on the site of the old castle, which was founded by William the Conqueror after his attack on York in 1068. It was for centuries the residence of the High Sheriffs of the county; it took its name from Francis Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, who in 1542 put it in a state of defense. We were told of a many curious legends, and historical incidents connected with the old pile: here was confined Walter Calverley the hero of the "Yorkshire Tragedy," in 1604—Eugene Aram, in 1759; the poet James Montgomery, in 1795-6, for alleged political libels in his newspaper, whilst that accomplished highwayman, Dick Turpin, was imprisoned in the neighbourhood. I devoted one whole morning walking round the Walls of York; they are provided, in the inside with a boarded walk, high in the air and are one of the most striking features of York; they are very ancient; the exact date of their erection is unknown, some portions are supposed to have been built on the foundations of the Roman Wall, one angle of which was the singular structure, well preserved and

known from its ten angles as the Multangular Tower, one of the barriers of Eboracum at the time of its occupation by the Romans.

I can only direct your attention as we hurry on to the lofty, medieval city Gates, or Bars of which there are four principal ones and two smaller: Meiklegate Bar is the largest and most interesting. It consists of a square tower built over a circular arch, with embattled turrets at the angles surmounted by stone figures; the arch is stated to be Norman. The arms of England and of old France quarterly, between two shields surmounted by canopies, and containing those of the city of York, are sculptured upon shields against the front. The Duke of York's head, after his execution, in 1460, was fixed here.

I might mention also Bootham Bar, Monk Bar, Wolmgate Bar, Fishergate Bar, Victoria Bar, the latter, a modern gate.

Few cities of 60,000 can exhibit such an array of churches. In addition to the Minster, there are twenty-five other temples of worship; in olden times, their were forty churches.

" The ways to grace, in York, as Mark Twain, said of Montreal, are numerous, " t'would be hard for a boy to throw a stone there, without risk of breaking a church window.

Modern York might be summed up as follows:

" Even those who are the least susceptible of impressions cannot fail to be struck with admiration when, emerging from the Railway Station, the first view of the city of York bursts upon the spectator. Before him the river Ouse flows placidly on, and stretching from its banks are seen the beautiful and undulating gardens of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, rich in architectural remains of departed ages. To the left the ruins of St. Mary's Abbey intermingled with the rich foliage of the surrounding trees, and

Beyond, in lofty majesty,
The Minster's towers arise on high,
Fit temple of the Deity!

Further to the right are dotted the spires of old Ebor's many churches, whilst its ancient walls, as they stretch to the river's brink, form an interesting foreground to the whole, and complete a picture of singular beauty. The city of York is situated in the centre of a rich agricultural district, and called the Vale of York.

"Though not a manufacturing town, there are numerous large establishments, where some hundreds of hands are employed, such as iron foundries, comb, glass, cigar, match, nail, and confectionary manufactories, the latter of which finds a market for its famed products in all parts of the United Kingdom. York returns two Members to Parliament, and the Municipal Government of the city is entrusted to a Corporation consisting of a Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Councillors. There are also a Recorder, Sheriff, and Town Clerk. Its Cathedral and numerous churches necessarily render the clerical element conspicuous; whilst, as the head-quarters of the Northern Military District, the army takes a prominent position in the society of the city and county. Few cities have greater opportunities of sociability and enjoyment than York. It has its Yorkshire Gentlement's Cricket Club, its Tennis Courts, its splendid river for boating excursions, its Regattas, its Military Reviews, its Polo Matches, and its tournaments. It boasts a Racecourse unequalled in the country, and it is the chief resort of many a keen sportsman, who as the season comes round, attaches himself to the far-famed York and Ainsty Hunt. Charming too are those winter gatherings (in that noble suite of rooms, the York Assembly Rooms) - the Union Hunt Ball, the County Ball, the Yeomanry Ball, when from five to eight hundred of the *élite* "join in the giddy dance." And for those who have a religions tendency, there is the Minster with its well-regulated daily services, its magnificent organs, and its afternoon anthem. Nor are its citizens devoid of energy and enterprise. Especially during the last ten years, York has kept pace with towns of greater wealth and larger population. It has its Daily Newspaper (*The York Daily Herald*); its Fine Arts Institution; its Philosophical Society; its School of Art; its Museum; its Hospital; its Dispensary; its Clubs; its Corn Exchange; its Diocesan Training Institution; its Friendly Societies' Hall; its Public Library; its Masonic Hall, its Mechanic Institute; its Fever

Hospital: its Tramways: its Rifle Volunteers: its Artillery Volunteers; its New Walk and Esplanade, extending a mile either way from the centre of the city on the banks of the Ouse: and it has its numerous educational establishments, such as the Royal College of St. Peter, which was originally founded by Queen Mary in 1557, and endowed out of the estates of the dissolved Hospital of St. Mary the Virgin, and is under the control of the Dean and Chapter. And noticing those institutions which are connected with its more remote history, we may sum up the whole by saying it possesses Ancient Guilds, Almshouses, Hospitals, and Schools, endowed for the maintenance of the aged, the support of the infirm, and the free education of the young."

I shall now venture to say a few words about the famous Congress of Science, which gave York additional lustre in September last. The British Association for the promotion of science, originated in 1831, and held its first meeting, attended by 353 persons, at York, in September of that year.

Sir David Brewster is credited with the first public suggestion of the Association. He was warmly supported by philosophers, such as Davy, Herschel, Babbage, Murchison, Buckland, and others equally devoted to the interests of scientific research. The suggested formation of the British Association was propounded by Sir David to the Yorkshire Philosophical Society through its secretary, the late Professor Philips. It was cordially supported by the leading men of science at the time; the British Association held its first meeting at York on the 27th of September, 1831. Its object was then stated to be "to give a stronger impulse and a more systematic direction to scientific inquiry; to promote the intercourse of those who cultivate science in different parts of the Empire with one another and with foreign philosophers; and to obtain a more general attention to the object of science, and the removal of any disadvantages of a public kind which impede its progress."

The Association was intended to be similar to that which for eight years previous, viz in 1823, had existed in Germany. In 1831, Earl Fitzwilliam was its first President, whilst, on the occasion of its fiftieth anniversary in September last, it was pre-

sided by a well known British *savant*, Sir John Lubbock; as the presidential honors last for each incumbent but one year, Sir John Lubbock, was replaced by a London Professor, Dr. Siemens, with whom it was my good fortune to become acquainted; next summer the Association is expected to meet, under him, at Southampton. It has been stated that steps will then be taken to induce the Association to hold in Canada, in 1883, its annual meeting; assuredly the first advent on our shores of a body numbering three or four thousand of the leading scientists in the world will be in our annals a Red letter day. (*Loud applause.*)

To my accidental presence in York, I owe the pleasure of having seen or listened to many of the leading scientists of the age: Huxley—Owen—Lubbock—Siemens—Newton—Ramsey—Thomson—Herbert Spencer—Hooker—Groves—Carpenter—Spottiswoode—Flowers—Asa Gray—Marsh—Whitney, and scores of other bright stars in the world of science.

And to the honor of being President of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, I found myself indebted for an associate member's ticket and a reserved seat, close to those veterans of science; let me tell you that in such a vast apartment as the York Exhibition Room, in which close on 3,000 persons were seated, a reserved seat was quite an appreciable piece of good luck.

The facilities afforded by the York press, as well as the printed directions, *brochures* and journals of each days proceedings, placed at my disposal, ample information, to which you are welcome, touching the Association's aims, progress and results.

"Estimating its success by the number of members and associates attending its meetings the British Association, we find, has made rapid strides since the year 1831, when there were 353 persons present in the theatre of the Yorkshire Museum. In 1834, when the association met at Edinburgh, under the presidency of Sir T. M. Brisbane, D.C.L., there was a total membership of 1,298. Three years later the association met at Liverpool, the Earl of Burlington presiding, when those in attendance numbered 1,840. This number was increased to 2,400 at Newcastle

on-Tyne in the following year, when the chair was occupied by the Duke of Northumberland. Then followed a falling off to 1,438 at Birmingham in 1839, when the Rev. W. Vernon Harcourt took the chair; and a still further reduction at Glasgow in 1840 (the Marquis of Breadalbane presiding), when there were 1,353 persons in attendance In the subsequent years the diminution in numbers was most marked, only 891 persons journeying to Plymouth to attend the meetings under the presidency of the Rev. W. Whewell, F.R.S. Then there came another leap at Manchester in 1842, when Lord Francis Egerton presided, and had the pleasure of being surrounded by a company numbering 1,345. From Manchester the Association went over to the Sister Isle and met at Cork, under the chairmanship of the Earl of Rosse, F.R.S., after which it returned to the place of its nativity, where the Rev. G. Peacock, D.D., filled the presidential chair. From 1845 to 1855 the chair was occupied by Sir John F.W. Herschell, Sir Roderick Murchison, Sir Robert Inglis, the Marquis of Northampton, the Rev. T.R. Robinson, D.D., Sir David Brewster, Mr. G.B. Airy (Astronomer Royal,) Lieut General Sabine, the Earl of Harrowby, and the Duke of Argyll. During these years the attendance varied considerably, from 715 in 1851 to 2,133 in 1855. Under the presidency of Professor Daubeny, M. D., at Cheltenham, in 1856, the meetings were attended by 1,115; but that number was almost doubled in 1857 at Dublin, when there were 2,022 members and associates present. Notwithstanding the presence of the Prince Consort at the Aberdeen meeting in 1858, there was a falling off: 1,698, which number ran up again to 2,564 at Oxford in the following year, when the chair was occupied by Lord Wrottisley. At Manchester in 1861, and Newcastle-on-Tyne in 1863, the two most successful meetings of the association in regard to numbers have been held. Dr. William Fairbairn, F.R.S., at the former, and Sir W.G. Armstrong at the latter town, had the honour of presiding over 3,139 and 3,335 persons respectively. Since that time the number have not varied greatly from year to year, but have maintained a comparatively steady balance between 1,856 and 2,802, with the exception however, of Plymouth in 1877, when there were only 1217 persons present, and Sheffield in 1879, when the attendance numbered 1,404 only. During these years the presidential chair was

occupied, amongst others, by Dr. Richard Owen, D.C.L.; the Rev. Professor Willis; Sir Charles Lyell, Bart.; Professor J. Phillips, L L. D., &c.; Mr. Justice Groves, the Duke of Buccleuch, Dr. Joseph D. Hooker, Professor G. G. Stokes, Professor Huxley, Sir W. Thomson, Dr. W. B. Carpenter, Professor A. Williamson, Mr. W. Spotiswoode, L L.D. ,&c. (president of the Royal Society,) Professor. G. J· Allman, L L. D., F. R. S., &c.

Among those eager to render hommage to science, as well as to fulfil towards their distinguished visitors the pleasant duties of hospitality, the *litterati*, historians and antiquarians of the town, took a prominent part. York, was described, sketched and discussed, in the press, in the leading English Reviews and Magazines, under every aspect. Foremost might be mentioned the learned Canon Raine, and Mr. Edwin Goadby, who furnished most elaborate and scholarly descriptions of the famous old town. The leading Journal, the *York Herald*, enlarged its space from eight sheets to sixteen; each morning, it contained most interesting historical data on York, and a copious summary of the daily proceedings of the British Association, as well as excerpts of the Papers and Essays read by learned Professors.

Each department of science, had its section, its president, its separate meeting place, every day from 10 P. M., during that festive week. In addition to the meetings of the sections, three grand literary *soirées* were held at the York Exhibition Rooms, for which tickets costing two sovereigns were issued. More than 2000 cultured outsiders had been attracted by the Jubilee of the British Association; the city was alive with bustle and thronged with British Professors, old and young, *savants* from France, Germany, America, even from Japan: the display lasted one whole week and was enlivened by social gatherings, "at homes," garden parties, excursions to Scarborough, Castle Howard, Helmsley Castle, Rievaulx Abbey, and other historic spots' in the neighbourhood.

I attended as many, as I could of the morning sittings and some of the literary and scientific *soirées* in the Exhibition Rooms. History—Geography—Geology—Chemistry—Paleonthology—Botany—Zoology—Electricity—Trade—Statistics, each had one or more eloquent exponents. Of all the eminent men I saw

or listened to, the " veteran of science," as his *confrères* took pleasure in styling him, white-haired, genial old Richard Owen and Professor Huxley, attracted most my attention. Though I did not feel myself called on to accept the new, bright, but uncertain light of Evolution, how could I fail being struck with the lucidity of exposition—the marvellous flow of oratory - the glow of science, at the easy and constant command of Professor Huxley : a born orator ?

The subjects which engaged the attontion of the Association were of a most varied nature and touched nearly every department of science.

Many were very novel ; some, rather abstruse ; several, though seemingly of paramount interest to *savants*, apparently, not practical for the million. I subjoin a few by way of illustration :

Dr. S. Houghton read a paper : *On the Effects of Gulf Streams upon Climate.*"

The new President Dr. C. W, Siemens " *On some Applications of Electric Energy to Horticultural and Agricultural Purposes,*" and gave out as the result of his experements that the growth of plants and flowers can be greatly stimulated by giving them by night, Electric light; this novel theory attracted much attention. A. W. Bennett : spoke " *On the colours of Spring Flowers.*"

Professor R. W. Atkinson read a communication intituled : " *Brewing in Japan.*"

Professor J. Prestwich, held forth : " *On the causes of Volcanic action.*"

Dr. Beddoe : " *On the stature of the Inhabitants of Hungary.*"

Wm. E. A. Axon : " *On Corn and Cattle.*"

Wm. Westgarth, of London : " *On a General Banking Law for the United Kingdom.*"

J. E. Dawson, struck a sympathetic cord, when he stood up and held forth : " *On the economical effects of using cheap gas for gas-meters with a description of the Apparatus for producing it.*"

R. Pickwell, treated: *Of Continuous Door-Locks and Foot-Boards for Railway Carriages.*"

Professor Seely: "*On the Evolution of the Plesiausorus.*"

Professor Thorpe: "*On Chemical action between Solids.*"

The Papers on Geology and Geography were particularly interesting.

A scientist from our side of the water, Professor O. C. Marsh, of Yale College, in a remarkable paper, held forth on the characteristics of the *Archoeopteryx*, an extinct spicies—a Jurassic Bird, half serpent, half Bird; of which three specimens only were known to exist: one,at Philadelphia—an other,at Munich, a third, in the British Museum: his explanations of the structure of this gigantic individual of the genus *Struthyonidae* seemed to rivet the attention of the European *savants*. I felt inclined to say "Well-done" America! when Professor Marsh sat down amidst hearty applause. A Paris Professor, Cyparissos Stephanos discoursed in French on an abstruse mathematical question: "*Sur les faisceaux de forme biquadratique binaire ayant une même Jacobienne.*"

Professeur Halpen: "*Sur une classe d'equations différentielles lineaires.*"

T E. Clark, B. S. C.: "*On Glacial Sections at York.*"

Ladies and Gentlemen.—Our varied, our jaunty little excursion from home must now draw to a close.

The time has come for me to bid adieu to the pleasant, hospitable, cultured old land beyond the sea, and to commit myself to the safe-keeping of Capt. Dutton and his good ship "Sardinian." Westward Ho! will now be our motto.

Though I have revelled, whilst abroad, in many imposing sights, let me tell you, I felt happy, in again turning my face to my native shores, not in the least downhearted with our own Canada.

Magnificent, striking spectacles I have indeed witnessed, in England—Scotland—Ireland—France—Belgium, &c., but whether

from the picturesque ruins of Scarborough Castle: from Arthur's Seat; or looking across the sparkling waters of Moville Bay, from the sublime, though delapidated walls of Green Castle, Donegal; or contemplating gaudy Paris, and the historic heights of Montmartre from the lofty summit of the *Colonne de la Bastille;* or from the top of the lion-crowned Mound on Waterloo plain, compassing at one glance a famous battlefield of the past, no where, have my eyes been feasted with a nobler view than you can any day obtain from the brow of Cape Diamond or from the world-renowned terrace Quebec owes to our regretted late Governor General; and after scanning and with our own comparing, the institutions—the aspirations—the freedom, civil, religious and political of other peoples, without envying them their glory, their wisdom, their greatness, but on the contrary taking full note of the same, I felt proud of the strides our country was making in the race of improvement, expansion and progress; prouder still of the recognition Canada with its wealth of mines—phosphates—asbestos—pastures and wheat fields, was rapidly gaining in Europe (*applause*); full of hope in our future. I felt on rounding Pointe Levi, inclined to repeat the impassionned utterances of that true friend to Quebec, Lord Dufferin, when addressing a meeting, at Belfast, on the 11th June 1872: "Like a virgin Goddess in a primeval world, Canada still stalks in unconscious beauty among her golden woods and along the margin of her trackless streams, catching but broken glances of her radiant majesty, as mirrored on their surface and scarcely dreams as yet of the glorious future awaiting her in the Olympus of nations." *Prolonged applause.*)

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## Meetings of the Association since its formation.

The following list of dates and places of meeting, and presidents of the British Association from its creation in 1831, may be interesting :—

| Date of Meeting. | Where held. | Presidents. | Attended by. | Amount received during the meeting. | Grants for scientific purposes. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | £ | £ |
| 1831 | York | Earl Fitzwilliam, D.C.L. | 353 | ..... | ..... |
| 1832 | Oxford | Rev. W. Buckland, F.R.S. | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 1833 | Cambridge | Rev. A. Sedgwick, F.R.S. | 900 | ..... | ..... |
| 1834 | Edinburgh | Sir T. M. Brisbane, D.C.L. | 1298 | ..... | 20 |
| 1835 | Dublin | Rev. Prov. Lloyd, LL.D. | ..... | ..... | 168 |
| 1836 | Bristol | Marquis of Lansdowne | 1350 | ..... | 435 |
| 1837 | Liverpool | Earl of Burlington, F.R.S. | 1840 | ..... | 918 |
| 1838 | Newcastle-on-Tyne | Duke of Northumberland | 2400 | ..... | 956 |
| 1839 | Birmingham | Rev. W. Vernon Harcourt | 1438 | ..... | 1595 |
| 1840 | Glasgow | Marquis of Breadalbane | 1353 | ..... | 1546 |
| 1841 | Plymouth | Rev. W. Whewell, F.R.S. | 891 | ..... | 1235 |
| 1842 | Manchester | Lord Francis Egerton | 1315 | ..... | 1449 |
| 1843 | Cork | Earl of Rosse, F.R.S. | ..... | ..... | 1565 |
| 1844 | York | Rev. G. Peacock, D.D. | 1000 | ..... | 981 |
| 1845 | Cambridge | Sir John F. W. Herschell | 1079 | ..... | 880 |
| 1846 | Southampton | Sir R. I. Murchison | 857 | ..... | 685 |
| 1847 | Oxford | Sir R. H. Inglis | 1260 | ..... | 208 |
| 1848 | Swansea | Marquis of Northampton | 929 | 707 | 275 |
| 1849 | Birmingham | Rev. T. R. Robinson, D.D. | 1071 | 963 | 159 |
| 1850 | Edinburgh | Sir David Brewster, K.H. | 1241 | 1085 | 345 |
| 1851 | Ipswich | G. B. Airy, Esq., Astron. Royal | 710 | 620 | 391 |
| 1852 | Belfast | Lt.-Gen. Sabine, F.R.S. | 1108 | 1085 | 304 |
| 1853 | Hull | W. Hopkins, Esq., F.R.S. | 876 | 903 | 205 |
| 1854 | Liverpool | Earl of Harrowby, F.R.S. | 1802 | 1882 | 330 |
| 1855 | Glasgow | Duke of Argyll, F.R.S. | 2133 | 2311 | 480 |
| 1856 | Cheltenham | Professor Daubeny, M.D. | 1115 | 1098 | 734 |
| 1857 | Dublin | Rev. Humphy. Lloyd, D.D. | 2022 | 2015 | 507 |
| 1858 | Leeds | Ricd. Owen, M.D., D.C.L. | 1698 | 1931 | 618 |
| 1859 | Aberdeen | H. R. H. Prince Consort | 2564 | 2782 | 684 |
| 1860 | Oxford | Lord Wrottesley, M.A. | 1689 | 1604 | 1241 |
| 1861 | Manchester | Wm. Fairbairn, LL.D., F.R.S. | 3139 | 3944 | 1111 |
| 1862 | Cambridge | Rev. Prof. Willis, M.A. | 1161 | 1089 | 1293 |
| 1863 | Newcastle-on-Tyne | Sir W. G. Armstrong, C.B. | 3335 | 3640 | 1608 |
| 1864 | Bath | Sir C. Lyell, Bart., M.P. | 2802 | 2965 | 1289 |
| 1865 | Birmingham | Prof. J. Phillips, M.A., L.L.D. | 1997 | 2227 | 1591 |
| 1866 | Nottingham | W. R. Grove, Q.C., F.R.S. | 2303 | 2469 | 1750 |
| 1867 | Dundee | Duke of Buccleuch, K.C.B. | 2444 | 2613 | 1739 |
| 1868 | Norwich | Dr. J. D. Hooker, F.R.S. | 2004 | 2042 | 1940 |
| 1869 | Exeter | Prof. G. C. Stokes, D.C.L. | 1856 | 1931 | 1622 |
| 1870 | Liverpool | Prof. T. Huxley, L.L.D. | 2878 | 3096 | 1572 |
| 1871 | Edinburgh | Prof. Sir W. Thompson, L.L.D. | 2463 | 2575 | |
| 1872 | Brighton | Dr. W. Carpenter, LL.D., F.R.S., F.L.S., F.G.S. | 2533 | 2649 | 1472<br>1285 |
| 1873 | Bradford | Dr. A. W. Williamson, F.R.S. | 1983 | 2120 | 1635 |
| 1874 | Belfast | Prof. J. Tyndall, L.L.D., F.R.S. | 1951 | 1979 | 1151 |
| 1875 | Bristol | Sir J. Hawkshaw, C.E., F.R.S. | 2248 | 2397 | 960 |
| 1876 | Glasgow | Prof. T. Andrews, M.D., F.R.S. | 2774 | 3023 | 1092 |
| 1877 | Plymouth | Prof. A. Thomson, M.D., F.R.S. | 1229 | 1268 | 1128 |
| 1878 | Dublin | Wm. Spottiswoode, M.A., F.R.S. | 2578 | 2615 | 725 |
| 1879 | Sheffield | Prof. G. J. Allman, M.D., F.R.S. | 1404 | 1425 | 1030 |
| 1880 | Swansea | A. C. Ramsey, LL.D., F.R.S. | 915 | 899 | 731 |

# THE MARITIME PROVINCES:

## THEIR ORIGIN AND INHABITANTS.

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Read before the Literary and Historical Society,

2ND FEBRUARY, 1882,

BY JOHN HARPER, B.A., F.E.I.S.,

RECTOR OF THE QUEBEC HIGH SCHOOL.

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There are not a few of our modern-time philosophers, who have been tempted to think with Mr. Buckle, that the present in the history of a country is only a developed past; that, as a growth, it bears towards the past the same relation which exists between the oak and the acorn from which the oak has sprung. Those who maintain this doctrine, which is simple enough in its enunciation, and almost axiomatic at first sight, argue that the principle of cause and effect is to be observed as plainly in the recorded actions and settled condition of a community, as in the natural phenomena discussed and explained by the science of chemistry or astronomy. The history of mankind, in their opinion, is but a co-relation of events, woven together by natural laws as effects, to produce in turn, as causes, other effects. In this way, the vast panorama of events from the beginning of things is to be recognized as an immense chain, whose links have been forged and joined together by the moral forces of nature, those mighty Cyclops

by which, they say, the whole fabric of history has been constructed on true scientific principles. Thus it is declared that *by* events and *from* events, the characteristics, which mark any particular period in a country's history, are produced according to that method which we glorify every day as nature's own; that method by which certain chemical elements, when arranged according to definite conditions, always produce definite chemical compounds, by which certain conjunctions of the heavenly bodies occur at certain definite periods producing certain sublunary effects, by which the acorn, when it grows, becomes an oak, the rose-bud a rose-bush, the apple-germ an apple-tree. According to this theory, the individual lives of men and women are the atoms, the humble elements, of which the great events are the complex visibly developed exponents. In a word, those boldly marked peculiarities which distinguish one tribe from another, that public spirit which we as often call sedition as patriotism, those habits, whose absence in others is with us who possess them little better than the ignorance of barbarism, those desires and appetites promoted by the sympathies of one section of the world and prohibited by the antipathies of another, and, above all, that almost indefinable identity which runs as a common factor through the individual characters of the majority of a nation, are said to be promoted by the action of one mind upon another, affected, as it may be, to a greater or less extent by the geographical position of the country, its physical configuration and its climatic changes. The theory is certainly an attractive one to students of a philosophic turn of mind. Nor has its influence been unfelt by nearly all our historians in their investigations. Indeed, no one can study history as it ought to be studied, without perceiving that underlying the visible amalgamation of events into an historic period,

there is an approach towards the scientific method, and assuredly, there is a science of history, in as far as a science may be recognized as the mere knowledge of classified fact. But the world and its ways of thinking must assuredly move on apace, ere the general student of history can be induced to give an unwavering adherence to Mr. Buckle's theory of the crystallizing or chemical process among events. The past, we are continually saying, has had a decided influence on the present. We all willingly admit that the proverb "history repeats itself" has not unfrequently been verified. Many staid orthodox people would even go so far as to say that some of the more striking historic scenes, such as the Reformation, the English Commonwealth and the French Revolution, appear to have been very largely the co-ordination of previous events and circumstances. But further than this it is hardly necessary to go, unless we wish to be driven towards the ultimate assumption that all our actions proceed from self-interest, an assumption on which the "science of history" theory must surely suffer shipwreck. Let us rather be content to look upon the past as the modifying antecedent of the present, not its cause. As its records appeal to our emotions, rather than to our understanding, let us, from the contemplation of those examples and warnings, which they lay before us, learn to sympathize with, and imitate the noble and the good, to detest and shun the base and the evil. Let us examine its archives, not for the purpose of determining some pre-conceived theory, but much in the same way that we contemplate the back-ground of a beautiful picture, by bringing it and all the other parts of the design to bear upon one another, so that we may divine the purpose of the artist, while admiring his workmanship. In this way, we may corroborate the truth that life is real, and that God is its author.

Impressed therefore with this our simpler theory of the advantages to be derived from the study of historic records, we may safely remark that the present of a country, without some corresponding past as its background, forms a study almost as uninviting as the examination of a mere profile, on the naked canvas. As an intellectual exercise, such a study is of little or no value. Like the reading of newspaper items, there is in it no improvement to the mind, no lasting impression for the memory, no corrective to our taste, no guide to our will-power or judgment in the process of imitation. And perhaps one of the reasons that may be advanced to explain the lack of interest taken in the history of such a country as the Maritime Provinces of Canada, is the prevalence of the somewhat immature idea among readers, outside of the Canadian provinces, that Canada, being one of the youngest countries in the world, has really no past of any great importance. It may be true, that in the annals of a colony like Canada, so long remote from the centre of the world's civilization, and which, on this account has been brought only periodically within the current of the world's history, there must necessarily be but few events which have attained to the true dignity of historical narrative. But we all know that the story of a simple man's life is often as interesting and instructive as the biography of the hero who has heard the echoes of his own greatness resounding from the four quarters of the globe. There are events and events. And truly the achievements of the past, or the examples of patriotism it exhibits, are not to be considered important or unimportant, merely on account of the greatness or littleness of the effects produced. Nor should we in Canada here, think of despising what the students of other countries are inclined to overlook. Canada has a past of which we certainly need not be ashamed. From the time when Jacques

Cartier dropped his anchor into the clear waters of the St. Lawrence, and De Monts, with the assistance of Champlain, built a residence for himself on the little island at the mouth of the St. Croix, in Acadia, there can be traced a long line of brave men, who persevered in the struggle for a living with fearful odds against them. These were the modest heroes, who, in advancing their own fortunes, struggled for the advancement of the country,—men who in times of distress, darkness and despair, often spent their whole energy in buoying up the hopes of their fellow-countrymen, in supporting the young and tender institutions of the country, or in striking down the tyranny or selfishness which stood in the way of enterprise, industry and progress. It is this story of inglorious victories won, this record of the internal life of the people, studded here and there, it is true, with public events of the utmost importance, which truly represents the past of Canada, and stands as an interesting background to the picture of its present civilization and advancement.

Though it is not my purpose, in this paper, to describe the great events in the history of the Maritime Provinces, I cannot refrain from drawing your attention to one of them, which does not usually receive much attention from our historians. The opening chapter in the history of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia is perhaps one of the most romantic in the annals of history. It refers to the discovery of Helluland, Markland and Vinland, by the sons of Eric the Red, an old Viking, who had escaped from Norway to Iceland, and thence to Greenland. The mist of tradition that hangs over the scene, recalls to mind the idealistic tales of old Homer, in his Odyssey, as he gives that wonderful account of the wanderings of the King of Ithaca amid the intricacies and allurements of the Ægean Sea. On reading, for the first time, the story of the Northmen's visit to the

western world, the memory goes back to schoolboy days, when we were drilled in the dignified, and somewhat dreaded, hexameters of Virgil, and drew from the narrative of the Æneid the tale of the providential escape of Æneas from burning Troy, and his after voyage in search of a new home in the Mediterranean. And what heroes these were to us in our younger days! How the difficulties they encountered were magnified by the difficulties which we encountered in the text! How pleasant it was to collect the minutiæ of their lives, and how, even later in life, we delight to mention them by way of reference while moulding our sentences! And yet, if the glory of heroism is to be measured by the danger encountered, those brave Northmen, who, for the sake of their benighted countrymen in Greenland, set out in search of a more congenial clime, surely merit our praise, and the enthusiasm of our poets, as much as do the above *nati deorum*, whose exploits have been immortalized by the two greatest poets of antiquity. The dangers of the Ægean Sea were chiefly those of the land, which the steersman seldom lost sight of. It is true it had its storms, such as that which threw Ulysses on the beach near the bathing ground of Nausicaa and her fair attendants, or that which later on scattered the galleys of Xerxes along the base of Mount Athos. But what were these compared with the steadfast wrath of old ocean, as witnessed on the Atlantic, and of which we have lately had such graphic accounts, that wrath which may be compared to

Air's breathing time—
When Boreas purifies his masters realm
From noxious fumes, death's warping net for mortals.
Earth's cleansing time—
When offal down the rivers swept
Disseminates through the churning deep
And fructifies its hidden fields.
Atlantic's sowing time—
When Neptune from his crested helm
Scatters his sedgy seed o'er Ocean's bed.

Nor was Æneas so ignorant of his destination as may at first appear. The ancient poets had a geography of their own, and certainly it was a muddled affair. But we can at least learn from them that the Lybian shores and the outlying islands of the Mediterranean were not unknown to the Trojans. And as Virgil carries his hero from Sicily to Carthage and from Carthage to Italy, he convinces us that the selection and not the discovery of a suitable country was the main difficulty in the mind of Æneas. But it was different with our heroes the Northmen. When they launched their cockle shells of boats and turned their prows towards the west, their expectation of finding a haven was almost as shadowy as the flitting cloud land which lined the western sky. With no guide save the bright stars overhead, and skilled only in a seamanship which was required to navigate the fiords and seas of Norway, these brave men perseveringly kept towards the westward. On they pushed, sometimes tossed like a bubble on the mighty swell of the ocean, sometimes hidden in the fogs of Greenland, or moving through the mazes of the mountain icebergs, still on they went, determined to see the land, if there was any, on which the sun set. And shall we not praise them! In our own days, we hear our press uttering indirectly the praises of men, who are ever anxious to show the foolhardy side of their heroism by attempting to cross the Atlantic in small open boats. This is to praise the hardihood of the boy who ventures out farther and farther upon the thin curving ice, which bends under his weight. At the best it is a shuddering kind of praise. But the Northmen set out with a purpose as clearly defined as was the purpose of Columbus; at least so say the Sagas of which I will remark further on. They were perhaps impelled by a more selfish, though to them a hardly less noble, expectation than that of the enthusiast who

half a lifetime in trying to induce the sovereigns of Europe to listen to his project of discovery. They had been driven out of Norway with their father, on account of that father's misdeeds. Even from the somewhat inhospitable shores of Iceland, where they found a place of refuge for a few years, they were obliged to depart to the still more inhospitable shores of Southern Greenland. Their motive therefore for seeking a place of settlement further to the southward is not hard to discover. To settle quietly near Cape Farewell was a hopeless thought for those who had known the comforts of life. Eric's attempt at colonization in the land of icebergs, though afterwards fruitful of interesting results, was not in its earlier stages without its forebodings. The sons of the old Viking became dissatisfied. The bold restlessness of their father appeared in them in an oft-repeated desire to set out on some daring expedition. The eldest returned to Norway, and learned during his voyage thither that an Icelander, driven westward by adverse winds, had beheld away in the distance the dim outline of other lands, which seemed to differ in natural features from Iceland or Greenland. The story of course was not credited. But it was a good excuse for men who wished to better their condition to urge upon their father, now growing miserly in his old age, the necessity of fitting out an expedition for the south. Eric's consent was obtained. The self-interest of men who wished to improve their own fortunes, and the comfort of their families, succeeded. Yet surely we must admire their spirit of adventure, even if it were animated by a motive which some denounce as selfish. Was it not this same spirit which scattered over southern climes, the northern tribes of the old world, to share the wealth of their southern neighbors? Was it not this same self-interest which drove the Gauls down through their mountain gorges into the fertile plains of Italy, and sent

them battering at the very gates of the empress city? What was the influence which brought our Saxon forefathers from the forests of Germany to drive the ancient Celts into the extreme corners of Britain; and our French forefathers from the plains of Normandy to keep in subjection for a century or two the Saxon race? What was the influence which sent Cortez to Mexico, Pizarro to Peru, and Raleigh to Guiana? The spirit of plunder some call it nowadays. But in earlier times men called it a spirit of adventure, and raised their huzzahs in honor of its daring deeds. And even we of the present time sometimes grow ecstatic over it; for remember it was this same spirit of adventure and self-interest which animated to a very great extent our Alexanders, our Cæsars, our Fredericks, and our Bonapartes. Even dreams of gold were not absent from the minds of the enthusiasts Columbus, Cabot and Cartier, as their charters very well testify. But, be this as it may, to improve one's circumstances at all hazards was undoubtedly "the chief end of man" in the creed of the Vikings, those pirates of the romance of the middle ages, from one of whom our Queen does not disdain to claim descent; and we can almost imagine that the sons of Eric, as they steered their course through the currents of the North Atlantic, and lay back of an hour to enjoy the swell of the ocean, would sometimes enliven their voyage by singing the song which their father had taught them—the song which tells us that the romance of the Vikings was what some now call the romance of plunder and self-interest. Here are a few stanzas of the rhyme:—

"I am a Viking bold
  The frolic of the sea
From bay to bay I roved
  In search of southern prey.
I cared for king nor law,
  E'en God at times forgot—
A freeman on the deep,
  My fortune there I sought.

In early days my home
  Lay towards the polar sea,
Where wintry blasts blow keen
  O'er harvests dank and dree.
There nature's grandeur frowned,
  Mid beauty wild and nude,
On honest toil and its rewards
  But smiled on hardihood.

From boyhood I was trained
  To ride the fiord's wave,
In search of fish and fowl,
  The Maelstrom's swell to brave.
Rough was my garb and scant,
  And rough and scant my cheer,
A toilsome cheerless life was mine
  To a spirit uncurbed by fear.

But I heard of southern lands,
  And hope braced all my powers,
My dreams were all of gold,
  My thoughts were golden showers,
As I heard of all the wealth
  That makes life gay and free,
And fitted up my fisher's craft
  To sail the southern sea.

Eric Randa and his sons. These documents are by no means corroborative in their collateral statements, but the source from which has been drawn the substance of their story seems to have been a common one. Interesting as the whole subject is, it is of course not my purpose to discuss minutely the historical aspect of a pre-Columbian discovery of America. As there are many arguments for and against the truth of such a discovery, a separate paper would have to be written on the question. For instance Bancroft, in the opening chapter of his history, throws the story aside as worthless and as one which nobody should have the patience to discuss. Several have suffered at the hands of critics, for narrating the event in the precise language of history. It has been said that the doubtful story detracts from the renown of other discoveries; that Columbus is thereby thrown in the shade; that great natural changes have worked wonders in the northern seas, which when considered, must render the story ridiculous; that Greenland as a Norwegian colony is a myth; that there is no mention of such a discovery in authentic Norwegian history; that even Iceland was little known in the tenth century. To all these the less impatient answer may be made, that the internal evidence to be collected from the two Sagas, which narrate the event, is sufficient to overturn them as mere assertions. The story was certainly known before the time of Columbus. It is highly probable that he heard of the adventure during his visit to Rekiavik. The descriptions of the lands discovered, especially in the case of Vinland, indicate the Atlantic shores of North America, the shores of Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and Massachusetts. The fogs, the bare barren rocks, the cold biting blasts, the icebergs drifting down from the Arctic seas, make up a picture of Newfoundland to be seen even in our own times. The Markland of the Sagas was

evidently the Nova Scotia of to-day as seen from the Atlantic. The equal days and nights, the genial climate, the fertile soil, the honey dew on the grass, the wild maize and the rich clusters of grapes, the numerous islands and their products, all indicate that the Vinland discovered was the original of the land near Cape Cod. Then again when we study the narrative in the light of the manners and customs prevailing at the present day in the *Ultima Thule* of the ancients, the circumstantial evidence becomes stronger and stronger; and when last of all we consider the fact that the Sagas referring to Eric are found classed among the histories and not among the legends of ancient Norwegian times, we surely must come to the decision that the tale of the discovery of America in the tenth century, with the odds all in favour of its historical verification, may worthily rank as an opening chapter in the history of America.

As a contrast existing between the Saga historical and the Saga legendary, I may quote Sir Walter Scott as he writes of the latter. In that weird tale of his the *Pirate*, in which he describes events as having taken place in 1720 or thereabout, he utters the following:—"At this time, the old Norwegian Sagas were much remembered and often rehearsed by the fishermen of Shetland, who still preserved among themselves the ancient Norse tongue, which was the speech of their forefathers. In the dark romance of these Scandinavian tales lay much that was captivating to the youthful ear; and the classic fables of antiquity were rivalled at least, if not excelled by the strange legends which were to be heard from the native Shetlanders. Often the scenes around the visitor were assigned as the locality of wild poems, which, half recited, half chanted by voices as hoarse if not as loud as the waves o'er which they floated, pointed out the very bay on which they sailed as the scene of a bloody sea fight; the scarce seen

heaps of stones that bristled over the projecting cape, as the dun or castle of some potent earl or noted pirate; the distant and solitary gray stone on the lonely moor as marking the grave of a hero : the wild cavern up which the sea rolled in heavy, brown, and unbroken billows, as the dwelling of some noted sorceress." Thus does the "Wizard of the North," in describing the Saga legendary, indirectly enhance the value of the Saga historical, and assists us in the verification of the story of the Northmen, the first of Europeans to see the shores of the Maritime Provinces.

The history of all nations, at their origin, is perplexingly shrouded in a cloud of tradition, and the story of the Northmen, as I have shown, makes no exception of the Maritime Provinces in this respect. But this uncertainty, caused by the vagaries of tradition, does not end with the Northmen : it is in fact all that is left to us after a protracted study of the past of the aborigines of these provinces. The Micmacs, as an historical study, hold about the same relation to the historic period that opens with the arrival of the French settler, which the ancient Britons, the Gauls, the Pelasgians, or the Hellenes hold in reference to succeeding times occurring respectively in England, France, Italy and Greece. Of their deeds among themselves in past times there is no authentic record. They have never been able to go back further than a generation or two from their own times, unless in the recital of a few fables and romances which have evidently been handed down through many generations. So that when the historian desires to devote a chapter to the savage tribes which held the seaboard of the Dominion in past ages, he has to confine himself to the discussion of their manners and customs, their means of obtaining a livelihood, and the influence which the European settler has had upon their destiny as a distinct race. And so often have these points been discussed that it is not

easy to say anything concerning them which has not already been said. For instance, how often has it been repeated in our ears that the red man must eventually disappear before the onward march of the white man and his progressive ideas? How often has the insufficient inference gone the rounds, that as the animal nature sinks before mental activity, so the savage must deteriorate in presence of civilization and its effects? It is true that the European, in his attempts to bring the Indian within the pale of his more modern manners and customs, has not been very successful, and whatever proofs can be found in other parts of the Dominion against this assertion, it is certainly true with respect to his efforts in the Lower Provinces. But has the man of civilization gone about his work in the right way or at the right time? I think the answer to that is found in the fact that he has really not *altogether failed* in improving the condition of his dusky neighbours. The exertions which have been put forth in settling them on their own lands, in reducing their speech to a written language, and in placing the Bible in their hands, have not been without their gratifying results. But is it not only in very modern times that the Indian has been able to learn anything good of the white man? What example was placed before him by Europeans—by the French and English—when they quarreled among themselves for the mastery in the country, which was his by right of inheritance? The French training him in the arts of cruelty and theft, and the English torturing him afterwards for showing his aptitude in learning the barbarous lesson! And what a code of morals was at first placed before him by those who were ever seducing his daughters and sisters, and making murderers of his sons and brothers? It is just possible that in the case of the Micmacs the doctrines of Christianity and civilization have been taught too

late. It is said that they are already gradually decreasing in numbers, notwithstanding the fostering care of the respective Provincial Governments. The few settlements which exist are, however, held together by the spirit of chiefdom which still prevails; and this in itself is, in the opinion of some, sufficient to prevent them from becoming an extinct race. Notwithstanding the intermixture of white blood, they may continue to exist as a distinct class, living in the provinces as the gypsies do in England, partly dependent on charity for their livelihood, partly on desultory employments.

But while the white man has had an influence upon the Indian in early times to his moral hurt, in more modern times to his bodily comfort and probable decay, the Indian, on the other hand, taught the white man many a lesson, without which he could hardly have contended against the hardships of a forest life. At the outset, the Indian was the superior being of the two,—he knew all about the forest trails, the rivers, the lakes, and the hills, and as a guide was indispensable to the early settler. He was even richer than most of the adventurers who arrived from France and England; for was he not the lord and owner of the soil? and could he not tell the colonists of his treasures in furs and the products of the chase? In numbers also the Indians had the advantage over those little companies that in early times were to be found as squatters at the head of some bay or on the banks of some navigable river. Then again, when the French and English were contending for the *imperium*, the Indian may be said to have held in his hand the balance of power. Sometimes he was in favour of the English, but very much oftener in favour of the French. For years he was a terror to the city of Halifax. On one occasion the savages destroyed the thriving settlement of Dartmouth; and at other

times forced the Germans of Lunenburg to protect themselves behind a strong barricade round their town. Altogether the Indians played an important part during the development of the provinces into a regularly organized English colony; and consequently in his dealings with them, either in obtaining land from them by treaties and bargains or by violence and conquest, in purchasing for a trifle their furs and other small wares, or in resisting their stealthy attacks on his home, the Frenchman, the Englishman or the Scotchman must have acquired many of those habits and characteristics which are peculiar to his descendants, the Nova Scotians and New Brunswickers.

The problem of the probable extinction of the Micmac, surrounded as it is with his past activities, and his present indifference to the progress of the times, is an interesting one to those of our scientists who strive to verify the "survival" theory. As a study in archæology, the Indian will continue to engage the attention of our budding historians. Our poets will not forget to fan his forest experiences into a blaze of poetic fervour, dreaming, like their forerunners, of the glories of the forest primeval, the chivalric oratory around the council fires, and the sensuous blessings which awaited the red man in the happy hunting grounds of a future life. In our holiday excursions, in search of the game which glistens in our river pools, or scuds through our forest glades, we will still place our confidence in "Lo" as a reliable guide and helpmate. Perhaps the ultra æsthetic tastes of the present time, when they begin to influence Canadian society, may cause some to regret the past age which he represents, and the opening era by which it is eclipsed. The busy burr of our mills and factories may appear less interesting or pleasant to some than the cooing of the wild pigeon that feared no fowler; the shooting of our rapids in a canoe, more

picturesque than navigation by steamboat; the conical wigwams and palisades of an Indian village, a sweeter picture than the palaces of our merchant princes and our smoke-girt towns; the sweep of our steel bound railways and the scream of the steam-horse, less romantic than the Indian's trail and his ecstatic war-whoop. But what of all this to the future of the Indian. He can never return. As a factor in the progress of the Maritime Provinces, he is now a mere cipher, perhaps a minus quantity, a burden. The decree of the survival of the fittest, I am afraid, has gone out against him. And the bright prospect of peace and prosperity which lies before our country, as well as its present progress and advancement among the nations of the earth, is too pregnant with the happiness of those who now are its possessors, and with the glory of God who made all things for their best use, for us to regret the degeneration of a race that resisted our first attempts at its civilization and improvement.

As the traditional period in the history of a country is usually succeeded by an epoch more strictly historical, and one referring to those migrations of outside tribes, which gave affairs an impetus towards a new condition of life, so the true history of the Maritime Provinces opens with that tide of immigration which, in the seventeenth century, began to flow from the countries of Europe, towards the western shores of the Atlantic. The Dorian and Æolian Migrations spread over the Peloponnesus a race of hardy warriors, whose descendants made the leaf-shaped peninsula the cradle of events which rendered Europe victorious over Asia and her despots, and which thus moulded the future destiny of the world. The Phœnicians, in their descent upon Africa, established a city commonwealth, which, in its rivalry with Rome, has filled the pages of history with the great events of the Punic Wars. With

like results did the Franks push their way into the heart of Gaul, and by their operations lay the foundations of an empire, which, for centuries, has ranked as one of the first nations in the world. In like manner did the Saxons enter a country which was little better than a wilderness, and by their prowess and courage, disseminate those elements of character, which have made the name Anglo-Saxon the synonym of progress and enterprise. Thus have migrations begun new eras. There is no history of Greece before the Dorian migrations. Nothing eventful is known of Africa previous to the building of Carthage. Cæsar and his legions, it may be said, created a history of invasion and subjection in Gaul, but it was Clovis and his followers who stamped, by their achievements, the opening chapter of the history of France. And what is all we know about Britain, before the migration of the Saxons, the Jutes and the Angles? Just what we know of primeval Greece, of Palasgic Italy, of pre-historic Africa or of Canada when the Indians were its only inhabitants. Thus there may be a relationship established between the migrations of old, and the immigration movements, which brought to the provinces of America, the French, the English, the Irish, the German, and the Scotch colonists, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Indeed as a study the latter are by far the most interesting of these. The task of deducing national characteristics from the intermingling of various tribes, and from early historical events is nowhere so easy as in the new countries of the world. Of the old world migrations we can only have the merest outlines. We can only surmise by what they subsequently effected, the character of the people who joined in them. The people themselves we cannot accompany. We know nothing of their thoughts and feelings. We know nothing of the life they left behind, of the influences which had

moulded their character in one land, or of the surroundings which were to mould them differently in a new land. For instance it would be temerity itself to say whence comes the bravado of the modern Greek, the charlatanism of the Italian, the stolidity of the German, or the lively and brilliant spirit of the French. The origin of such characteristics is buried in antiquity itself. Like the round towers of Ireland, they stand before us as real effects, sterling realities, of which no one can say who was the builder, who the originator, what their origin.

But it is altogether different with the first migrations of Europeans across the Atlantic. We know all about them. No expedition set out without its historian or recorder. In every band there was generally some one who could place in manuscript the events of the voyage, and the early conditions of the country, when it was reached. Besides, the emigrants came from old-time kingdoms and empires, where the national character had long been formed. Indeed as a people and nation, their whole career is now known in all its details. We know not only the date of the discovery and foundation of the various provinces of Canada, but we know the individual lives and characters of those who were the leaders of the expeditions; and thus it is that the task of seeking the foundation of certain Canadian traits of character, and of some of the manners and customs of our country, is an easy one, when compared with a similar search in the annals of other countries. Let us look then at the various immigration movements which have thus affected the growth and development of the Maritime Provinces, and the character of their inhabitants.

Again giving way to a very common weakness, if weakness it may be called, of comparing later movements with earlier movements, lesser events with greater, I turn your

attention to the opening of the seventeenth century. The date 1603 is one which is marked indelibly on the mind of everyone as being the year in which good Queen Bess passed away to her rest; and by means of it school-boys still assist the memory in retaining the date 1605, the year in which the first permanent settlement was made in Acadia by the French; for thus by three years does old Port Royal in the Maritime Provinces take precedence of old Quebec. In Elizabeth's time, the early era of discovery and colonization had attained to its zenith of glory, and no doubt it was in emulation of the seamen who had sailed from the Thames and the Bristol Channel, and had made their renown in the western seas, that Jacques Cartier left his native port of St. Malo, and DeMonts the imperial harbour of Havre, to establish their colonies in New France.

Next in interest to the story of the Northmen, and quite as romantic in its details, is the history of the discovery and early colonization of Acadia by the French. The name of Acadia, so sweet to the ear of the poet, simply means in the original Micmac, a place abounding in, or having in abundance everything it possessed—a place abounding in forests, fish, and fur-bearing animals. The name in its purity of course is Acadie, being thus preserved in the names of such places as Shubenacadie and Tracadie. And just as the gold fields formed the first attraction towards the fertile sierras of California or the large paddocks of Australia, or as that vast sweep of prairie land of ours has made so young a name as Manitoba known all over the world, so the shiploads of furs and fish which could be obtained for a mere song in Acadia, attracted hundreds of traders to the Port of Canso and its vicinity. Indeed, as in the case of the Californian miner whose perpetual thought was of gold, and as in the case of the

Winnipeg speculators whose daily cry, I am afraid, is land, when the European fishermen and traders found their way to the shores of the Maritime Provinces, they cared for nothing in the country save its fish and its furs. They beheld the thick forest around them as a vast hunting ground, in which could be entrapped the bear, wolf, beaver, fox and other animals, whose skins had a welcome market in England and France. And as a matter of fact this trade in fish and peltry was the origin of the Maritime Provinces as a fixed community. Just as in other parts of Canada, as everybody knows, the owners of the vessels which arrived once a year, bought the furs from the natives at a nominal price. Afterwards as trade increased, and competition by chartered companies sprang up, collecting stations were established at various points, where the native fur-trappers could leave their forest spoils in exchange for provisions. At these stations Europeans were appointed as the collectors, who, as the first merchants of the country, became the first farmers; for around their rude dwellings, when they found it to be their interest to remain permanently in the country, they soon began to clear and to cultivate a patch of land, which could produce for them a supply of corn and vegetables.

The attempts to colonize Acadia began with the ill-fated expedition of the Marquis de la Roche. The story of the sufferings encountered on the sands of Cape Sable Island may yet be woven into a novel as interesting as "Robinson Crusoe," or its modern imitation by Charles Read. And there is another subject for our poets and painters in the events which enshrine the names of De Monts and Champlain, as they steered from Annapolis Basin to the little island at the mouth of the St. Croix, and back again to build their capital at Port Royal. There is in our library here the whole story told by one, who if not an eye witness of all

the events, could say of many of them, as Æneas said to Dido, *quorum magna pars fui.* From Marc Lascarbot, that romantic advocate from France, we can learn of the labours, pleasures and hardships of Acadia's first permanent settlement; and certainly his harmless gossip and quaint humour make up a pleasant tale. His records of receptions, amusements, hunting parties, festivities, and explorations throw a halo of interest around the times; and show how he and his associates resisted the rigours of the climate and bore up against the hardships of their new life. From the first there was peace with the Indians and no thought of invasion. The abundant provisions sent out from France to the brave colonists were increased by the game and fruit of the famous Annapolis valley. The natives brought in large quantities of furs, and showed their white friends where and how more could be found. The society of *Le bon temps*, our historian's own idea, with its feasts and frolics, its hunting and exploring parties, its poems and songs, helped to wear away the fierce winter days with their long nights, as each of the leaders took his turn in providing for the common table. At that table was frequently to be seen the bent form of an old Indian chief. This was that old Membertou who had befriended the French *braves* from the first. His presence there formed the living link between the age of barbarism going out in the Maritime Provinces, and that of civilization coming in.

Over a period of a century and a-half, up to the time of the first siege of Louisburg, the affairs of the French continued to develope. Events cluster for the most part around the little capital, Port Royal. The jealousy, which sprang up in the hearts of the New Englanders against the French colony, can hardly be understood by us of the present time, but certainly around Port Royal and along the shores of the Bay of Fundy were to be seen, in 1700,

evidences of a ruthlessness which ought to have made any civilized nation blush. One of the most memorable instances of cruelty was Colonel Church's second expedition. With a force of fifteen vessels and five hundred men he was commissioned by the New Englanders to destroy everything French along the Bay of Fundy; and he performed his work in a manner satisfactory to the blindest spirit of revenge. From Penobscot to Chignecto nearly every village was burned to the ground, and the inhabitants forced to seek shelter in the woods; while around Beaubassin and the district of Minas, every means of defence was removed, the refractory were put to death, and all property was torn down in order that it might be swept away by the tide, which the dykes that had been cut down by the avengers no longer kept back.

Yet, notwithstanding heartlessness of this kind, the Acadian settlements flourished. The appearance of old Annapolis with its dyked farms rendered fertile with the rich alluvial deposits of its river,—with its fine meadows, its fields of wheat, rye and oats, and its tidy kitchen gardens, —with its garrison life, rendered enjoyable by the merry social gatherings of its three hundred families, makes up a picture which, with a little romance to heighten its colour, might rival the pleasant imagery of Longfellow that still so often stirs up sympathy for the unfortunates of Grand Pré. I need not tell you that the whole valley, dug up and cultivated by the industry of the past fifty years, is now a garden in itself; and, if we are to believe Paul Mascarene's report to the Board of Trade, it gave promise as early as the seventeenth century of its present fertility. In the days of stage coaching, no brighter ride was to be had in the Maritime Provinces than that which begins with the birth-place of Sam Slick, and carries the traveller down the broad pathway which stretches between the North and

South Mountains of Nova Scotia. What variety of scenery there is on every hand, as the driver, who is possibly a bit of a poet, points out to us the spots of historic interest, those pleasant farms of which, as Longfellow says, "naught now, but tradition remains." On the right stretches the marshland towards the Basin of Minas, and away in the distance rises Blomidon, the terminus of a well defined range of hills. As we pass amid the milder scenery, Acadia, for the moment, becomes Arcadia, with orchards, orchards everywhere. The sluggish river winding in and out with its hundred links, lazily flowing between its yellow banks, and laden with that golden mud which, when spread over field and meadow by the farmer, makes the valley smile with fertility; the striking contrast between the yellow of the river's bed and the bright green of the closely shaven meadows; the high hills of the Bay of Fundy just crested with the floating fog on the far away side; the little villages that every two or three miles peep out on us from behind a curtain of green and orange and yellow; and last of all, as we reach our halting place for the day in the little hostelry of Annapolis, the golden sunset just kissing the high land, and warping its effulgence over the sleepy waters of the great triangular basin,—all these produce for us a magnificent panorama, with a still more magnificent transformation scene at its *finale*. No one can readily forget such a scene after once looking upon it. Standing amid the ruins of the fort of the old capital, with a reverence for things past as our monitor, and the poet's fancy to set the strings of the heart in gentle vibration, who can fail to dream of the emotions which stirred the souls of DeMonts, Champlain, Poutrincourt and Lescarbot, as their eyes fell for the first time upon the beautiful harbour of Port Royal and its surroundings? Does not the same dream sanctify some of us at times, when from

the commanding site of the King's Bastion we drink in a soul-purifying draught at nature's shrine? As her beauty lies spread out before us, does our fancy not flutter for a moment around the memories of those who first lay at anchor in our great roadstead? No need to wonder why Champlain, after once seeing our Cape, selected it as the site of his capital! Our thoughts, as the eyes sweeps round from Beauport to St. Joseph, are probably what his thoughts were, our emotions his emotions, the same lifting up of the soul to God—from nature to nature's God—the same thankfulness that he has made this world of ours so beautiful to dwell in. As Tom Moore said when standing on the brink of Niagara:—"At such a moment we perceive enough of nature's grandeur to set imagination on the wing—imagination which at such times can outrun reality. We feel as if approaching the dwelling place of the Most High, and remain for a while in that delicious absorption which the enthusiasm of piety alone can produce. Our whole heart and soul ascend towards the Deity in a swell of devout admiration." So it must have been with the little band who made a home for themselves at Port Royal. The development process of the scientists, even when assisted by the industry of the husbandman, does not change the face of nature very much in two centuries; and surely we are safe in saying that the beauty which attracted the first French settlers was that which now attracts thousands of holiday-seekers to Annapolis Basin.

But all activity was not confined to Port Royal. Further up the bay, at Chignecto, there were to be seen both wealth and enterprise. There was enterprise in the building of expensive aboideaux on the rivers, and in the trade which had sprung up with Louisburg in hay, oats, and cattle; while there was wealth in the coal seams which were to be seen cropping out on the surface, and in the fine stretches

of meadow land. At the head of Cobequid Bay, near the spot where the flourishing town of Truro now stands, a little community of fifty families farmed and fished, and there hid for a season from the Government orders in regard to the taking of the English oath of allegiance. At Canso, which is the oldest of the French settlements in Nova Scotia, fortune was very fickle. There, wealth was as easily lost as gained; a good fishing season then, as now, made the fisherman forget his woes; a bad one threw him into the hands of creditors who knew how to make his debts hang over him like the sword of Damocles. On the Saint John river, French enterprise grouped itself round the three principal forts—Latour, Jemseg, and Nashwaak. The defense of the first by the brave wife of a brave man, and the attack upon Nashwaak, are about the only two interesting events in early New Brunswick history, and they have been told in as many literary styles as there are hues to the rainbow. When General Wolfe, the hero of Quebec, was sent to the Island of St. John, that is Prince Edward Island, he found at Port La Joie a settlement with its fort and French commandant, and was told of other settlements along the eastern coast. He also found some French families living on the banks of the Miramichi, where French Fort Cove and Beaubair's Island have each their romance. There is no certainty in the statements made about the discovery of Prince Edward Island, and there is as little in the reports about its early occupation by the French. We are told that Sieur Doublet, a French naval officer, received a grant of the whole island from the Company of New France, and that he, in company with two others, managed to make a living out of the fisheries. In 1752 there were more than a thousand inhabitants, as is testified by a French report which extols the country for its fertility, the abundance of game, and the value of its

fisheries. In the year of the fall of Louisburg there were four thousand people, an increase which can be explained by the troubles existing between the English and French on the mainland and the expulsion of the Acadians in 1775. Many of these unfortunates escaped to the Island to join those of their own nationality who had taken farms there.

In mentioning the expulsion of the Acadians, about which so much has been written by everybody who has undertaken to write about Nova Scotia, I have only a word to say, and I have said the same many years ago. There are two sides to the story of Acadian prosperity and innocence, as it was witnessed around the Basin of Minas. The frugality and comfort of these simple hearted farmers, their large flocks of sheep and oxen roaming over the well cultivated farms, their plenteous crops raised by the hard hand of industry, their quaintly built dwellings, but above all, their piety and simple manners, their benevolenee and uprightness give life and interest to the chapter over which we love to ponder. In a book lying before me, I am told that their expulsion was owing to their disloyalty, or rather to their intrigue and want of fidelity. There is some truth in this, as they were apt to be too easily led into error by the flattering tongue of that tempter of men, Joseph De Loutre. But those who write of them as idlers, quarrelsome, living in the squalid misery of wretched huts, yet hoarding up gold for its own sake, have the prejudice of thousands of readers against them. One can hardly give credence to the truth of the eclogue produced by Raynal in his prose and Longfellow in his verse. The Acadians were not all saints because an apparently unjust decree of exile was issued against them; nor were they all bad because they refused to take an oath they abhorred. Their punishment was the effect of stubbornness and duplicity, not of crime. As a matter of fact only about half of them

were exiled, numbers of them contriving to linger around the homesteads, and others of them seeking refuge in settlements far remote from the influence of the English soldier. When peace was concluded between France and England, a large number of these unhappy people were allowed to return, and settle on lands provided for them by the Government. The principal Acadian settlements are to be found in Clare, Yarmouth or Cumberland, and along the shores of New Brunswick; Gloucester and Madawaska are purely French counties; in Westmoreland, Kent and Northumberland are to be found large numbers of the descendants of those who had been expelled.

I have also a word to say about Louisbourg, whose trade and wealth in its palmy days is still the cause of regret for its destruction. It was built for the protection of its fisheries, and though the expense of its fortifications was great, the revenue from the fish trade made it a profitable outlay. With the West Indies and New England there was for many years a considerable traffic; in return for fish there came from the former sugar, tobacco and coffee; from the latter fruit, vegetables, oats, shingles and bricks. It was also the centre of commerce between Europe and Canada, the furs of the St. Lawrence country being there exchanged for the manufactured goods of England and France. Its Government was purely military, with the Governor at the head of the Supreme Court, which tried the soldier and civilian under the same legal authority. There was also an Admiralty Court for the prevention of smuggling, as well as an Inferior Court for the punishment of minor offences reported by the police. The religion of the colony was regulated by missionaries from our city of Quebec here. There were hospitals under the care of six friars, and schools under the superintendence of the nuns. There were strong, handsome buildings, busy streets,

markets and wharfs on which the merchant jostled the idling soldier and drove a hard bargain with the poor fisherman. Long lines of warehouses, holding the wealth of the fishing season, or its profits in European goods, stood within and without the walls ; and of all this only a few mounds of rubbish remain within the line of its glacis and ditch. The dismantling of its walls and fortifications, the destruction of its houses and streets, the expulsion of its inhabitants, surely prevented what can be seen in Quebec every day,—an English minority living in peace and harmony with a French majority under the impartial protection of the mother land. As one passes across the little Louisbourg graveyard near Point Rochford, with here and there a human bone, the splinter of a wooden cross, or a rough stone looking through the dark soil, the heart cannot fail to beat tenderly for those who lie there, so hurriedly buried in the hour of misfortune and triumph, so strangely foreshadowing by the mingling of their dust, the peace which now prevails between French and English, in Acadia united to Canada.

The fall of Louisbourg was the last throe in the struggle which gave birth to New Scotland. And contemporaneous history shows what a terrible time it was all over the world, when the first efforts were being put forth by the French to make something permanent out of Acadia. Perhaps there is no period in the history of modern times so full of historical phenomena as the last half of the seventeenth century—the epoch in which the pioneers of new kingdoms were beginning their [illegible] of a new principality [illegible] land there was to be [illegible] liberty and prerogative [illegible] which England [illegible] upon, nor ever [illegible] age [illegible] the expansion of [illegible] on

the public scaffold. In France, the assassination of Henry IV by the fanatic Ravaillac—a crime which makes the blood curdle when we see it repeated at our neighbour's door by the wretched Guiteau—opened the way for Richelieu's ambition and the terrible wars it excited. In Germany, the "thirty years' war," in ruining the trade of the country, and in crushing the people under a burden of taxation, crippled the already debilitated power of the emperor and cut up the empire into a multitude of petty states. And so it was also in other countries. Spain was in an unsettled state from the cruel eccentricities of Philip II; Sweden was all excitement, under the brave Adolphus, who had need of all his bravery in checking the simultaneous aggressions of three powerful States; Russia was convulsed by the murder of the Czar, the appearance of several pretenders to the throne, and the horrible outrages of the invading Tartars; Poland was overwhelmed by the united attack of six of her most dangerous enemies, and saw her King forced to flee to a neighboring State for protection; and even little Denmark, who did not dare to call her mind her own in the midst of such tufmoil all over Europe, was violently disturbed by the unseemly strife between her nobles and the common people. But this is not all. The commotion did not confine itself to the quarrels of kings and nations, and the ambitious cruelties of men. The whole earth seemed to be convulsed in some strange manner, as if nature had joined in the turmoil, or as if Providence was violently regulating at this period, more than at any other, the affairs of the world. Hardly a country escaped the various plagues, which continued, for a time, to decimate the people. Fierce tempests swept over England, swelling the sea up upon the land, with such destruction to life and property, that men began to think of the times as an approach towards a final dissolu-

tion of all things. Some of the phenomena can only be explained by reference to the superstition and ignorance of the period. There were immense conflagrations in the towns and in the forests; marvellous appearances filled the heavens; one day, the sun hid its face, when neither earth nor moon was the cause of the eclipse; and again, it appeared, accompanied by two twinlike suns, haloed by no less than three rainbows; the prodigious apparition of an armed host, was seen in the sky, earthquakes shook to their foundations some of the towns in England and Scotland, and strange noises were heard rumbling through the air, as of armies on the march. Altogether it was the strangest of times. There seemed to be nothing but wars and rumors of wars, commotion in heaven and earth. With the cold shiver of superstition running through us, as we study the appearances and counter-appearances which are reported to have been observed, can we wonder why it was that Acadia had such troublous times in her infancy. The cruelties of the New Englanders, in their exterminating attacks upon the Acadian settlements, and the still more cruel reprisals by the Indians on the New Englanders, only make up a chapter of violence, which was to be read at the time in every other part of the world. What we may wonder at is how the country ever developed to the point to which the French farmers brought it. Farming and fighting, the plough and the musket, the hoe and the sword, were all the time playing the old antagonistic game, with the odds in favour of the latter, and when we read the whole story of the contest, and look at the impress which the French really left upon the Maritime Provinces, we cannot but praise that industry, patience and long suffering patriotism which characterized the Acadians, and which, I need not say, characterise all their descendants in these Provinces. Still speaking and thinking in their

native *patois*, they hold aloof from the blending of the races going on in their vicinity. But they are not the less loyal to provincial interests, though they still love to talk of the patriotic exploits of their forefathers in the very districts of the country, which Providence seems from the first to have selected for them as peaceful retreats. Sometimes they hold a public festival or national gathering, as that seen last summer at Memramcook, when their French blood is again warmed, under the influence of French oratory, and the enthusiasm of their leaders.

In June of the year 1749, and in May of the year 1783, there occurred two events which have had a remarkable influence in developing the Maritime Provinces as flourishing English colonies. These involved the founding of what are now their two largest cities, Halifax and St. John. After the date of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, a change took place in Britain's colonial policy. The expense of defending a country, in which there was only a handful of English-speaking subjects, led British statesmen to consider what ought to be done to improve the country, so as to make it an attractive place for those Englishmen who wished to make a new home for themselves in America. The building and capturing of Nova Scotian forts, it is true, had brought some glory to British arms, but everybody felt that conquest without colonization was fruit of the Dead Sea kind. Up to this time, the English communities in Nova Scotia had made little or no progress. And why should we be surprised at the fact? It was more than a hundred years since James I, gave over to his favourite, William Alexander, the whole territory of the Maritime Provinces. But their whole history during that time is a mere recital of subjugation and subsequent restoration. The country was no sooner reduced by British arms, than it was restored to the French, whenever the two mother

lands settled their disputes and European quarrels. One year, the English settler became the privileged party, and next year all his privileges and advantages were set aside by the French, once more dominant. In England, there never had been any well defined policy, with respect to the future of this part of Canada. Englishmen were accustomed to talk of Nova Scotia in the most heedless manner. They were inclined to think that the eternal fitness of things, pointed to Acadia as a French colony, just as it pointed to New England as a perpetual English colony; and who will say that but for the jealousy of the New Englander against the French, and his subsequent hatred of taxation and tea, the justice of the thought might not have been supported by the course of events!

But, in 1749, the Province of Nova Scotia, which included, at this time, the territory now comprised within the Maritime Provinces—all Acadia, except Cape Breton—was finally secured to Britain. There was to be no more ceding of the country to France. A scheme to encourage immigration was set on foot, and readily received the sanction of the British ministry; although, I am afraid their readiness in accepting the scheme, must be traced to another cause than the interests of Nova Scotia. David Hume speaks of the movement in this way:—"As the public generally suffers at the end of a war, by the sudden dismission of a great number of soldiers and seamen, who have contracted a habit of idleness, and finding themselves without employment and the means of subsistence, engage in desperate courses and prey upon the community, it was judged expedient to provide an opening, through which these unquiet spirits might exhale, without damage to the commonwealth. The most natural was that of encouraging them to become members of a new colony in North America, which, by being properly regulated, supported

and improved, might be the source of great advantages to its mother country." Be this as it may, a better prospect was before the young colony. The evils under which the Nova Scotian fishermen and farmer had long groaned, were to be attended to. The affairs of the country, so ill-governed for a hundred years, were thrown into the hands of the Board of Trade and Plantations, which at this time was presided over by the Earl of Halifax. In 1748, an advertisement appeared, under the sanction of George II, in which it was declared that "proper encouragement would be given to such of the officers and privates, lately dismissed from the land and sea services, as were willing to settle in the Province of Nova Scotia; that the fee-simple of fifty acres of land should be granted to privates, free from the payment of taxes for ten years; that, over and above these fifty acres, each person should receive a grant of ten acres for every individual of which his family should consist; that further grants should be made in proportion as they should manifest their abilities in agriculture; that every officer, under the rank of ensign in the land service, or lieutenant in the navy, should be gratified with four-score acres on the same conditions; that two hundred acres should be bestowed on ensigns, three hundred on lieutenants, four hundred upon captains, and six hundred on every officer above that degree; that the lands should be parcelled out as soon as possible after the arrival of the colonists, and a civil government established, by virtue of which they should enjoy all the liberties and privileges of British subjects, with proper security and protection; that the settlers with their families should be conveyed to Nova Scotia, and maintained for twelve months at the expense of the Government, which should also supply them with arms and ammunition as far as should be judged necessary for their defence, with proper materials and uten-

sils for clearing and cultivating their lands, erecting habitations, exercising the fishery, and such other purposes as should be judged necessary for their support."

This legislation had the desired effect. The tide of emigration began to flow in favor of Nova Scotia. Cornwallis arrived in Chebucto Harbour in 1749, and was accompanied or followed by nearly three thousand families during the first season. Halifax became the successful rival of Annapolis Royal. New companies of immigrants arrived every year. English and Irish settlers came and spread over the adjacent districts. Dartmouth, which is situated on the opposite side of the harbour from Halifax, sprang up as a thriving village. A distinct judiciary was established for the province, including a Supreme Court, County Court, and the Court of General Sessions, and in 1758 the first meeting of the Legislature took place in the capital. Nor did the young province look only to Britain for her colonists. Reports of the resources of the new country and its prospects were published in Germany, and at one time a large fraction of the population of Halifax were Germans. In 1759 a proclamation was issued inviting the people of New England to take possession of the farms of the expatriated Acadians. The invitation was responded to by a large number of farmers who laid the foundation of the towns or villages on the Basin of Minas and the Bay of Fundy. Thus too were established the towns of Liverpool, Horton, Amherst, Truro, Newport, and Falmouth. In the meantime, an English settlement was made at Maugerville, on the St. John River. People from the neighbourhood of Boston raised houses for themselves near the marsh lands around Cumberland and Sackville. Over the whole province there sprang up little communities, which in later times have developed into places of some importance. A new and cheering chapter in the history of progress began

in the Maritime Provinces. Nova Scotia had at last become an English colony. The age of ever recurring change and appeal to arms had passed. And what improved matters all the more rapidly lay in the fact that very many of the settlers were farmers of experience. The most of them had the sterling characteristics of useful members of society. They knew already what it was to struggle with a will against difficulties and dangers. The New England immigrants knew what it was to reduce the wild forest land to a state of order and cultivation ; and around their new homes, on the hill's side of some Nova Scotian valley, by the shores of some New Brunswick river, or in sight of the golden sand of a Prince Edward Island bay, their industry soon made "the wilderness to blossom as the rose." Even before the War of Independence, the Maritime Provinces began to lose their reproach of being a barren, inhospitable land, swarming with savages, and fit only for the adventurer, the hunter, or desperado to live in. The year 1749 is certainly the date best to be remembered by Nova Scotians, and here is how one of their poets celebrates it :—

Hail to the day when the Britons came o'er
And planted their standard, with sea-foam still wet ;
Above and around us their spirits shall hover,
Rejoicing to mark how we honour it yet.

Beneath it the emblems they cherished are waving,
The rose of old England the wayside perfumes,
The Shamrock and Thistle the north winds are braving,
Serenely the Mayflower blushes and blooms.

In the temples they founded, their faith is maintained ;
Every foot of the soil they bequeathed is still ours ;
The graves where they moulder no foe has profaned,
But we wreathe them with verdure and strew them with flowers

The blood of no brother, in civil strife pour'd,
In this hour of rejoicing encumbers our souls,
The frontier's our field for the patriot's sword,
And cursed is the weapon that faction controls

Then hail to the day ! 'tis with memories crowded
Delightful to trace thro' the mists of the past :
Like the features of beauty, bewitchingly shrouded,
They shine thro' the shadows time o'er them has cast.

I have mentioned the German element in this great immigration movement. At first there were nearly two thousand of them, who took up their residence in the north end of Halifax, where the name Gottingen, which still indicates one of the streets, bears testimony to the fact of their settlement. But there was a difficulty in the matter of language and style of living. They knew not a word of English, nor much of English customs. Besides, the rocky soil in the neighbourhood of Halifax caused much disappointment to those who had read in the proclamation inviting them across the Atlantic, much about the fertility of Nova Scotia. The Government had to consider their case, and that speedily. It was deemed expedient to select a separate district for them at Malagash Bay on the east coast, and there they built the town of Lunenburg. A few of them remained in Halifax, living in the district which is still called Dutch Town. The local history of Lunenburg is not without its interest. The inhabitants, we are told, suffered very much at first from the stealthy attacks of the Indians. For a while there was sedition among themselves, for some of them thought that they had been badly treated by the British Government. But, notwithstanding all this, the colony flourished, spreading its influence over the tract of land now known as Lunenburg County. It is difficult to forget the words with which Joseph Howe confronted the electors of this district, and won them over to those who were in favour of responsible government. "I half expected," he was accustomed to say, "that they would have broken my head, but do you know they carried me home on their shoulders." And no wonder, for this is how he met them. "I have been told"

says he, "how useless it was for me to come here; that the Germans did not love free discussion; that they could not understand me; that they were deeply prejudiced; that they venerated my opponents much as some of the heathen nations reverence the ape. Can this be true? Have you the hands to toil, and the frames to endure, yet not the intellects to understand the true interests of our common country? Does the old German blood lose its generous and ennobling qualities when it circulates through a Nova Scotian's veins? Have you the industry, the frugality, the honesty of fatherland, yet lack its love of light, its patriotic ardor, its aspirations after knowledge, its devotion to national liberty? Forbid it heaven! The German an enemy to free discussion! That would be strange indeed. Who, when the world was shrouded in darkness—when knowledge was confined to the student's cell—and free discussion was a crime, first invented the printing press? A German. Where is that precious relic of human ingenuity and intelligence still preserved? In a German city, beneath the shadow of the noble hills of the vine clad and abounding Rhine. Let it never be forgotten that with the German dynasty came responsible government into England; that under the House of Hanover it has flourished ever since, and that Queen Victoria, our English Queen, sprung from a German stock, rules by the principles we have assembled here to assert. If, then, you are Germans, as your forfathers were in 1758, you cannot be enemies to free discussion. But you are Nova Scotians; you are my countrymen, bound to love, to cherish and to guard the land which Providence has given you as a home for yourselves and an inheritance for your children, and it is a foul slander to assert that, in the struggle for our dearest interests, you will be found behind the rest of her population."

The eighteenth of May is another of those red-letter days in the history of the Maritime Provinces. This is the natal day of the city of St. John, which its inhabitants never fail to commemorate in some fashion or another; and already we hear from the press of that enterprising town of the prospect of a grand celebration of the "Landing of the Loyalists," when 1883 brings about the centenary of that event. And not to St. John alone, but to all the colonies in British North America is 1783 a memorable year; for it was during this year that there arrived in the north those loyal bands, who were none the less intelligent, though spoken of by Edmund Burke as "persons who had emigrated from the United States, anxious to flee from the blessings of the American system of government." "There may be" he says, "many causes of emigration not connected with government, such as a more fertile soil or more genial climate—but these people had forsaken all the advantages of a more fertile soil, and more southern latitude, for the bleak and barren regions of Canada." The words of the author of the "sublime and beautiful" are certainly anything but complimentary either to the good sense of the Loyalists, or to the country which owes its improvement in large measure to their enduring efforts. But we, who can read without prejudice and from the fullest of information, never doubt nowadays that the purest motives and highest sense of duty alone actuated the vast majority of those who, as soon as the war was over, turned their backs upon their past comforts, upon their happy homes and fertile farms, upon those pursuits which their fathers had followed before them, ay! even upon many friends and relatives who had remained steadfast to them amid all the changes of political strife. They were not of those who had to emigrate from the pressure of want, or to escape the privations of a narrow livelihood. They

had no need, like thousands who now try their luck in the forest lands of Canada, to go elsewhere than New England to seek some asylum where in return for their labour they might obtain the comforts of life for themselves and their children. It was not with them a matter of food and clothing. They had been accustomed from their youth up to the pleasures and enjoyment of civilized life, to the advantages of education and Christian refinement. Their homes in New England and New York, were, in many cases, counterparts of what in the motherland are called the "Merry homes of England." Nor had the republican government peremptorily ordered that they should leave these homes. There were conditions by which they might retain them. But they had not assumed the name of Loyalists to throw it aside when it interfered with their worldly prospects. They were Loyalists in more than name. Their attachment to their sovereign and to native institutions was what had been seen in more remote times in the sturdy Acadians, and which, perhaps, in these unfortunates, ought to have been more respected by the British Government. Allegiance to the British Crown had been instilled into their minds from childhood, loyal submission to law and order was a principle of theirs which thousands of them never thought of questioning, "God save the King," was one of their heartiest anthems. And do we not see a record of all this in the marked loyalty of the people of the provinces by the sea; we might say, over the whole of Canada? When the long political struggle which shook the two Canadas culminated in the rebellion of 1837, there were held, in nearly every town and village in the lower provinces, public meetings by means of which the people proclaimed in fervent language their deep attachment to the sovereign and the government. And again when the State of Maine sought to encroach upon the territory of

New Brunswick, and there was every indication of war between the settlers on the opposite sides of the St. John, the same loyal cry of sympathy for the sister province was heard from every nook and corner in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. Nor were they content with mere words. The Nova Scotian House of Assembly unanimously voted £100,000, and countenanced a levy of 8,000 men to assist the New Brunswickers in repelling the invader Thus and in many other ways have the Loyalists left their impress upon these provinces. They came to the three provinces to devote all their energies in restoring to themselves and their children that home-life, which their loyalty to Britain had caused them to abandon. And we all know how successfully they completed their zealous and praiseworthy task. The regions of Canada, they soon found out, were neither bleak nor barren. It was certainly not a land flowing with milk and honey, and this they knew before they left their waving cornfields and fruitful orchards in the United States. But it was, and is, a land where industry may always reap the reward of its toil, and this they soon discovered. The struggle with the forest lands began. Farms began to be cultivated. Trade with Britain assumed a more regular and commercial character. Schools and churches were built. Towns began to extend their bounds. The various provinces were divided up into counties. The form of government became representative. And at last those who had endured the privations and hardships of the winter of 1783, began to look with confident hope on the prospects of their newly adopted country.

I have said that the citizens of St. John claim the 18th of May as the day on which the founders of their city arrived within the shelter of their spacious harbour. The hexameter of Virgil *O fortunati quorum jam mœnia surgunt*, was selected as a hopeful motto, for the new born town, as the

busy immigrants set to work in raising dwellings for themselves and families. They did not all arrive at the same time, but before the year was out not less than five thousand found their way to the shores of New Brunswick's largest river. Among them were disbanded soldiers, lawyers, clergymen, merchants, farmers and mechanics,—each provided with a guarantee of two years' support from the British Government.

This great influx of population brought about the organizing of a new colony under the name New Brunswick, which had up to the year 1784 comprised part of Nova Scotia under the name of Sunbury county. Thomas Carleton, who was the first governor of this new province, landed at Parrtown, as St. John was then called, on Sunday, the 21st November, 1784. Next day he issued his first proclamation, setting forth his prerogative as the King's deputy, and calling upon all the inhabitants to be loyal to the interests of the new colony. For two years he ruled the province through a Council of twelve prominent Loyalists. Then he issued warrants for the election of twenty-six members to serve in a House of Assembly which he succeeded in organizing. St. John by this time had become an incorporated town, the first city in Canada governed by a mayor and aldermen. The honor of being the capital of the province was, however, taken from it at a very early period in its history, for when Governor Carleton moved his residence to St. Ann's, he changed the name of that place to Fredericton and established it as the seat of government, which it has remained ever since.

A very large number of the Loyalists took up their abode in Nova Scotia. In fact they soon constituted a fair proportion of the original English settlers in nearly every place of importance in the Maritime Provinces. In some parts, however, they are to be traced more distinctly than

in others, their descendants being found in larger proportions in the counties of Digby, Annapolis, Guysborough, Shelburne and Hants. It is not pleasant to think that in connection with this movement of immigration, two of the governors eventually became bankrupt. The year which saw New Brunswick a separate province, brought to Cape Breton Island, a governor of its own in the person of Major Desbarres. As soon as he had selected a site for his capital on the sheltered slope where the town of Sydney now stands, he issued a manifesto which proclaimed to intending settlers that free provisions would be granted to those who made their home in Cape Breton, and that all such would likewise receive material for building purposes, and even assistance in clearing their land. This was a tempting offer to those who had decided to seek a home on British American soil, and over three thousand men and women—mostly Loyalists—accepted the terms and moved to that arm of the sea, which one of our British admirals has designated "the finest harbour in the world"—to Sydney Harbour. The first winter was a very hard one for these three thousand souls; for the provisions ran out, and Nova Scotia was unable to render assistance. Happily for the new colony, a store-ship from Quebec was found at Arichat and conducted to Louisbourg harbour, from which place its cargo was carried on sleds to Sydney. All this expense had to be assumed personally by the governor, and when the amount was placed before the authorities at home they refused to reimburse the Major. Shortly after he was withdrawn. He lived in Halifax to the ripe old age of 103 years, but his claims against the British Government, strange to say, were never fairly considered.

The other case of bankruptcy had for its victim, Walter Patterson, the first governor of Prince Edward Island. When he came out to that province, it was understood,

that his salary of five hundred pounds and the salaries of his subordinates were to be drawn from a fund derived from quit-rents. But many of the landlords failed to pay the amount of this tax to the Government, and as a governor can no more starve to death with equanimity than any ordinary mortal when there is a chance of escape, Patterson undertook on his own authority to sell the lands of the defaulters. This raised a storm about his ears both in Charlottetown and in London. Scandalous reports were circulated against him at the Colonial Office, and Lord Sydney, then Colonial Secretary, began to have strong suspicions against a governor who could have the heart to devise such a simple plan of saving himself and family from starvation. The landlords, it was true, would not pay the quit-rents, but neither did they want their lands sold. The governor might go without his salary, but that was his look-out. Consequently an order came out from England to the effect that the lands which had been sold were to be restored. This with the governor was to return the cherry after it had been eaten. The money realized from the sales had gone to pay his debts; and the House of Assembly would not listen to his plan of passing a Bill regarding as valid the land sales of 1781. Just at this time began to flow the tide of immigration among the Loyalists. If he could only encourage a few thousands of them to come to Charlottetown and be his friends, he might succeed in getting elected a House of Assembly more favourable to his designs. This was what the wily old governor thought, and on the impulse he acted. For the first time in his career as governor of the colony he had the proprietors with him. They actually raised a handsome sum of money to assist in taking the Loyalists across the Straits of Northumberland. Orders were at once issued to apportion lands to them. Hundreds accepted the deeds of conveyance,

and many of them settled on the very lands which had been sold. All this time, moreover, the order to restore the lands sold was kept out of sight. The governor was soon busily engaged in making friends among the Loyalists, in prospect of a dissolution of the House of Assembly. In a word, the elections of 1785 secured the return of members friendly disposed towards His Excellency, and during the second session of the new House, an Act was passed giving effect to the sale of lands made five years before. The working out of the whole scheme however cost Patterson over three thousand pounds, and virtually lost for him his position. The Act was disallowed by His Majesty, a successor was forthwith appointed, and thus the first governor of Prince Edward Island was obliged to return to England a ruined man.

In connection with the name of the said Walter Paterson we may associate the large influx of a Scottish population after the completion of Captain Holland's survey of Prince Edward Island, for it was this immigration of Scotchmen to the Island, that induced the British authorities to send Patterson out as its first governor. Our President, Mr. LeMoine, entertained us last winter with his very pleasant sketch of the Scot in Canada; but as he touched but lightly on the Scottish, or rather Celtic, element found in the population of the lower provinces, I daresay, he will excuse me, if I supplement his popular narrative by a paragraph or two As in the case of the Acadians and the Loyalists, their devotion to a failing cause brought about their expatriation, so had loyalty towards a dethroned line of kings much to do with the arrival of Scotsmen as settlers in the Maritime Provinces The Celtic chiefs of Scotland true to the Stuart cause, flocked round the standard of "bonnie Prince Charlie" in 1745, and fought their last great battle for him on the field of Culloden. After that disaster,

Charles Edward returned to France; but for many years after his departure from Scotland there continued to exist a very disordered state of society in the Highlands insomuch that troops had to be stationed at various centres to watch the clans and their secret operations. All over the Highlands there was much the same rebellious feeling against the government as is to be seen to-day in Ireland. At length, a plan was proposed by which several purely Highland regiments could be organized, and sent abroad. The recommendation was speedily acted upon and hundreds of young Celts gladdened with the prospect of gaining glory anywhere in their native kilts, left their homes amidst the fastnesses of the Grampians, for the battle-fields of the continent of Europe and of Canada. History tells us what stuff they were made of. Everywhere they proved themselves the bravest and wiriest of British soldiers. James Wolfe had them in his army when he stormed the walls of Louisbourg, and we all know how, under the same commander, they were the first to climb through the thick brush wood of the cove beyond the Plains of Abraham, and how they won their laurels amid the dangers of the subsequent contest. All through the Seven Years' War they acted the part of loyal men; and, as if in a moment, the bravery of Britain's Highland regiments became a household word. When the proclamation of peace reached Canada, and when arrangements had been completed for the disbanding of some of the regiments, many of the Gaels decided to remain as farmers in the country which they had subdued as soldiers. Among these were the men of Colonel Fraser's regiment, who took farms on Prince Edward Island. There they had troubles enough, and it was some time before they could write home to their friends that they were doing well. It was also about this time that Dr. Weatherspoon had formed an association called the Phil-

adelphian Company, and through its influence had brought into Nova Scotia a number of settlers from Maryland. Through the same influence some thirty families were brought over from the Highlands of Scotland and placed upon farms near Pictou. Eventually these men were joined by some of the soldiers who had tried Prince Edward Island as a place of settlement, but had not been very successful in their experiment; and this union was the beginning of things for the subsequent Celtic immigration; for by it there soon was organized a prosperous community around the valleys of the three rivers which flow into Pictou harbour. The whole movement has a history of its own, which is too long to be more than merely mentioned here. At a very early period in their existence as a community, they had applied to the ecclesiastical authorities at home for an ordained minister to take charge of the district. The Rev. Dr. McGregor was the clergyman sent out, and certainly the records show that he was a man eminently fitted for the position. His zeal and ability soon left their mark upon the district, and when it was known that Pictou had its churches and its schools and many of the other tokens of civilization, there continued to pour into the county a steady stream of Celts from all parts of the west coast of Scotland. This first attempt at settlement, I may say, was virtually a Presbyterian movement, but it soon had its counterpart in the enterprise of the Catholics, so that at length there was spread over the face of Prince Edward Island and Cape Breton from the county of Pictou, a Gaelic speaking population numbering over thirty thousand.

This is what appears to me to be the most interesting period in the history of the people of the Maritime Provinces and it is really a pleasure to hear the descendants of these Celts talk of the ship *Hector*, which brought out their forefathers from Scotland, during these good old times, as they

call them. They can tell you many curious anecdotes of the strange manners and customs which their great grandfathers brought with them from Scotland. They will tell you of their seasons of enjoyment, of the fun and laughter attending a "thickening frolic," "a chimney biggin," a sugar making, a wedding or a christening. They can give from memory the genealogies of the countryside, and love to dwell upon the virtues and eccentricites of their parsons and priests, their members of parliament and other public characters. They will also tell you of the sufferings which had to be endured in early times of colonial life, of the mishaps and mischances which often befell the first settlers in their winter wanderings from settlement to settlement From the many incidents we have selected one which will indicate how there is material enough to adorn a tale to be found in the internal history of the people of the Maritime Provinces.

One of the farmers of a district, which need not be named, who had waited long for the coming of a Presbyterian missionary to his settlement was one of those with a large family of unbaptized children who like the old woman in the fable did not know what to do. He had brought with him from Scotland that reverence for religious ceremony which made him uneasy about his children, and many a long chat he and his wife had about the serious responsibility which rested upon them in the matter of their unchristened bairns.

"It's a heathenish place" the wife would say, "when one cannot even get their weans baptized."

"But what can we do?" the husband would gloomily remark, "I am sure Mr. McGregor might have come round this way, when he was on the Island."

"Don't you think we might go into town some day, and get Mr. Desbrisay to do it," pleaded the wife.

"Not if I know it," groaned the Presbyterian, "I want none o' my boys to grow up Episcopals." Mr. Desbrisay was the Church of England clergyman.

They were not alone in their dilemma. Other families in the settlement were growing up in the same condition. No missionary had ever visited the settlement, and now they were beginning to give up all hopes. At last the heads of the various families discussed the matter among themselves, and all being impressed with the necessity of taking immediate action, it was proposed that, as soon as the harvest was in, they would go up to town in a body, with all their children, infants included, and ask Mr. Desbrisay to enrol them in the usual way as members of Christ's visible church. For some unexplained cause they waited until November, when providing themselves with food and other necessaries for the journey through the woods to Charlottetown, they set out, mothers, fathers, boys and girls, and little children in arms—a goodly crowd of twenty or thirty persons. Arriving safely in town, after a two days' tramp in the forest, they applied to Mr. Desbrisay, who with his usual politeness and kindness admitted them to the church, and performed the ceremony of baptism.

Then began the journey homewards. A great load seemed to have been removed from the parents' hearts. It was a kind of holiday with them all, and the miles were as nothing under their willing feet. But towards the afternoon the sky began to lower. The men became anxious. Surely the storm would keep off until next day! But the more they hoped, the cloudier it seemed to grow, until at last the light flakes began to fall, and the wind began to sigh and moan through the trees. The men buttoned up their homespun coats, and took the living bundles from the mothers' arms: the little ones clung to

the skirts of her who tried to give them shelter. On they went, the snow falling thicker and thicker, and forming a soft but heavy impediment to the little limbs now growing weary. What was to be done? They could not return to the town for they were more than eight miles from it. The cold became intense, and penetrated the thickest clothing. The snow fell thick and fast, and blinded them in their slow progress. Even the babies were wide awake and crying with the cold. There was nothing for it, stop they must, and make their camp for the night.

At once the men and the big boys went to work with a will. Selecting a sheltered grove, they huddled all the women and children together, and began to collect some brushwood for a fire, and soon all were standing on the warmest side of an immense crackling heap of forest refuse.

The children under the new influence became drowsy, and the men, alive to the emergency, tore the green boughs from the silver firs, and tried to make a kind of bed on which the little ones could lie, with boughs below and boughs above. All night the storm continued, and all night it became colder and colder. The frost began to attack their feet, their faces and their ears, notwithstanding a constant replenishing of the fire, and long before morning, the awfulness of the situation was to be seen in the countenances of the men.

When the sun rose, the snow was from two to three feet thick all around. Few of them had escaped being frost-bitten, and the cries of the children were truly pitiable. Help must be obtained from some quarter or all would perish.

At length the men decided that some of them must go forward and bring back assistance from the settlement. This could not be done in a day, for it was more than thirteen miles away, and men could not go very fast through

three feet of snow. Still it was the only chance left, and three of them set out.

What a terrible day that was for the benighted families! One can hardly credit the endurance which bore them up during the still more terrible night, with the thermometer many degrees below zero. It was not till late in the morning next day that the necessary help came in rough sleds drawn by oxen and men; though for some it seemed as if the assistance had come too late, for many of the children and some of the mothers were lying insensible on the damp boughs, when the shouts of their neighbours were heard in the neighbouring woods.

After much toil, however, they all reached the settlement about sunset, though it was many a day before all recovered from the trip to Charlottetown.

In summing up the various elements of population, I have again to introduce the soldier. There are three distinct movements which involve the introduction into Nova Scotia of several disbanded regiments, and these must be kept separate and distinct in the memory, if we wish to understand fully the influence which such settlers had upon the provinces. The first movement under Governor Cornwallis had an excellent effect upon the country, on account of its thorough organization. The second I have spoken of as the disbanding of Colonel Fraser's regiment, which also included the military migration of 1763, the date of the Treaty of Paris. But there was a third immigration of soldiers after the American War of Independence, which, on account of its disorganized character, was not so happy in its effects. When Britain had no longer need for the armies engaged in the war with the United States, the usual policy was adopted in connection with the disbanding of the various regiments—the men were provided with the means for starting a farm in some part of Canada,

Those who decided to accept the terms offered, were separated into companies, and distributed over the various sections of the country in such numbers as, it was thought, would not be prejudicial to the districts in which they were located, nor to the interests of the soldiers themselves. There is no need to enumerate the various settlements to which they were sent. In many cases they were far from being successful farmers. Nor is this to be much wondered at. The training which a soldier undergoes is not, as a general thing, calculated to produce in men those steady habits which formed a *sine qua non* in the successful early settler. The excitement of removing from town to town in time of peace, and from camp to camp in time of war, the lack of self-dependence and personal enterprise, their loose convivial habits formed but a poor antecedent experience for the rough, constant, laborious task of clearing farms, or of making a livelihood in the settlements of the Maritime Provinces, such as they were in early times. Though probably quite willing to carry out the peaceful injunction of "beating their swords into ploughshares," they were not so willing to profit by the operation. In many cases they became the worst of idlers, leading a life of degradation to themselves, and of everything but social improvement to the community in which they happened to be thrown. Here is what Dr. McGregor says of some of these soldiers, whom he found living in Pictou, when he first went there: "In the fall of 1783 and spring of 1784 there came about twenty families of soldiers, mostly Highlanders, who had been disbanded after the peace with the United States, and some of the officers on half pay. There was a set of profligates, at the head of whom were the gentlemen of the army, whose emnity to the Gospel grew fast, and in a short time became outrageous. Before the end of winter some of them threatened to shoot me

and burn the house in which I lodged. Some of them who had their wives in Scotland lived with other women here, and some of them lived with other men's wives, whose husbands were in Scotland. The half-pay officers intended and expected to exercise nearly the same authority over the men after they were disbanded which they had done before, and for a time succeeded wonderfully. They held a meeting with a view of sending me bound to the governor, expecting their influence with him to be such that their mere accusations would procure my banishment. They continued for seven years pests and plagues to the congregation, circulating the most mischievous lies they could devise. But they ran fast to poverty and destruction, so that scarcely one of them remained at the end of that period. Two of them were drowned, one died in the poor-house in Halifax, another was found dead in a stable, having fallen from the hay-loft in a drunken fit. Another cut his throat." And thus does the old clergyman enumerate them.

Of course they were not all like this. There were very many exceptions. In other communities many of these soldiers became the most respectable of citizens, leaving behind them descendants, who have influenced the highest social circles of the Provinces, and whose best boast is of their grandfathers who fought in the Revolutionary War.

Another element of the population of these provinces I could hardly dare to omit, an element which to-day is found stronger in the towns and cities than in the country districts. Irishmen have had an influence in the development of the Maritime Provinces which cannot be overlooked; in fact so great has it been that in many districts in New Brunswick the accent among the common people is decidedly Irish. There was, however, in the case of the Irish, no special immigration movement which marks their ad-

vent to the country, or which can be spoken of in any distinct record. The cause of their coming was the same as that which induced them in thousands to go to the neighboring republic—the social, commercial and political troubles at home, or a praiseworthy effort to improve their fortunes abroad. Their immigration is of comparatively modern date. They came to the provinces, long after the English, the Celts, and the Loyalists had opened up by their industry the more fertile districts. They came to an organized community, arriving in companies either at Halifax or St. John, sometimes remaining permanently in these places, sometimes proceeding inland and settling wherever they found a suitable locality. They now comprise a very large proportion of the city populations. Some of the wealthiest men in town and country were and are Irishmen, and not a few of them have left their impress upon the history of their adopted province as prelates, politicians and orators.

I need not tell you that North of Ireland men and Lowland Scotsmen are to be found sprinkled all over the country, for where is the city, the province, or the country in which no Lowland Scotsmen are to be found? Whether they are the salt of the earth or not, they seem to have been spread over the world, much as that healthy condiment is spread by our cooks over everything comprised within their culinary operations. Certainly if they are the salt of the earth, as they themselves in their happy moments claim to be, they have not lost their savour at least in the Maritime Provinces, where they are to be found occupying important positions—commercial, political, and professional; and you can hardly read a chapter of provincial history without finding some Scotsman mentioned for his enterprise in improving the lives and condition of those who

happened to be his neighbors—with due attention of course to his own interests.

To complete this sketch of the Maritime Provinces and of the national character of those who first opened them up, I should perhaps mention the settlements which have been established in more modern times. There are the Maroons who came from Jamaica, the Negroes who escaped from the States in time of slavery, and the Danes who came direct from Denmark. But these have had no influence in producing those characteristics which tend to indicate that community of thought and feeling, which is gradually becoming a unit in the union of all the Canadas. I have enumerated only the great migrations. The people, as you are aware, are essentially English—the exponent there as elsewhere of the three elements, English, Scotch, and Irish. We cannot speak of them, it is true, as definitely as of the people in the United States, who are declared to be, by a facetious writer, Englishmen without their caution, their reserve, their fixed habits, their cant and their stolidity. But they certainly have all the independence of the original stock, all the pluck and determination, with more of quick and restless enterprise. The Celt who still clings a little to his Gælic and his Highland customs, and the Acadian who has not yet laid aside his *patois*, keep aloof as I have said from the blending process otherwise going on among the people. I can point out to you a Highland editor down there who still denounces English, Scotch and Irish as foreigners, and an Acadian orator who still claims for the Acadians distinct provincial privileges. But the unification of the other elements I have mentioned is becoming more and more complete every year. As in the other provinces of Canada, the English speaking people still commemorate periodically the old nationalities and the associations which embalm

them in their minds and memories. But these celebrations, as elsewhere in America, have no political significance. The Englishman, and his sons and grandsons who have probably never seen England, still delight to celebrate St. George's Day; the Scotsman still unfurls his scroll inscribed with its *nemo me impune lacessit* on the last day of every November; the Irishman still takes a pride in the celebration of St. Patrick's Day and its pleasant festivities; but these are mere ceremonies connected with the rose, the thistle and the shamrock, which do not now promote dissension among the different nationalities. In glorifying the motherland, the people are not now, as in the days of Sam Slick, inclined to despise their adopted country. Canada First is becoming a stronger doctrine among the "Blue-noses." The Province, the Dominion, the Empire is to a certain extent the order of their patriotic thoughts, and the old appeal to the various nationalities by politicians is now seldom if ever heard. This was not always the case. Even sixty years ago, there was hardly any approach towards that identification in provincial interests which is to be seen to-day. Even then it was hardly understood by those politicians who claim to have had something to do with the development of a common patriotic provincial feeling. For instance in the struggle for Responsible Government here is one of the mildest of hundreds of appeals to the various nationalities.

"Of what in the end need we be afraid? Will any Englishman find fault with us? He would say,—what you are now contending for, I also struggled for sword in hand. Is it a Scotchman who would find fault with us? Let him turn to his own loved land when a few officers were sent down from London to exercise all the power and influence of the land, and when corrupt minions domineered over the energies of a whole people. Will an Irish

man find fault? Let him glance over the green fields of his native land, and see how that country has been degraded and restricted from causes similar to those of which we complain. Will Nova Scotians blame us? If I thought so, I would pray to heaven every night that not another child might be born on the soil, but that a race so degraded should pass from the face of the earth."

As a contrast, this is how the orator of the present day appeals to his audience in the Maritime Provinces. "Let us not forget our Eastern heritage. Of us living by the sea, enjoying a climate the best in the world, possessing a country which for its valuable fisheries, its mineral resources, its wealth of forest and agricultural capabilities is, for its size and population, second to none under the sun. Where will you find a happier, more intelligent, and because industrious and frugal, more virtuous yeomanry than those who dress the hills and cultivate the charming vales of our province? And where will you find a hardier and more skilful class of men than those who reap the rich harvests of our own waters, and smite the sounding furrows of our own seas? Let us but as faithfully perform our duty as did our fathers, and those who celebrate the centennial of our Dominion will be able to look back upon a record full of noble deeds and brilliant achievements, and look forward to a future of ever widening promise and boast of a heritage which in the grand march of its progress, shall realize only what we see in prophetic vision—"The little one become a thousand and the small one a strong nation." With such words ringing in our ears, for they were delivered in St. John a short time ago, we cannot help turning from the background of the picture to its foreground.

The foreground of Canadian history is prominently marked by that most interesting event, the passing of the Confederation Act. It is now more than fourteen years

since the people of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick entered into a union with their neighbors of the river provinces, the contracting parties having been urged on by the hope of thus forming the nucleus of what has certainly become the most influential colonial confederacy in the world, and what may yet become a great and powerful nation. As we all very well remember, there were prophets in those days who fed themselves on their prejudices, as there are prophets of that nurture in all great movements. There were men then who prophesied ruin to the weaker provinces and tyranny by the stronger; and there were those who lit up the prospect for the New Dominion, as it was called, with gleams from their imagination, which may have deceived and certainly bedazzled thousands of voters. There were those who, in actively opposing the scheme, uttered the most lamentable wails of loss of liberty, loss of trade, increased taxation and other calamities; while there were also those, who in promoting the change, joyously proclaimed it to be the panacea of all political and commercial ills. Of course we who lived in the country at the time had to take sides in the issue, some with indifference, others with the greatest zeal and patriotic pride. While yet in the heat of the contest, we could hardly rely on our own judgment with respect to the effects of such an important measure. On both sides there were prejudices to be overcome which were continually presenting themselves in the most perverse form. Some predicted an unhinging of our loyalty, an unrest for independence, a hastening towards annexation. Even the most impartial and indifferent of us, who know from history how easy it is to establish a political union by Act of Parliament, gave it as our opinion that it would be long before the various sections could be blended together into a nationality which would mean more than the name.

Perhaps we were all a little astray in our prognostications. A very sudden consolidation of the interests of the various provinces has certainly taken place within the last ten years. The improved means of travel and the closer social intercourse which has thus been promoted, have worked a rapid change towards a unified Canadian nationality. A new literary period may be said to have sprung up providing a Canadian literature for Canadian readers. The commercial interests of the various sections we must all admit have at least been assimilated. Very late events have shown that our statesmen are not content with being known in person only to the people of one section of the country; they roam about from Cape Breton to British Columbia seeking, let us hope, not whom they may devour, but to become more intimately acquainted with every nook and corner of this great colony. Altogether there has been within the past few years an active movement amongst us towards a common future, involving the development of a truly national spirit—a desire to live, and work, and co-operate as Canadians. As the old national feelings gradually lost their prominence in presence of the stronger provincial sympathies, so the sectional interests of individual provinces are in like manner gradually disappearing before the common desire to ennoble our common country and through it to ennoble our lives. It is then, this narrowing towards the vanishing point of former provincial prejudices, this unifying process going on between the eastern and western sections, this drawing together and consolidation of our interests as a united people, this desire to know, and to be known of each other, as members of one nationality—protected it is true by the outer circle of a great and mighty nation—but all Canadians, one brotherhood, united under the influence of a loyalty towards Britain's Queen and British liberty which has

never wavered;—it is this or all of these which I advance as my excuse for reading this paper on the Maritime Provinces before a Quebec audience.

And what a country this of ours is to fill us with all the enthusiasm of patriotism, to bind us closer and closer together as one people as one kindred. The mere extent of the country would not, perhaps, impress the mind so strongly, if there was not so much of the vast, the magnificent, the national, in all its leading features. I have spoken of prophets, but here are the words of one of the strangest of prophets, one who fought for many years against the fulfilment of his own prophecy. Long before the Confederation agitation he says:—"You feel at every step that Canada must become a great nation, and at every step you pray most devoutly for the descent upon the country of that wisdom and foresight, and energy which shall make it the great treasury of British institutions upon this continent, and an honour to the British name. All the lakes of Scotland thrown together would not make one of these great inland seas, which form as it were a chain of Mediterraneans; all the rivers of England old father Thames included, would scarcely fill the channel of the St. Lawrence. There is a grandeur in the mountain ranges, and a voice in the noble cataracts which elevate the spirit above the ignorance and the passions of the past and the perplexities of the present, and make us feel that the great Creator of the Universe never meant such a country to be the scene of discord, but will yet inspire the people with the union, the virtue, and the true patriotism, by which alone its political and social condition shall be made to take, more nearly than it does now, the impress of its natural features. Canada is a country to be proud of; to inspire high thoughts; to cherish a love for the sublime and the beautiful, and to take its stand among the nations

of the earth in spite of all circumstances which oppose the growth and progress of a young country." In face of such a prophecy as this then, and in the face of its gradual fulfilment, it surely is becoming in us to learn what we may of our fellow countrymen in all parts of our common country, wherever may have been the spot of our nativity, whatever may be our prejudices in favor of the province which we single out from all others with the endearing name of home.

# THOREAU: THE HERMIT OF WALDEN.

## A PAPER READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY, MARCH 7, 1882,

—BY—

GEORGE STEWART, Jr.

Among the strongest artistic minds,—in a sense of course, —which a century of progress and activity has produced in American civilization and morals, may be named that brilliant one of Henry David Thoreau, who is known to some of you as the Hermit of Walden,—known to the world at large, as the poet-naturalist of the Western hemisphere. He was a philosopher of wide observation, a thinker of great force—second only to Emerson in the range and scope of his powers—and a faithful student of Natural History, in all its branches. He loved nature passionately. He spent months and years under the trees and among flowers and plants, watching the wondrous development of tree and flower and plant life. He passed the sweetest days of his existence in learning the habits and ways of the animals which built their homes about the nooks and corners of Walden pond, and the Walden woods. He gave the most precious hours of his own life to the birds of the air, to the fish of the waters at his feet, and he communed with all the lovely things of nature, animate and inanimate, and made companions of every dead and living thing which met his observing eye or felt the caressing

stroke of his kindly hand. There was no pretence about Henry Thoreau, no false pride, no sham or glittering tinsel. He was a man of thought, a devout lover of the beautiful, the true and the good, and his mind always seemed the amplest and completest, when he stole away to the solitudes of the forest and the glade, and thought out those exquisite fancies and views and creations which the reading and thinking world, may find at any time, in the half dozen witching books, which attest his genius, and show his aims. He was a true artist, though he painted no pictures on canvas, a tender poet, though the few specimens of his muse which we have, reveal no divine afflatus,—as we understand it,—and have not even the merit of Kirke White's collection of verse, which need hardly be dignified by the name of poetry. He wrote poetical pieces, after a fashion, but they are not good poetry. They lack all the grand elements of song, all the passion and fire, the lyric faculty, the stateliness, and that indescribable touch which ever distinguish the better efforts of the true poet. He was a more effective singer out of poetry than in it. Much of his prose writing however is warmly poetic, and the chiefest charm about his literary work is that a good deal of it is epigrammatic, dainty in fancy and free flowing in diction. Thoreau thought out whole poems often, but none of his finest things in that way ever reached the world through any other channel than that of prose composition, the avenue through which he met his public when at his best. His style of writing was natural and easy, and he had a nice choice of phrase always at command. He had the art of graceful expression, without appearing to write artistically merely for art's sake. The style, clear and ornate, seemed to belong to him, to be a direct inspiration, just as many of his sublimer thoughts were inspirations. He wrote fearlessly and independently,

and constantly demanded the utmost freedom and room for the employment of the workings of his mind. "I would rather sit on a pumpkin and have it all to myself, than be crowded on a velvet cushion," he said once, and the words tell truly the character and spirit of the man. He never trimmed his opinions to suit a passing wind. He formed his views, felt sure that they were right ones,—and they generally were right from a high moral point,—and then he went on expounding them, expressing them boldly, and maintaining them ever afterwards, even to the very hour of his death. Men admired his sterling honesty, praised his love of principle, and felt that the hermit, whatever faults he might possess, could never do a mean or dishonourable thing. They used to say that people *loved* Thoreau but did not *like* him. "Why," said one of his best friends, a good many years ago, "I would as soon take the arm of an elm tree, as the hermit's. I love him but cannot like him." This idea was held by nearly all of Thoreau's acquaintances, and its truthfulness cannot be disputed or set aside. His nature was certainly not a lovable one, though somehow the children often ran to him in the streets, and watched for his coming and going. For them he had a kindly nod and a smile, and he used, sometimes, to pay them little compliments in the soft way which children of almost any age like and appreciate. With them he would go for a romp in the woods, nutting and berrying, and usually he was the maddest of the rompers. Emerson regretted that he had no ambition, and said that for the want of it he was the captain of a huckleberry party, when he might have been engineering for all America. The sage hoped better things of Thoreau, and mourned to see so much talent buried in a napkin. But to-day none of us think that Thoreau's talents are so very deeply buried in the earth, after all. For twenty years the possessor of the

talents has lain in the ground, but we are reading his books still, and finding new beauties in them almost every day. "Pounding beans," continues Emerson in his quaint way, "is good to the end of pounding empires one of these days; but if, at the end of years, it is still only beans!" How many, think you, believe in this year of grace, that Thoreau's bean-pounding,—we still employ the metaphor,—had nothing in it, and meant only a little vigorous pestle and mortar work? Our author was a good deal like Carlyle in many ways. He commanded the respect and admiration of his fellows. He was deep, philosophic and calm, and only a few found the way to his heart. He did not have many friends. He formed few companionships. How could it be otherwise? He held himself aloof from mankind and observed vigorous rules of his own, with regard to what associations he thought he ought to make. Towards Emerson he always felt the sincerest respect, and ranked him first among the very moderate number of true friends that he possessed. Mr Bronson Alcott was another neighbour for whom he had a good deal of admiration. The mystic's talk was always so sweet and sympathetic that Thoreau was quite captivated, and he and Alcott remained on the best of terms, almost from their first meeting to the close of the younger man's career. He had some others on his slender list, kindred souls we may call them, but he cared little for attracting people towards himself, or for keeping up a large circle of friends. He much preferred the silent companionship and love of the animals, the birds and the fishes. Burns, ploughing in the fields of Ayr, turned up a mouse with his plough. His first impulse was to kill it, but he checked himself in time, as his eye watched the little creature, and he said softly, "I'll make that mouse immortal." So Thoreau, in his way, has made the animals which fed from his hand by Walden pond, immortal in

the literature of New England. The fish swam to him at a sign, allowed him to take them from the water, and often they lay in his palm as if asleep. Snakes coiled about his legs and caressed his arms, all the while showing evidence of their affection and good-will. The woodchucks permitted him to pull them out of their holes by the tail, and the frightened fox frequently sought his help, when closely pressed by the huntsmen. Fuller used to say of Butler, who knew more about bees than any living man before his day or since, that "either he had told the bees things or the bees had told him." Of Thoreau, the same may be said. He was on confidential terms with the whole animal kingdom. Dr. A. H. Japp, better known by his literary pseudonyme of "Henry A. Page," wrote a book a few years ago, to prove that Thoreau was a sort of nineteenth century St. Francis of Assisi. St. Francis, you know, was regarded as the great enigma of the Middle Ages. He had a sympathetic side for all animals. He was a friend to everything which crept, flew and occupied a place in animal life. He charmed the dumb beasts and brutes, won the affections of the birds and fowls of the air, and the fish glided softly into his hand, with all the confidence of innocence and the consciousness of perfect safety. In this especial art of attracting animals of various degrees, a resemblance between the glorious old father and Thoreau, may, perhaps, be traced with sufficient exactness, but the parallel ends there, one would think. And is it not too much to say, as Dr. Japp advances, that Thoreau's "life, spent for the most part amid the bustle and fervour of American city strife," may be found "to illuminate," in some degree, "one of the puzzles of the Middle Ages?" The book, which strives to impress this view is ingenious, but the argument is weak, and the reasoning is scarcely tenable. Thoreau was a great authority on all marvels

connected with the vegetable kingdom, its wondrous growth and development, its form and architecture. He knew so much about plants that he could tell at a glance how long such and such a specimen had been in bloom, and the precise date on which the others near at hand would yield their flowers. He kept a diary, and in it he carefully jotted down certain data regarding the various plants round about, and often he used to read from its pages, the names of those that would blossom on such and such a day. He had so much confidence in his knowledge of this department of culture, that he thought that if he should at any time, awake suddenly from a trance, in the swamp he knew so well, he could tell by the plants what time of the year it was, within at least two days. He knew, perfectly, all the notes which the birds uttered, and his memory was so good, and served him so faithfully, that as rapidly as the twitterings were made, over his head in the trees, or near his feet on the grass, or on the rocks close at hand, he named the author of the sound without the slightest hesitation, and his verdict was never wrong. His acquaintance with bird-life, in all its forms, was phenomenal, and his patience and perseverance never failed him. None of his rare scholarship in the art he pursued so sympathetically and with such tireless devotion, was gained without constant exercise of those virtues. He would sit perfectly immovable for hours, on a rock, waiting for the reptile, the fish and the bird to come back and resume the habits, which had been interrupted by his dropping in among them. He never went for a stroll without his old music-book under his arm to press plants in. He always carried his diary and pencil, his spy-glass for birds, his jack-knife, ball of twine, and microscope. His outfit comprised, usually, a straw hat, a pair of stout shoes, a pair of strong grey trousers, a thick shirt, and a coarse coat. "If you

have any enterprise before you," he used to say, "try it in your old clothes. Perhaps we should never procure a new suit, however ragged or dirty the old, until we have so conducted, so enterprised or sailed in some way, that we feel like new men in the old, and that to retain it would be like keeping new wine in old bottles. Our moulting season like that of fowls, must be a crisis in our lives. The loon retires to solitary ponds to spend it. Thus also the snake casts its slough, and the caterpillar its wormy coat, by an internal industry and expansion; for clothes are but our outmost cuticle and mortal coil. It is desirable that a man be clad so simply that he can lay his hands on himself in the dark, and that he can live in all respects so compactly and preparedly, that, if an enemy take the town, he can, like the old philosopher, walk out the gate empty-handed, without anxiety." In many ways Thoreau was a remarkable man, some might call him eccentric, but he was more than that. He took no degree at college, and was bred to no profession. He lived mostly alone, never married, never went to church, never voted, ate no flesh, drank no wine, and scorned the use of tobacco. He was abstemious to a fault, eschewed the use of a gun and never used a trap in his life. He was an idealist, like Emerson, though he went further than that philosopher in most things. He refused to pay a tax to the State, and because of that refusal, suffered the indignity of imprisonment. He cared nothing for money, loved hard work, and abhorred idleness,—that is aimless idleness. His own mode of living appeared to many as a sort of dreamy idleness,—purposeless idleness. But Thoreau's idleness has done the world much good. By means of it he was able to open many of the hidden storehouses of knowledge, and through it again, he has added materially to our stock of information, in certain directions, which could be gained only as he learned it, by patient and stu-

dious personal investigation. He was often aggressive, self-assertive and always had unbounded faith in his own opinions and method of getting on. He depended solely upon himself. He had few wants to supply, and his habits were thrifty and hardy. When he needed a little money he knew how to earn it, and he was not ashamed to work. He built boats, planted, grafted, made fences, surveyed,—he was an excellent surveyor,—and did anything in fact that was required of him. Everything he did was done well. He always worked with energy and zeal, and the leisure for himself which he secured, was well earned and deserved. When his immediate needs were satisfied, and he thought he had enough to meet his present and future wants for a while, he would go back to his old life, watching the unfolding works of nature, and making studies of what he saw and felt. He was not a self-indulgent man, but he had his whims, and these sometimes led him into difficulties and curious straits. Perhaps, no better or more skilful land-surveyor ever lived in America than Henry Thoreau. He had more surveying than he could do, and there was employment for him whenever he chose to undertake it. He was in constant demand, but he suited his own convenience, and worked only when he wished to. He possessed rare mathematical knowledge, and Emerson tells us that "his habit of ascertaining the measures and distances of objects which interested him, the size of trees, the depth and extent of ponds and rivers, the height of mountains, and the air line distance of his favourite summits,—this, and his intimate knowledge of the territory about Concord, made him drift into the profession," at last.

So much may be said of Thoreau in a general way. There are details in his life which are very interesting and useful. He came of an ancient French family, and his father who was a manufacturer of lead-pencils, emigrated

to America from the Isle of Guernsey, early in the present century. The subject of this paper was born in Concord, Mass., on the 12th July 1817. He went to Harvard and graduated there in 1837, but without taking a degree or earning any especial distinction. After this, in company with his brother, he engaged in teaching a small private school. He soon gave up this employment, however, and entered his father's establishment, and applied himself diligently for a while, to the art of making lead-pencils. He believed in his own mind that he could make a better pencil than was then in use, and he actually performed that feat. He took his work to Boston, showed it to the chemists there, obtained their certificates to the value and excellence and quality of his pencils, and then returned home, not to make more of them, as we might suppose, but to renounce the craft altogether. His friends rallied around him, and told him how fortunate he was, and what a fine prospect in the way of money-getting, lay before him. But Henry astonished them all by saying that he should never make another pencil as long as he lived. "Why should I," said he, "I would not do again what I have done once." So it was, and he left the factory, and went on with his studies which were of a miscellaneous sort, and took his long walks in the silent woods. He loved solitude for its own sake, and when he wanted a companion, he preferred an Indian. He was often invited out, and dinner-party invitations were frequently sent to him, but he declined such favours regularly and promptly. He would not go to dinners because there each was in every one's way, and he could not meet the individuals present to any purpose. "They make their pride," he said, "in making their dinner cost much; I make my pride in making my dinner cost little." Once or twice he did accept an invitation to dine, and when asked at table what dish he preferred, he

answered "the nearest." Of course such a man was better alone, or with his good Indian, roaming the forest, and communing with nature in her varied and seductive haunts. He never used tobacco, as has been said, but in his youth he sometimes smoked dried lily-stems,—this in his æsthetic days, and long before he was a man. Afterwards in speaking of those same lily-stems, he said "I have never smoked anything more noxious."

The first number of the *Dial*,—Margaret Fuller's paper, and the organ of the Transcendentalists,—was published in July, 1840. It was a quarterly, and its aims were high, and its policy independent and courageous. The initial issue contained contributions by Emerson, Miss Fuller, Ripley, C. P. Cranch, Bronson Alcott, John S. Dwight,—afterwards the editor of the *Journal of Music*,—Theodore Parker, W. H. Channing and Thoreau. The latter wrote for it the poem of "Sympathy." Among his contributions to this serial, were a number of papers about the Natural History of Massachusetts, and some translations of Pindar and of Æschylus. In the first volume there appeared three of his pieces, in the second he published two, in the third sixteen, and in the fourth five. Thoreau may be said to have made his first public appearance through the *Dial*. He was only 23 years of age when his poem of "Sympathy" came out, and as it gave token of promise, many read and praised it. His first prose production given to the public, and reprinted as the first paper of "*Excursions*," was in the third volume. The fourth volume contained his Walk in Winter. Emerson encouraged Thoreau to write, introduced him to literature, and on going away once for a short time, permitted him, during his absence, to edit No. 3 of the third volume of *The Dial*. Indeed, he acted as a friend and adviser to him always.

The great event in Thoreau's life occurred in 1845, when

he seceded from the world, and went to live by the shores of Walden Pond, and built himself a frame house, with his own hands. For two years he lived in solitude, devoting himself to study, the investigation of the habits of animals, natural history pursuits, and the performance of such labour as he deemed necessary. The story of that adventure is curious. He had nothing when he began it save a borrowed axe and a few dollars in his pocket. He was a squatter in every sense of the word. He settled on somebody's land, cut down a few pines, hewed timber, and bought an old shanty, for the sake of the boards, from James Collins, an Irish labourer, on the adjacent Fitchburg Railroad. For the he was paid exactly $4.25. At the raising of his house boards he assisted by Emerson, George W. Curtis, the polite and refined "Easy Chair" of *Harper's Magazine*, and some other distinguished members of Concord society. He began building in the spring. By the opening of winter, as the result of his own labour, he had secured a tight shingled and plastered house, 10 feet wide by 15 long, and 8 feet posts, with a garret and a closet, a large window on each side, two trap-doors, one door at the end, and a brick fireplace opposite. The cost of this establishment is thus set down by the builder himself, and his remarks on the same appear in the margin.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Boards | $ 8 03½ | Mostly shanty boards. |
| Refuse shingles for roof and sides | 4 00 | |
| Laths | 1 25 | |
| Two second-hand windows with glass | 2 43 | |
| One thousand old brick | 4 00 | |
| Two casks of lime | 2 40 | That was high. |
| Hair | 0 31 | More than I needed. |
| Mantle-tree, iron | 0 15 | |
| Nails | 3 90 | |
| Hinges and screws | 0 14 | |
| Latch | 0 10 | |
| Chalk | 0 01 | |
| Transportation | 1 40 | I carried a good part on my back. |
| In all | $28 12½ | |

Rather a moderate price for a house, and adds the builder, "these are all the materials, excepting the timber, stones and sand, which I claimed by squatter's right. I have also a small wood-shed adjoining, made chiefly of the stuff which was left after building the house."

Now let us look a little into our hermit's family expenses, or house-keeping account, to speak more correctly. His wants were few, and he lived economically, but how many of us would be content to go and do likewise? Let us see what he did, and how he lived. He leaves this record:—

"By surveying, carpentry, and day labour of various other kinds in the village in the meanwhile, for I have as many trades as fingers, I had earned $13.34. The expense of food for eight months, namely, from July 4 to March 1, the time when these estimates were made, though I lived there more than two years,—not counting potatoes, a little green corn, and some peas, which I had raised, nor considering the value of what was on hand at the last date, was:—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Rice | $1 73½ | | |
| Molasses | 1 73 | Cheapest form of saccharine. | |
| Rye meal | 1 04¾ | | |
| Indian meal | 0 99¼ | Cheaper than rye. | |
| Pork | 0 22 | | |
| Flour | 0 88 | Cost more than Indian meal, both money and trouble. | All experiments which failed. |
| Sugar | 0 80 | | |
| Lard | 0 65 | | |
| Apples | 0 25 | | |
| Dried apples | 0 22 | | |
| Sweet potatoes | 0 10 | | |
| One pumpkin | 0 06 | | |
| One watermelon | 0 02 | | |
| Salt | 0 03 | | |

Yes, I did eat $8.74, all told; but I should not thus unblushingly publish my guilt, if I did not know that most of my readers were equally guilty with myself, and that

their deeds would look no better in print. The next year I sometimes caught a mess of fish for my dinner, and once I went so far as to slaughter a woodchuck which ravaged my beanfield,—effect his transmigration, as a Tartar would say,—and devour him, partly for experiment's sake; but though it afforded me a momentary enjoyment, notwithstanding a musky flavour, I saw that the longest use would not make that a good practice, however it might seem to have your woodchucks ready dressed by the village butcher.

| | |
|---|---|
| Clothing and some incidental expenses within the same dates, though little can be inferred from this item, amounted to... | $8 40¾ |
| Oil and some household utensils..... | 2 00 |

So that all the pecuniary outgoes, excepting for washing and mending, which for the most part were done out of the house, and their bills have not yet been received,—and these are all and more than all the ways by which money necessarily goes out in this part of the world,—were :—

| | |
|---|---|
| House..... | $28 12½ |
| Farm, one year..... | 14 72½ |
| Food, eight months..... | 8 74 |
| Clothing, &c., eight months..... | 8 40¾ |
| Oil, &c., " " ..... | 2 00 |
| In all..... | $61 99¾ |

I address myself now to those of my readers who have a living to get, and to meet this I have for

| | |
|---|---|
| Farm produce sold..... | $23 44 |
| Earned by day-labour..... | 13 34 |
| In all..... | $36 78 |

which, substracted from the sum of the outgoes, leaves a balance of $25.21¾ on the one side,—this being very nearly the means with which I started, and the measure of expenses to be incurred,—and on the other, beside the leisure and independence and health thus secured, a comfortable house for me as long as I chose to occupy it."

This life at Walden pond was very pleasant to him, and he made the most of it. Every natural fact which he discovered, and he found out very many of them, was a constant source of delight. "He was no pedant of a department," writes Emerson, "his eye was open to beauty and his ear to music. He found these, not in rare conditions, but wheresoever he went. He thought the best of music was in single strains; and he found poetic suggestion in the humming of the telegraph wire." And Alcott says of him, at about this time,—"he united the qualities of sylvan and human in a more remarkable manner than any whom it has been my happiness to know. Lover of the wild, he lived a borderer on the confines of civilization, jealous of the least encroachment upon his possessions. He came nearer the antique spirit than any of our native poets, and touched the fields and groves and streams of his native town with a classic interest that shall not fade." And again says this equally remarkable genius, "his presence was tonic, like ice-water in dog-days to the parched citizen pent in chambers and under brazen ceilings. Welcome as the gurgle of brooks and dipping of pitchers,—then drink and be cool! There was in him sod and shade, wilds and waters manifold,—the mould and mist of earth and sky. Self-poised and sagacious as any denizen of the elements, he had the key to every animal's brain, every plant; and were an Indian to flower forth and reveal the scents hidden in his cranium, it would not be more surprising than the speech of our Sylvanus." William Ellery Channing thus describes his personal appearance:—"in height he was about the average. In his build, spare with limbs that were rather longer than usual, or of which he made a longer use. His face once seen could not be forgotten; the features quite marked, the nose aquiline, or very Roman, like one of the portraits of Cæsar (more like a beak, as was

said), large overhanging brows above the deepest set blue eyes that could be seen,—blue in certain lights, and in others grey,—eyes expressive of all shades of feeling, but never weak or near-sighted; the forehead not unusually broad or high, full of concentrated energy and purpose; the mouth, with prominent lips, pursed up with meaning and thought when shut, and giving out when open a stream of the most varied and unusual and instructive sayings. His hair was a dark brown, exceedingly abundant, fine and soft, and for several years he wore a comely beard. His whole figure had an active earnestness as if he had not a moment to waste. The clenched hand betokened purpose. In walking he made a short cut if he could, and when sitting in the shade, or by the wall-side, seemed merely the clearer to look forward into the next piece of activity. Even in the boat he had a wary, transitory air, his eyes on the look out; perhaps there might be ducks or the Blondin turtle, or an otter, or sparrow. He was a plain man in his features and dress,—one who could not be mistaken, and this kind of plainness is not out of keeping with beauty. He sometimes went as far as homeliness, which again, even if there be a prejudice against it, shines out at times beyond a vulgar beauty."

One quotation more, and this completes the best description which contemporaries have left of Thoreau. George William Curtis says in his graceful way, "his knowledge was original. He has a fine-ear and a sharp-eye in the woods and fields; and he added to his knowledge the wisdom of the most ancient times and of the best literature." Almost all the critics give our author credit for great originality of mind. It was his misfortune as well as his advantage to have lived as the contemporary and intimate of Emerson. For a while he saw the greater man almost every day, and soon he learned to think like him, to pursue

the same way of thought, and to hold similar tenets with him on many of the problems which occupied men's minds, especially between the years 1840 and 1860. I think, he imbibed many of the better thoughts of Emerson, unconsciously, though there have been writers who have had grave doubts on the subject, and have not hesitated to denounce Thoreau as a plagiarist. His own writings were undoubtedly coloured by his contact with the completer mind, and he never could quite rid them of the deep tinge which so many declared to be the Emerson influence and the result of the Emerson cult. *Apropos* of this, a story is related in a famous literary circle in Boston. It is told at the expense of Thoreau's mother, who, it is said, remarked once to a neighbour, that Mr. Emerson wrote marvellously like her son. Lowell, who is as skilful a critic as Whipple, as well as a most delightful poet, and whose opinions on books and authorship are worthy of the highest praise, does not give Thoreau the place his admirers would like to see assigned him. In his "Fable for Critics," Mr. Lowell speaks thus freely :—

> "There comes ——, for instance ; to see him's rare sport,
> Tread in Emerson's tracks with legs painfully short ;
> How he jumps, how he strains, and gets red in the face,
> To keep step with the mystagogue's natural pace !
> He follows as close as a stick to a rocket,
> His fingers exploring the prophet's each pocket.
> Fie, for shame, brother bard ; with good fruit of your own,
> Can't you let neighbour Emerson's orchards alone ?"

This is severe, but Lowell either failed to appreciate Thoreau or he felt a contempt for his talents. He once wrote an essay about him,—it may be read in his "My Study Windows,"—and acute critic as he is, he disappointed everybody in the estimate which he produced. It was inappreciative, unsympathetic and cold. Emerson himself had great respect always for Thoreau. He thought him a grand soul and a superior genius. In an unpublished letter

to a friend, he once wrote, "I read his books and manuscripts always with new surprise at the range of his topics and the novelty of his thought. A man of large reading, of quick perception, of great practical courage and ability, who grew greater every day, and, had his short life been prolonged, would have found but few equals to the power and wealth of his mind."

Thoreau quitted his hut in two years' time. He exhausted its special advantages, and having no further use for it, he abandoned it to its fate. By living there in the manner he did he proved certain things, made certain discoveries, and studied certain subjects. These aims accomplished, he turned his back on the hermitage and went home to civilization and taxes. He went there in the first place because he was ready to go. He left for the same reason. The little odd house can no longer be seen. It has disappeared entirely and the site is now occupied by the sumac and the pine. Of course, the locality remains historic, and the Concord people still love to escort visitors to Thoreau's old haunt and tell the quaint story of his wilderness life, at "blue-eyed Walden."

He returned to town in 1847. One day he received a tax-bill. He did not like it. He found fault with the way in which the public funds were being administered and expended, and he told the tax-gatherer that he could not conscientiously pay a tax which was obnoxious to him. He was promptly arrested and lodged in jail. A friend came forward, the next day, and paid the tax, and Thoreau was released. The friendly act gave him annoyance however, and he did not scruple to say so, but there was no help for it. The tax was paid, and the delinquent walked out of prison, a free man. He had spent one night in jail, and his impressions are recorded and form some of the best reading to be found in his books. There is some-

thing quite delicious in his description of his prison experiences; something so fantastic, and withal so thoroughly like Thoreau in every respect. Note this bit for example :—

"As I stood considering the walls of solid stone, two or three feet thick, the door of wood and iron, a foot thick, and the iron grating which strained the light, I could not help being struck with the foolishness of that institution which treated me as if I were mere flesh and blood and bones, to be locked up. I wondered that it should have concluded at length that this was the best use to put me to, and had never thought to avail itself of my services in any way. I saw that if there was a stone wall between me and my townsmen, there was a still more difficult one to climb or break through before they could get to be as free as I was. I did not for a moment feel confined, and the walls seemed a great waste of stone and mortar. I felt as if I alone of all my townsmen had paid my tax. They plainly did not know how to treat me, but behaved like persons who are underbred. In every threat and in every compliment there was a blunder, for they thought that my chief desire was to stand on the other side of that stone wall. I could not but smile to see how industriously they locked the door on my meditations, which followed them out again without let or hindrance, and they were really all that was dangerous. As they could not reach me, they had resolved to punish my body; just as boys, if they cannot come at any person at whom they have a grudge, will abuse his dog."

When he entered the prison, he found the prisoners in their shirt-sleeves enjoying a social chat. Salutations were exchanged between the new-comer and the "jail-birds," and soon after this the turnkey said pleasantly, "Come, boys, it is time to lock up." The men and half-grown lads filed off

to their cells, and Thoreau was introduced to his room-mate,—"a first-rate fellow and a clever man," as the jailor called him. He appeared to be at home in the place, and kindly pointed out to the hermit the peg upon which he might hang his hat. After a while the two became very friendly with each other, and the man told Thoreau he had been put in the "lock-up" on a charge of burning a barn, but that he was innocent of the crime. "I pumped my fellow-prisoner as dry as I could," says our author, "for fear I should never see him again, but at length he showed me which was my bed, and left me to blow out the light."

His further impressions are thus detailed:—

"It was like travelling into a far country, such as I had never expected to behold, to lie there for one night. It seemed to me that I never had heard the town clock strike before, nor the evening sounds of the village; for we slept with the windows open, which were inside the grating. It was to see my native village in the light of the Middle Ages; and our Concord was turned into a Rhine stream, and visions of knights and castles passed before me. They were the voices of old burghers that I heard in the streets. I was an involuntary spectator and auditor of whatever was done and said in the kitchen of the adjacent village inn,—a wholly new and rare experience to me. It was a closer view of my native town. I was fairly inside of it. I never had seen its institutions before. * * * In the morning our breakfasts were put through the hole in the door, in small, oblong, square tin pans, made to fit, and holding a pint of chocolate, with brown bread, and an iron spoon. When they called for the vessels again, I was green enough to return what bread I had left; but my comrade seized it, and said that I should lav that up for a lunch or dinner."

In this light and airy fashion he goes on and tells the whole story of his incarceration, and explains, by the way, that there was no particular item in his tax-bill which he had refused to pay. He had never declined to pay the highway tax, because he was as desirous of excelling as a good neighbour, as he was of appearing before the authorities as a bad subject. Next year, the question came up again. Thoreau firmly declined to pay the tax, and the good offices of a friend were called into requisition. The same performance was enacted for some years after this, when finally Thoreau, who probably saw that his spirit of independence did not quite harmonize with the line of conduct he was pursuing in the matter, and fearing lest he was really becoming a burden to his friends, ceased to offer resistance to the law, and paid the tax.

If he had lived in England in Wilkes' time, he would probably have sided with that agitator in all his views. He was an extreme radical, and the uncompromising opponent of every form of government. If he had had the power he would have abolished all administrations from the face of the earth. He had as much fight in him as Wendell Phillips had in his young and lusty days, and was never so happy as when he was arrayed against strong men and stronger isms. In our time, when radicalism has become a force, and is no longer regarded as a crime, when its leaders have developed into administrators of departments in the public service, and have helped to carr on the great affairs of State in the governments of countries, Thoreau, even with unchanged opinions would not be looked upon as an attainted man. He might form no part of a government, but there are other portfolios than those belonging to cabinets, and the Walden philosopher strengthened by the possession of one of these, and speaking for and to the people, might find his views very

sensibly taking shape and volume, and influencing the progressive march of events. In his day he was an abolitionist, and sternly opposed to all tariffs, and every variety of slavery, political as well as human. The traffic in the black man, which disgraced his country, was an abomination which he could not denounce in terms of sufficient severity. He joined the Anti-slavery party, when to do so was to incur the bitter hatred of many good men. Thoreau did not care. He felt a burst of sympathy tugging at his heart, when old John Brown succumbed to the tap of authority on his shoulder. The hero was arrested, and Thoreau felt the mad, radical, rebellious, hot blood in his veins warming every pulse and fibre, and burning into his brain. He sent out notices to nearly every house in Concord, and told the people he would speak on the great question in the Public Hall on Sunday evening, and he invited all to come and hear him. Even the Abolitionist Committee trembled at his daring, and the Republican Committee felt a sinking at the heart. They put their heads together, and advised Henry Thoreau not to be too premature in the matter. It was not advisable to speak publicly of John Brown, and his character and condition. The time was not ripe, they thought, just yet. They counselled delay; wait, they all said. Wait,—and these men advised Henry Thoreau to wait. Henry Thoreau, think of it, Henry Thoreau who had his opinions, and cared not a rush for any man's counsel or advice,—advised Henry Thoreau who held to principle as if his life depended on it! His mind was made up. Not speak next Sunday night, and the people mad to know the story of John Brown? Why, the thing was absurd! What, think you, was the reply this sturdy radical of the radicals sent back to the trembling Anti-slavery people? Why this, "I did not send to you for advice, but to announce that I am

to speak." And he did speak, and the hall had never held such an audience as he addressed on that memorable night. The crowds came from far and near, and Thoreau's earnest eulogy of the grand old martyr of Harper's ferry, was listened to with a sympathy and a respect which surprised the Abolitionists themselves. Some of them took courage from this exhibition, and Thoreau's speech was a first gun fired in Concord, in behalf of the black man's cause.

Among other things which he said on that occasion, were these: "I am here to plead his cause with you. I plead not for his life, but his character,—his immortal life; and so it becomes your cause wholly, and not his in the least. I see now that it was necessary that the bravest and humanest man in the country should be hung. Perhaps he saw it himself. *I almost fear* that I may yet hear of his deliverance, doubting if a prolonged life, if any life, can do as much good as his death."

And after the splendid old hero,—one of the grand martyrs of the world, if ever there was one,—had been hanged, Thoreau said tenderly and feelingly:—

"On the day of his translation I heard, to be sure, that he was hung, but I did not know what that meant; I felt no sorrow on that account; but not for a day or two did I even *hear* that he was *dead*, and not after any number of days shall I believe it. Of all the men who were said to be my contemporaries, it seemed to me that John Brown was the only one who *had not died*. I never hear of a man named Brown now—and I hear of them pretty often,—I never hear of any particular brave and earnest man, but my first thought is of John Brown, and what relation he may be to him. I meet him at every turn. He is more alive than he ever was. He has earned immortality. He is not confined to North Elba nor to Kansas. He is no

longer working in secret. He works in public in the clearest light that shines in the land."

Thoreau lacked geniality and sunniness of disposition, charms which never fail to win friends and lovers. He had too much acid in his nature,—and he did not always succeed in keeping the acid out of his books either,—ever to become one of the world's heroes. He was a bookish man, as well as a naturalist. He had more intellect than soul, and he was too sincere to dissemble. He had no *finesse*. The animals of the brush possessed more of his heart than the men he met in the streets, or the women at whose homes he dropped in, now and then, for a talk. Yet cold as he was to people, he contrived to be happy, and was always on particularly good terms with himself. "I love my fate to the core and rind," he used to say. Even when he lay dying of that dread disease, consumption,—which carried him off in 1862, he feebly said to some one at his bedside, "you ask particularly after my health. I *suppose* that I have not many months to live, but of course know nothing about it. I may say that I am enjoying existence as much as ever, and regret nothing."

As a writer of books, Thoreau must always occupy an acknowledged place in American letters. He wrote about eight medium-sized volumes, but all of them are not equal in point of merit. Each in turn exhibits a wealth of observation, some satire, a certain dry humour, much force of character, and a clear insight into human affairs and nature. He wrote pretty much as he talked, thought often while on his feet, and some of the acutest things in his works were composed during the long walks which he took in the country. "The length of his walk uniformly made the length of his writing," as was once said. Some of his writings are exaggerative, and he measured everything by a rule of his own, which [illegible] Concord as

the centre of the universe. Even the North Pole had few phenomena which he could not find in his own little town and neighbourhood. The meridian of Concord was the main base of operations for the whole civilized world, and in his eyes it was doubtless Naples, London, Paris and Venice, all rolled into one sublime entity.

A pleasant book of his is *The Week*, which is really a record of a delightful journey along the banks of the Concord and Merrimack rivers, which was taken by the author and his brother in the month of August, 1839. They sailed about in a boat which was built by themselves after a model of their own design, and at night they camped out on the shore. The book is full of their adventures, by land and water, and contains many excellent bits of descriptive and essay writing, strengthened by philosophical dissertations, and some interesting studies in botany and in literature. A few affectations in religious thought, peculiarly Thoreauesque, abound here and there, but one may forgive such weaknesses in a work which is so meritorious in all other directions. *Walden*, which treats of life in the woods, in a most enjoyable and reflective way, ranks next. It tells the story of Thoreau's own career in the forest, and on that account, as well as from its value as an authority on certain features of New England civilization, it is likely to be oftener read and quoted than any of his other writings. *A Yankee in Canada* is well worth dipping into, though it certainly does not show its author at his best. He confesses that he failed to get much of himself into it. Still, it has some humour, and a good deal of observation, and the reader will not find it either dull or stupid. You will pardon me, perhaps, for reading to you, a page or two out of this sketchy volume. Thoreau made the trip to Canada in 1850. He travelled with but slight incumbrance, in the way of baggage. His boast was that

he could be independent of it. He set out early, and carried only a small parcel in his hand, which contained the few articles which he absolutely needed for his journey. He says :—

" My pack, in fact, was soon made, for I keep a short list of those articles which, from frequent experience, I have found indispensable to the foot traveller; and, when about to start, I have only to consult to be sure that nothing is omitted, and, what is more important, nothing superfluous inserted. Most of my fellow-travellers carried carpet-bags, or valises. Sometimes one had two or three tremendous yellow valises in his clutch, at each hitch of the cars, or if we were going to have a rush in earnest—and there were not a few—I would see my man in the crowd, with two or three affectionate lusty fellows pressing close, the strap along each side of his arm, between his shoulder and his valises, which held them tight to his back. I could not help asking in my mind, what so great cause for shewing Canada to those valises, when perhaps your very nieces had to stay at home for want of an escort? I should have liked to be present when the custom-house officer came aboard of him, and asked him to declare upon his honour if he had anything but wearing apparel in them. Even the elephant carries but a small trunk on his journeys. The perfection of travelling is to travel without baggage. After considerable reflection and experience, I have concluded that the best bag for a foot-traveller is made with a handkerchief, or, if he study appearances, a piece of stiff brown paper, well tied up, with a fresh piece within to put outside when the first is torn. That is good for both town and country,—a bundle which you can carry literally under your arm, and which will shrink and swell with its contents. I never found the carpet-bag of equal capacity, which was not a bundle of itself. We styled ourselves the

Knights of the Umbrella and the Bundle; for wherever we went, whether to Notre-Dame or Mount Royal, or the Champ-de-Mars, to town mayor's or the bishop's palace, to the citadel, with a bare-legged Highlander for our escort, or to the Plains of Abraham, to dinner or to bed, the umbrella and the bundle went with us; for we wished to be ready to digress at any moment. We made our haven nowhere in particular, but everywhere where our umbrella and bundle were. It would have been an amusing circumstance if the mayor of one of those cities had politely asked us where we were staying. We could only have answered that we were staying with His Honour for the time being. I was amused when, after our return, some green ones enquired if we found it 'easy to get accommodated,' as if we went abroad to get accommodated, when we can get that at home."

And of Canada and its people, he writes thus:—

"To a traveller from the old world, Canada East may appear like a new country, and its inhabitants like colonists; but to me, coming from New England, and being a very green traveller withal, it appeared as Normandy itself, and realized much that I had heard of Europe and the Middle Ages. Even the names of the humble Canadian villages affected me as if they had been those of the renowned cities of antiquity. To be told by a habitant when I asked the name of a village in sight, that it is *St. Féréole* or *Ste. Anne*, the *Guardian Angel* or the *Holy St. Joseph's*; or of a mountain that it was *Bélange* or *St. Hyacinthe!* As soon as we leave the States these saintly names begin. St. John is the first town you stop at (fortunately we did not see it), and henceforward the names of the mountains, and streams, and villages reel, if I may so speak, with the intoxication of poetry: Chambly, Longueuil, Pointe-aux-Trembles, Bartholomy, etc., etc., as if it needed only a little

foreign accent, a few more liquids and vowels perchance in the language to make or locate our ideals at once. I began to dream of *Provence* and the *Troubadours*, and of places and things which have no existence on the earth. They veiled the Indian and the primitive forest, and the woods towards Hudson's Bay were only as the forests of France and Germany. I could not at once bring myself to believe that the inhabitants who pronounced daily those beautiful, and to me significant, words led as prosaic lives as we of New England. In short, the Canada which I saw was not merely a place for railroads to terminate in, and for criminals to run to. When I asked a man if there were any falls on the *Rivière-au-Chien*—for I saw that it came over the same high bank with the *Montmorenci* and *Ste. Anne*—he answered that there were. "How far?" I enquired. "*Trois-quarts de lieue.*" "How high?" "*Je pense, quatre-vingt-dix pieds*"—that is ninety feet. We turned aside to look at the falls of the *Rivière du Saut à la Puce*, half-a-mile from the road, which before we had passed in our haste and ignorance, and we pronounced them as beautiful as any that we saw; yet they seemed to make no account of them there, and when first we enquired the way to the falls, directed us to *Montmorenci*, seven miles distant. It was evident that this was the country for waterfalls; that every stream that empties into the St. Lawrence, for some hundreds of miles, must have a great fall or cascade on it, and in its passage through the mountains was for a short distance a small Saguenay, with its upright walls. This fall of *La Puce*, the least remarkable of the four which we visited in this vicinity, we had never heard of till we came to Canada, and yet, so far as I know, there is nothing of the kind in New England to be compared to it. Most travellers in Canada would not hear of it, though they might go so near as hear it. Since my return I find that

in the topographical description of the country, mention is made of "two or three romantic falls" on this stream, though we saw and heard of but this one. Ask the inhabitants, respecting any stream, if there is a fall on it, and they will perchance tell you of something as interesting as Bashpish or the Catskill, which no traveller has ever seen, or, if they have not found it, you may possibly trace up the stream and discover it yourself. Falls there are "a drug," and we became quite dissatisfied in respect to them. We had too much of them. Besides those which I have referred to, there are a thousand other falls on the St. Lawrence and its tributaries which I have not seen or heard of, and above all there is one which I have heard of called Niagara, so that I think this river must be the most remarkable for its falls of any in the world.

"At a house near the western boundary of Château Richer, whose master was said to speak a very little English, having recently lived at Quebec, we got lodging for the night. As usual we had to go down alone to get round to the south side of the house, where the door was, away from the road; for these Canadians' houses have no front door; properly speaking every part is for the use of the occupant exclusively, and no part has reference to the traveller or to travel. Every New England house, on the contrary, has a front and a principal door opening to the great world, though it may be on the cold side, for it stands on the highway of nations, and the road which runs by it comes from the old world and goes to the far West; but the Canadian's door opens into his back yard and farm alone, and the road which runs behind his house leads only from the church of one saint to that of another."

"*Excursions*" is a very good book, and full of quotable extracts. My own copy is marked on every page. It is in *Excursions* where we find such bits as these, "It is the

three-inch swing of a pendulum in a cup-board, which the great pulse of nature vibrates by and through each instant." "The beauty there is in mosses must be considered from the holiest, quietest nook." "What is any man's discourse to me, if I am not sensible of something in it as steady and cheery as the creak of crickets." "I would keep some book of natural history always by me as a sort of elixir, the reading of which should restore the tone of the system." "Their tongues had a more generous accent than ours, as if breath was cheaper where they wagged." One more, "Cape Cod, the right arm of the Commonwealth." It would be easy to multiply the number of quotations, but enough have been given, I think, to show the manner and style of Thoreau's thought, his power of expression, and peculiar turn for humour. His other books are *Letters*—full of strong individuality and robust thought,—*The Maine Woods*, *Cape Cod*, and *Early Spring in Massachusetts*, the latter a collection of shrewd observations from the author's journal. This work, bequeathed in 1876 to Mr. H. G. O. Blake by Sophia Thoreau, sister of the naturalist, was published in book-form in 1881.

Thoreau died at Concord on the 6th of May, 1862. Take him for all in all, he was a good and true man. He led a life which was full of beautiful lessons for the young as well as for the old. We cannot all become hermits, perhaps few of us would care for such a self-denying state of existence,—but we may all lead useful lives, if we will. And may we not learn something noble and enduring, from the simple career of this self-sacrificing naturalist, who gave some of the best years of his life to the birds of the air, the animals which ran to him for protection, the fish which swam into his hand, and the plants which whispered their secrets into his ear? A man who lived as Thoreau lived could do great good to his fellows were he so

minded, and Thoreau, we all feel, accomplished much that was purposeful and excellent. We need not think of him as a Transcendentalist merely, though of course the tenets of that doctrine coloured his views, and shaped the action of his mind ; we need not quarrel with his way of religious thought, but we may believe in him as a man and a brother-worker in an honest cause. We may admire the thousand good qualities with which God enriched his mind and endowed his heart. We may accept the influencing tendency of his splendid manhood, and read spirited lessons for our guidance in most of the acts which he performed. His morality was high. He had almost an excess of it. His scholarship, his love of nature, his grandeur of soul, his pride of independence, his ripe and mature judgment on all the great concerns of life and activity, found ample development in the intellectual life which he followed. The career of such a man marks out a line of beauty which many of us would do no wrong to accept, if not in its entirety, at least in part. Thoreau has passed away, but his genius lives. In fiction he rests immortalized in Hawthorne's study of "The Marble Faun;" in real life he has a firm hold on our affections, an ever living place in our hearts. His rank in American letters is assured, and his memory will not soon fade away, or sink out of the minds of thinking and of reading men.

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At the conclusion of the lecture, John Harper, Esq., B.A., Rector of the High School, arose and moved a vote of thanks to the lecturer in a neat speech. At the same time he moved the following resolutions, Mr. LeMoine leaving the Chair, and H. S. Scott, Esq., assuming it:

*Whereas* it has been publicly announced that the organization of the Royal Society of Canada has been completed, under the distinguished

patronage of His Excellency the Governor-General, and through the significant co-operation of those of our countrymen who have attained to some degree of eminence in literary and scientific studies ;

*And whereas* it has likewise been announced that J. M. LeMoine, Esq., President of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, has had conferred upon him, with the unhesitating approbation of his literary associates, a mark of His Excellency's favour, in being appointed to the high and influential position of Preses of the French Historical section of the said Royal Society ;

*And whereas* it has also been announced that Mr. Faucher de St. Maurice, a member of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, and for many years its efficient librarian, has accepted a similar position as Preses of the French Literature section of the said Royal Society ;

*And whereas* it is likewise known that Mr. George Stewart, jr., a member of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, and an associate of its Council, has been notified of his appointment as Fellow of the said Royal Society, an honour suggested by His Excellency and approved of by his associate Fellows ;

*Be it therefore resolved*, that the congratulations of the members of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, as represented by this meeting, be tendered to Mr. LeMoine, who has so long and ably filled the position of President of this Society, and whose name is so intimately associated with everything pertaining to the history of the Province of Quebec and the River St. Lawrence ; to Mr. Faucher de St. Maurice, upon whom honours, political as well as literary, have lately fallen ; and likewise to Mr. Stewart, whose efforts in connection with our Society have been of the most praiseworthy character, and whose literary fame is in the mouths of all who proudly recognize the development of a Canadian literature.

*And be it further resolved*, that a copy of this resolution be inserted in the books of our Society.

The Hon. Judge Routhier seconded the resolutions, and vote of thanks, in an eloquent and highly complimentary speech.

Mr. Scott then addressed a few remarks to the audience and put the vote, which was carried amid great enthusiasm.

Mr. LeMoine resumed his position, when he and Mr. Stewart acknowledged the honours paid them.

# ANNUAL MEETING.

The Literary and Historical Society held their annual meeting on Wednesday, the 11th January instant, the President, J. M. LeMoine, Esq., in the chair. After routine the following reports were read:—

## REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

The Council of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec have the honor to report to the members of the Society that, since the last annual general meeting, there has been the following change in, and addition to, the members of the Society.

They have to note, with regret, the loss by death of an esteemed life-member—Jos. W. Leaycraft, Esq., and of the following associate members: Messrs. Thos. Murphy, F. Laurie, Levison Sewell, James McCaghey, Professor Hubert LaRue, and Thomas Andrews.

By resignation and removal from the city, the Society has lost six members; on the other hand, eighteen new names have been added to the list of associate members. With the daily increasing attractions the Society can offer, a very large list of members is confidently looked for.

The following papers were read before the Society:—

January 27th, 1881.—"NARRATIVE OF THE WRECK OF THE TRANSPORT 'PREMIER,' *with the Regiment 1st Royals, at Cape Chatte*, 1843," read by Mr. Hellemore.

February 14th.—"WHAT I SAW IN FIVE DAYS IN ROME," by Hon. David Alexander Ross.

March 3rd.—"THE ROYAL PALACES OF THE LOIRE," by Louis Honoré Fréchette, Laureate of the French Academy.

March 19th.—"ANTICOSTI, ITS SHIPWRECKS—*Illustrated by a map—What has been done since Confederation to prevent Marine Disasters,*" by J. U. Gregory, Marine Department.

March 25th.—"THOMAS CARLYLE," by Geo. Stewart, jr.

April 9th.—"THE PRACTICE AND PRINCIPLES OF ART," by Woodford Pilkington, C. E.

November 25th and December 21st.—The opening lecture of the season 1881-82, by the President, J. M. LeMoine; subject: "EDINBURGH—ROUEN—YORK."

Since the last annual general meeting, the library has been increased by the addition of numerous volumes selected in the spirit calculated to further the aims contemplated in the charter of this Association, the promotion of science and history, especially that of our own country, in their higher departments, to wit; "the prosecution of researches into the early history of Canada, for the recovering, procuring and publishing interesting documents and useful information relating to the National Civil and Literary History of British North America, and for the advancement of the arts and sciences in the said Province of Lower Canada, from which public benefit may be expected."

The report of the Librarian gives the particulars of the purchases and donations of books during the year.

As to the Museum, want of space has prevented the addition of the groups of larger animals. One of our associate members, in the name of a Scotch taxidermist, has submitted a proposition to exchange some of our duplicate bird skins for Scotch game birds; if a *locale* can be procured to store the expected specimens, these changes must naturally tend to make our collection of Natural History more extensive, more valuable.

An effort has been made to increase the usefulness of this historical institution and to carry out more fully the object of its charter by the adoption of measures for the preservation of the valuable maps, plans and journals, relating to the history of Canada, which had been accumulating for the last twenty years in its archives. The Society, it is well known, from its earliest times has spent large sums in printing and publishing memoirs, siege narrations and records bearing on Canadian annals, as well as in acquiring complete fyles, when practicable, of the pioneer news sheets and leading journals published in this city, such as the *Quebec Gazette* dating from 1764, the *Quebec Herald* from 1789, the *Quebec Mercury* from 1805, the *Morning Chronicle* from 1847. These invaluable sources of reference for students of history as well as business men—some, costly purchases—others, prized gifts by well-wishers to the Society—through lack of space in the library, had been relegated to a dusty and dark corner of the museum, neglected, difficult of access, from want of covers, obliterated or torn titles; they have now been brought to light, their bindings and titles repaired and restored. Classified by order of date, they can be of daily and of easy reference, in a small room adjoining the library; the maps and plans, railway surveys and valuable documents donated by outsiders or by our members are equally stored in this room, and preserved in drawers for reference when needed. Our numerous benefactors will see therein a proof that their gifts are duly appreciated and safely preserved.

In connection with donations to this department, it is pleasant to notice an important and new gift from Messrs. Dawson & Co., of eighteen bound volumes of the *Quebec Gazette* from 1856 to 1874, which will go far to complete the fyles of the *Gazette*, covering 110 years of Quebec history. The Society has also to thank, among others, an old friend

of the institution, the Hon. John Fraser, now at Charleston,* for a most valuable gift of coins, medals, Indian and other curiosities, &c. The siege narratives, memoirs, journals and diaries kept by the late James Thompson, a volunteer under General James Wolfe, and later on attached to the Royal Engineer Department, at Quebec, embracing a period of seventy-two years (1758-1830), having been placed on the market, the Society devoted a portion of the historical fund to procuring these unpublished diaries—eight or ten volumes in number—which comprise so much of the history of our city, pending the sieges of 1759 and 1775, and later on.

The Council have also to report that steps have been taken to acquire from the Morrin College the privilege of using one of its spacious apartments for its meetings, where papers and essays may be read.

The report of the Treasurer will be laid before the Society to make known the state of the funds at the present moment, and also the different heads of receipt and expenditure during the year just expired.

J. M. LeMoine,
President.

Quebec, 11th January, 1882.

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REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

The report of the Librarian in resigning office does not offer anything of particular interest. Though the reading room continues to be more appreciated each succeeding year, yet the issues of books have been fewer than during the preceding period, viz: a few over 4,000.

This diminution of circulation is no doubt owing to the small additions to the Library during the past year. It is

* Our esteemed friend has just closed his career on the 2nd May, 1882.

to be regretted that the state of our finances has limited our purchases, for we have many new books on the approved list, and are only awaiting the funds to procure them.

Among the few purchases is the latest edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica, a work of great commercial and literary value, in those respects equivalent to many smaller volumes.

The donations to the Library have been numerous, among them being a valuable historical work presented by our Patron, His Excellency, the Marquis of Lorne, and eighteen volumes of the *Quebec Gazette*, given by Messrs. Dawson & Co. To these and other donors, our best thanks are due; —may their example stimulate many more to present us with their spare volumes! This is pre-eminently a kind of charity which does not impoverish the donor, neither does "imparted knowledge" diminish learning's store.

List of the donations, purchases and exchanges of transactions are appended to this report. These latter are numerous;—though many do not bring any immediate return, yet this judicious distribution of our publications serves the purpose of our charter and is earning for our Society a widespread reputation.

Respectfully submitted,

RODERICK MCLEOD,
Librarian.

*President*—J. M. LeMoine, F.R.S.C.

*Vice-Presidents*—W. Hossack, H. S. Scott, J. C. Tessier.

*Treasurer*—Edwin Pope.

*Librarian*—F. C. Wurtele.

*Recording-Secretary*—J. F. Belleau.

*Corresponding-Secretary*—W. Clint.

*Council-Secretary*—A. Robertson.

*Curator of Museum*—Th. Oliver.

*Curator of Apparatus*—R. McLeod.

*Additional members of Council*—P. Johnston, Jr., F.R.S.C., Theop. Ledroit, Jas. Stevenson.

# DONATIONS TO THE LIBRARY, 1881.

New England Historical and Genealogical Register.
Minnesota Historical Society—Biennial report.
Journal of the Franklin Institute.
Transactions of the Oneida Historical Society, Utica, N. Y.
American Geographical Society.
American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Boston, Mass.
American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.
Wyoming Historical Society, Penn.
Journal of the Board of Education, New York City, 1880.
39th Annual Report of the Board of Education, New York City, 1880.
Manual of the " " " " 1881.
Directory of the " " " " 1881.
Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vols. 18, 19, 20, 21.
" Contributions to Knowledge, vol. 23.
Annals of the New York Academy of Science.
Essex Institute, Historical Collections, vol. 17, parts I, II, III, IV.
" " Visitor's Guide to Salem.
Bulletin of the Essex Institute.
Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1880-81, vol. 18.
A Centennial Address before the Massachusetts Historical Society, by Samuel A. Green, M.D.
Acts, Resolves and Reports of the General Assembly, of Rhode Island.
Harvard University Bulletin.
Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute, vol. 13.
Proceedings of the Philosophical Society of Glasgow.
Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, vol. 9.
" " " Colonial Institute, vol. 12.
" " " Society, Edinburgh, 1879-80.
Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of Ireland, 1879-80.
" " " United Service Institution.
Proceedings and Transactions of the Nova Scotian Institute of Natural Sciences, vol. 5, part 3rd.
Sessional Papers of the Legislature of the Province of Quebec.
Statutes of the Province of Quebec.
Sessional Papers of the Legislature of the Province of Ontario, 1881.
Journals of the Province of Ontario.

Catalogue of the Library of Parliament, Ontario.
Sessional Papers of the 4th Parliament of the Dominion of Canada, 1880-81.
Journals of the House of Commons, 1880-81.
" " Senate, " "
Sessional Papers, " "
Canadian Journal. (Proceedings of the Canadian Institute.)
Canada Medical and Surgical Journal.
Canadian Naturalist.
Canadian Military Review, Kingston, Ontario.
Calendar of Dalhousie College and University, Nova Scotia.
Calendar of McGill College.
Annuaire de l'Université Laval.
Annuaire de l'Institut Canadien de Québec.
Educational Record of the Province of Quebec.
Journal de l'Instruction Publique.
Le Journal d'Agriculture.
Actes de la Société d'Ethnographie, Paris, Session 1874-75.
Anales del Museo Nacional de Mexico.
The Stereometricon, by Chevalier C. Baillairgé, C. E.
Rapport du Chevalier C. Baillairgé, Ingénieur de la Cité de Québec.
Imports, Exports and the French Treaty—Cobden Club.
Free Trade and Tarifs—Cobden Club.
Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography.
State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 26th Annual Report.
Pajol, par le Général de Division, Comte Pajol, son Fils ainé—tomes I, II, III, 1772 to 1884, with atlas—presented by the Governor General, the Marquis of Lorne.
Quebec Gazette—1856, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 60, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 18 vols.—presented by Dawson & Co., Quebec.
Hiawatha and the Iroquois Confederation, by Horatio Hale.
The Names of the Gods in the Kiche Myths, Central America, by Daniel G. Brenton, M.D.
The "Daily News," London—presented by J. L. Whitehead, Esq.
"Grip" for 1881—presented by H. S. Scott, Esq.
"Forest and Stream"—presented by R. McLeod, Esq.
"Canadian Spectator."

## DONATIONS TO THE MUSEUM, 1881.

Model of a Chingalese Sailing Canoe, presented by C. P. Dean, Esq.,
Collections of Coins, Medals, Specimens of Mineralogy, Indian and other valuable curiosities, presented by Hon. John Fraser.
Scrip Money of Champlain and St. Lawrence Railroad 1837, Half-dollar, Quarter-dollar and seven-pence half-penny.
Coin, presented by Master Arthur Fleming.

## NEW BOOKS ACQUIRED BY PURCHASE, 1881.

English Men of Letters, Wordsworth, Dryden, Landor, DeQuincey.
Invasion of the Crimea, 6th vol., Kinglake.
First six volumes of the Encyclopædia Britannica.
Life and Correspondence of Sir Anthony Panizzi, 2 vols.
The Coming of the Princess.
The Gold Mines of Beauce.
Land and Game Birds of New England.
Pepacton.
Orion and other Poems.
Literary Sheaves, Dr. Prosper Bender, Quebec.
Reminiscences of Carlyle.
Are Legislatures, Parliaments.
Young Ireland.
The Scot in British North America, 2nd vol.
National Portrait Gallery, 4th "
International " " 2nd "
Canadian " " 3rd & 4th "
Lovell's Gazetteer of British North America

## EXCHANGE LIST, 1881.

American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.
Academy of Science, St. Louis.
American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Boston.
Academy of Sciences, Philadelphia.
Astor Library, New York City.
Antiquarian Society, Montreal.
American Geographical Society, New York.
American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.
Boston Public Library, Boston, Mass.
Bourne, Wm. O., Office of the Board of Education, New York City.
Buffalo Historical Society, Buffalo, N.Y.
Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, New Haven, Conn.
Central Ohio Scientific Association, Urbana, Ohio.
Canadian Institute, Toronto.
DePeyster, Gen. J. Watts, New York.
Dawson, Principal, McGill College.
Dawson, Dr. George M., Montreal.
Douglas, Prof. Jas., Phoenixville, Penn.
D'Abbadie, Antoine, Institut de France, Paris.
Dwight, T. F., Librarian Department of State, Washington, D. C., U.S.
Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.
Franklin Institute, Philadelphia.
Gould, S. C., Manchester Academy of Arts and Sciences, New Hampshire.
Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
Historical Society, New York.
Historical and Genealogical Society, Boston, Mass.
Harvard College Library, Boston, Mass.
Historical Society, Helana, Montana.
Historical Society, Hartford, Conn.
Historical Society, Minnesota.
Institut Canadien, Montreal.
Institut Canadien, Quebec.
Institut Canadien, Ottawa.
Kingston, Prof., Observatory, Toronto.
Librarian Parliamentary Library, Ottawa.
Librarian Parliamentary Library, Toronto.
Librarian Parliamentary Library, Halifax.
Library, Parliament, Quebec.

Lamphere, A. T., Cor. Secty. Michigan Library Association.
Librarian, Department of State, Washington, D.C., U.S.
Mercantile Library, San Francisco.
Mercantile Library, New York.
Minister of Finance, Ottawa.
Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore.
McGill University Library.
New York State Library, Albany, N.Y.
New York Academy of Sciences, New York.
Natural History Society, Montreal.
Nova Scotia Historical Society, Halifax, N.S.
Ouimet, Hon. Gédéon, Quebec.
Patent Office, Washington, D.C., U.S.
Peabody Academy of Science, Salem, Mass.
Parkman, Francis, Boston, Mass.
Philosophical Society of Glasgow.
Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence.
Royal Society, Dublin, Ireland.
Royal Historical Society, London, England.
Royal United Service Institution, England.
Royal Society, Edinburgh, Scotland.
Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, Ireland.
Royal Colonial Institute, London, England.
Society of Natural History, Boston.
Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D.C.
State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis., U.S.
Stevens, J. A., Editor, Magazine of American History, New York City.
Société Historique de Montréal, Montreal.
Smith, Prof. Goldwin, Toronto.
Secretary District Pioneer Society, Detroit, Mich.
Speaker House of Commons, Ottawa.
Speaker Legislative Council, Quebec.
Speaker Legislative Assembly, Quebec.
Sandham, Alfred, Montreal
Smallwood, Dr., Montreal Observatory.
Sulte, Benjamin, Ottawa.
Selwyn, A. R. C., Geological Survey Office, Montreal.
Taylor, Fennings, Ottawa.
University of Toronto Library.
Wilson, Daniel, Prof., Toronto University.
Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.

## VOLS. OF BOUND MAGAZINES, 1881.

| | | Vols. |
|---|---|---|
| London Illustrated News | 1881 | 2 |
| Punch | " | 1 |
| Canadian Illustrated News | " | 1 |
| London Quarterly | " | 1 |
| Edinburgh " | " | 1 |
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| Westminster Quarterly | " | 1 |
| Nineteenth Century | " | 2 |
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| Contemporary | " | 2 |
| North American Review | " | 2 |
| Atlantic Monthly | " | 2 |
| Harper's Magazine | " | 2 |
| Scribner's " | " | 2 |
| Chambers' Journal | " | 1 |
| All the year Round | " | 2 |
| Fraser's Magazine | " | 2 |
| MacMillan's " | " | 2 |
| Blackwood's " | " | 2 |
| Cornhill " | " | 2 |
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| Scientific Canadian | " | 1 |
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| Bulletin of the Nuttal Ornithological Club | " | 1 |
| Revue des Deux Mondes | " | 6 |
| L'Opinion Publique | " | 1 |
| Le Naturaliste Canadien | " | 1 |

## TREASURER'S REPORT.

*Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, in account with Edwin Pope, Treasurer.*

DR.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| To Cash paid for Manuscripts, &c | $ 51 | 00 |
| " " Printing | 204 | 00 |
| " " Binding and repairing books | 125 | 35 |
| " " Books and Periodicals | 409 | 20 |
| " " Salaries and collection | 378 | 22 |
| " " Rent, &c | 190 | 00 |
| " " Fire insurance | 67 | 50 |
| " " Gas | 71 | 40 |
| " Miscellaneous as per cash book | 161 | 54 |
| " Balance | 205 | 28 |
| | $1863 | 49 |

CR.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| By Balance from 1880 | $ 68 | 49 |
| " Members' subscriptions | 1037 | 00 |
| " Cash for Historical documents sold | 8 | 00 |
| " Government grant for 1880 | 750 | 00 |
| | $1863 | 49 |
| By Balance | $ 205 | 28 |

Examined and found correct.

PETER ROBINSON, Auditor.

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Quebec, 11th January, 1882.

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# Literary and Historical Society of Quebec,

*Founded in—1824*

*Incorporated by Royal Charter—1831.*

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# HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

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# QUEBEC LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

SINCE ITS FOUNDATION UP TO 1882.

## FIRST SERIES.

1. Mémoires sur le Canada depuis 1749 jusqu'à 1760, en trois parties ; avec cartes et plans lithographiés. VII et 211 p. in-8, *Québec*, 1338. Ré-imprimé en 1876.

   Ce mémoire a pour deuxième titre : "Mémoires du S—— de C——, contenant l'histoire du Canada durant la guerre et sous le gouvernement anglais." Il fut communiqué à la Société Littéraire et Historique par M. le colonel Christie. L'introduction donne à entendre que l'auteur du manuscrit pourrait être M. de Vauclain, officier de marine en 1759.

2. Collection de mémoires et de relations sur l'histoire ancienne du Canada, d'après des manuscrits récemment obtenus des archives et bureaux publics, en France. (8 mémoires reliés en 1 Vol.) in-8, *Québec*, 1840.

   1. Mémoire sur l'état présent du Canada, attribué à M. Talon. 7 p.
   2. Mémoire sur le Canada (1736), attribué à M. Hocquart. 14 p.
   3. Considérations sur l'état présent du Canada (1758). 29 p.
   4. Histoire du Canada par M. l'abbé de Belmont. 36 p.
   5. Relation du Siége de Québec en 1759, par une religieuse de l'Hôpital Générale de Québec. 24 p.
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   7. Réflexions sommaires sur le commerce qui s'est fait en Canada. 8 p.
   8. Histoire de l'eau-de-vie en Canada. 29 p.

3. Voyages de découvertes au Canada entre les années 1534 et 1542, par Jacques-Cartier, le Sieur de Roberval, Jean Alphonse de Xaintonge, &c. Suivis de la description de Québec et de ses environs en 1608, et de divers extraits relativement au lieu de l'hivernement de Jacques-Cartier en 1535-36 (avec gravures *fac-simile*). Ré-imprimés sur d'anciennes relations. 130 p. in-8, *Québec*. 1843.

4. Mémoire du Sieur de Ramsay, commandant à Québec, au sujet de la reddition de cette ville le 18 septembre

1759, d'après un manuscrit aux archives du bureau de la marine, à Paris. 84 et 38 p. in-8, *Québec*, 1861. (Dû à M. Geo. B. Faribault.)

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**HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS, 2nd Series. 1 vol., 8-vo., viz:**

Extract from a manuscript journal relating to the siege of Quebec in 1759, kept by colonel Malcolm Fraser..... 37 p. in-8.

Journal du siége de Québec en 1759, par M. Jean Claude Panet. 24 p. in-8, Montreal, 1866.

The campaign of Louisbourg, 1750-58....., attributed to Chevalier Johnstone. 28 p., 8-vo., Quebec, 1867.

A dialogue in Hades, a parallel of military errors, of which the French and English armies were guilty, during the campaign of 1759 in Canada. 55 p., 8 vo., Quebec, 1866. Attributed to Chevalier Johnstone.

The campaign of 1760 in Canada. 24 p., 8-vo. A narrative attributed to Chevalier Johnstone.

The invasion of Canada in 1775. Letter attributed to major Henry Caldwell. 19 p., 8-vo., Quebec, 1866.

A journal of the expedition up the River St. Lawrence....., republished from the *New York Mercury* of 31st December, 1759. 19 p., 8-vo.

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**HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS, 3rd Series. Published under the auspices of the Literary and Historical Society. 1 vol., 8-vo., Quebec and Montreal, 1871. Contents:**

Histoire du Montréal, 1640-1672. 128 p., 8-vo. Ouvrage attribué à M. F. Dollier de Casson, S.S.

Journal des opérations de l'armée Américaine, lors de l'invasion du Canada en 1775-76, par M. J. B. Badeaux. 43 p. in-8, Montréal, 1871.

Recueil de ce qui s'est passé en Canada au sujet de la guerre, tant des anglais que des iroquois, depuis l'année 1682. 82 p. in-8, Quebec, 1871.

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Journal of the siege of Quebec, 1759-60, by general Jas. Murray. 45 p. in-8, Quebec, 1871.

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General orders in Wolfe's army during the expedition up the River St. Lawrence, 1759. 56 p. (Original in the hands of J. M. LeMoine.)

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**HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS, 5th Series. 1 vol, 8-vo, 152 p., Quebec, 1877. Containing documents relating to the war of 1812.**

# TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

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# Literary and Historical Society

# OF QUEBEC.

SESSIONS OF 1882-83.

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# GREAT

# EXPLORERS BEFORE COLUMBUS.

A PAPER READ BEFORE

THE

Literary and Historical Society, Quebec,

FEBRUARY 2nd, 1883,

BY

JOHN READE, F.R.S.C.

# GREAT EXPLORERS BEFORE COLUMBUS.

I have undertaken to deal very briefly with a single feature of human progress, that which has to do with the growth of man's knowledge of the earth which he inhabits. Our great inter-oceanic highway will hardly have reached completion when the nations will be preparing to celebrate the 400th anniversary of the discovery of this continent by Columbus. That great event was so unlooked for, was attended with circumstances so strange and romantic, and was destined to exert so marked an influence on the human race, that it has, to some extent, overshadowed the hardly less praiseworthy explorations of earlier navigators. Even for the honor of that service to mankind which has rendered his name illustrious, there are claimants who preceded him by centuries, while others sought by an eastward, what his studies prompted him to seek by a westward, course. The spread of geographical knowledge was, indeed, more gradual than has been generally supposed and, in order to indicate the steps by which it advanced, it may be well to give a brief sketch of the progress of discovery from the earliest times to the 12th century. I will then consider more at length the voyagers who preceded Columbus in the four centuries of which the last was distinguished by his own great triumph.

The earliest description that has come down to us of the distribution of mankind over the face of the earth is that of the 10th chapter of Genesis. It contains, as Professor Rawlinson tells us, "an account of the nations with which the Jews, at the date of its composition, had some acquaintance." Eastward, those nations did not extend beyond the

, and the Persian Gulf; westward, the Adriatic
ve been their limit; they ranged as far north as
ance beyond the northern shore of the Euxine,
nward they covered the Peninsula of Arabia and
untry to nearly opposite the Strait of Babelman-
ared with the world as it is known to us to-day,
e writer in Genesis was exceedingly limited.
s, he indicates the beginnings of that westward
which was, ages afterwards, to re-settle this great
nd the ethnic affinities which he implies corres-
those which modern research has revealed. To
t the rest of the world was peopled at that time
conjecture from what it had come to be at a later
that there were other nations besides those men-
xistence then, it is reasonable to conclude. The

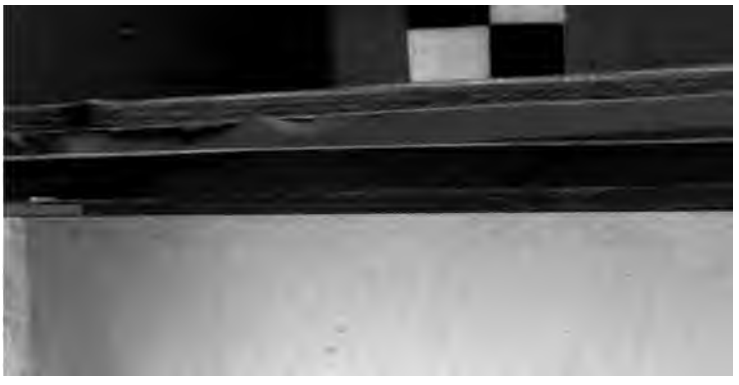
answers have been given to this question. Some have fixed upon Central Asia, others have raised up from the ocean's depths the buried continent of Lemuria, in the Indian Ocean. In his "Preadamites," Dr. Winchell gives a chart of the progressive dispersion of mankind from this supposed primitive centre. In his "Island Life," Mr. Wallace has set himself strongly in opposition to this theory, though he admits that there is ground for believing that some large islands—as large as Madagascar, perhaps—once existed in the designated locality. More summarily he dismisses the "Atlantis" theory, on which Mr. Ignatius Donnelly has written what is, at least, an entertaining book. We can, even without asking for any modification of the continents as they exist, imagine the fathers of mankind pushing farther east or farther west, as their necessities urged them, first on foot, then on horse-back or in wagons, and finally in the rude boats of primitive construction. Next neighbors, and probably akin by blood, as they were by tongue, to those for whom the record in Genesis was primarily written, were the foremost of ancient explorers and colonizers. Long before Athens had a name, the Phœnicians were a nation of skilled mechanics, of merchant princes, and had learned to give permanence to their thoughts by writing. Unhappily their literature has perished, and even of their language only a few scattered fragments have survived. Tyre was a strong city in Joshua's time. The cunning work of the Sidonians is frequently referred to by Homer, and in both sacred and profane history and poetry the skill and daring of the early Phœnician navigators are abundantly attested. If we comprise under the same category them and the Carthaginians, the portion of the globe traversed by or known to that hardy and enterprising race was of no small extent, even according to modern ideas. We know that ages before the Christian era they had made their way to Britain and to the Baltic, and that they acted

as carriers westward of the fabrics and products of the far East is sufficiently established. Xenophon commends the proficiency to which they had brought the art of shipbuilding, and their orderly arrangement of tackle and cargo. There is reason to believe that the Phœnicians knew more of distant regions than they pretended, having concealed their discoveries lest others should compete with them in trade and rob them of their profits. Even the argument that they were not unaware of the existence of this continent has some support. Dr. Daniel Wilson, in a paper read before the American Association, at Montreal, says that "at periods, probably wide apart, races from the Old World have reached the shores of the American continent and planted there the germs of later tribes," and in his inaugural address to the English Literature Section of the Royal Society of Canada, he says that "there seems nothing improbable in the assumption that the more ancient voyagers from the Mediterranean, who claimed to have circumnavigated Africa and were familiar with the islands of the Atlantic, may have found their way to the great continent which lay beyond." One of the most interesting records of the exploring experiences of ancient navigators is the "Voyage of Hanno," the authenticity of which Heeren sees no good reason why any one should doubt. It is extant in a translation supposed to have been made by some Greek merchant from the original Punic. Hanno's expedition is thought to have taken place about 500 B. C. in the most flourishing days of the Carthaginian Republic. Setting out with 60 ships and 30,000 men and women, after two days' sail beyond the Pillars of Hercules, he came to a place where the city Thymiaterium was founded. Passing many wondrous scenes and seeing elephants and other wild animals, they came to the river Lixus, on the banks of which a tribe of shepherds fed their flocks, and from them they obtained interpreters. At the mouth of another river

they saw crocodiles and hippopotami. At Cerne they were as far from the Straits as the latter were from Carthage. Passing some mountainous regions where fires were continually burning, including the Chariot of the Gods, they reached the Southern Horn, where they fell in with an extraordinary tribe of savage people, all hairy, and whom the interpreters called Gorillas. They succeeded in capturing three of them, but they proved so fierce and dangerous that it was necessary to kill them. They then flayed them and brought their skins to Carthage. At this point, their provisions having failed them, the voyagers were compelled to return. Time will not permit me to say anything of the various comments that have been written on Hanno's narrative. Suffice it to say that, in Heeren's opinion, the Southern Horn was the mouth of the Gambia, and the West Horn, that of the Senegal. The hot region of which Hanno speaks would then be the country which we know as Senegambia. Nor would that be surprising, as Herodotus states that the Carthaginians had regular intercourse with the natives of the Gold Coast. Dr. Thiercelin is of opinion that the Boobies of Fernando Po are descendants of the Punic settlers. In the Canary Islands Phœnician remains have been found, and possibly they had also visited Madeira. M. Paul Gaffarel thinks that the Cassiterides were not the Scilly Isles, as generally supposed, but the Azores, and he argues the point with considerable research and skill. The claim brought forward on behalf of the Phœnicians of having discovered America has also been ably maintained by the same writer. Even if we set aside this claim, which they never made themselves, and that of their circumnavigation of Africa (which seems to be proved by the very assertion (Herod: IV. 42) which made the ancients discredit it—that of their having the sun on their right hand during a portion of their course,) it must be acknowledged that great Rome's great rivals had a geogra-

much additional light had been cast on the northern portions of Europe. Among whose to whom this added knowledge was due may be mentioned Xenophon, Pytheas, Ctesias, Aristotle and Nearchus, the admiral of Alexander the Great. Xenophon cleared up the obscurity that hung over regions partially known before his time. Aristotle dealt with the earth as a naturalist, rather than a geographer. Of Ctesias little has come down to us and for that we are mainly indebted to the diligent ecclesiastical diplomatist, Photius. He was a pretentious writer and it is doubtful whether his experience was as comprehensive as his imagination. Whether by travel or by inquiry, he had, however, added some interesting contributions to the sum of Greek knowledge concerning the East, especially India, in those times. His account of the *fauna* and *flora* of the peninsula was largely mingled with fable, and his jealous detraction of the works of his predecessors would hardly add to our respect for his character. Pytheas has an interest for us as being what now-a-days would be termed a Frenchman. He was a native of the Greek colony of Massilia, then renowned for its learning and enterprise. In the latter part of the 4th Century B. C. he sailed through the columns of Hercules and turned northwards past the coast of Spain and France until he reached Britain, which he was the first Greek to explore. He proceeded thence to the Baltic, passing, on his way, a region which he called Thule and which some suppose to be Jutland. Then retracing his course, he arrived at the mouth of the Rhine, where he became acquainted with a German nation called the Osthiones, that is, Ost-wohner, or dwellers in the east. Having coasted along till he came to another river, he ascended it and thus made his way back overland to Massilia.

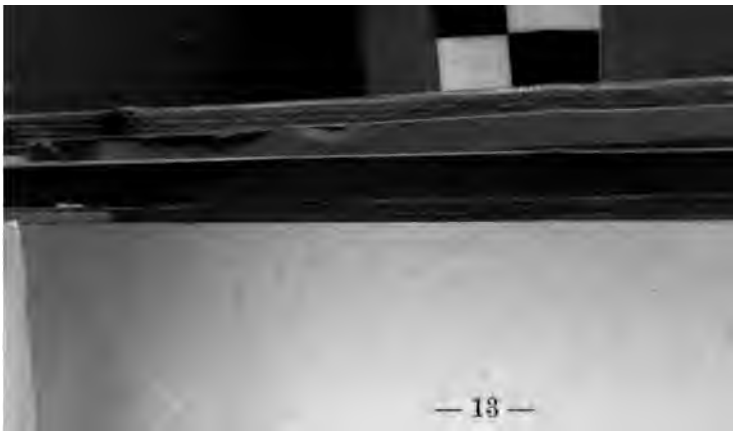
Alexander the Great's expedition to Asia inaugurated a new era in geographical discovery, making the Greeks acquainted with countries and nations previously known





he knew of the world or has disguised his knowledge for poetic purposes. Professor Virchow, following Dr. Schliemann, thinks it impossible for the Iliad to have been written by a man who had not been in the country which it describes. Mr. Gladstone divides the region which Homer mentions into countries apprehended by Phœnician report and countries known by experience. He also classes the Homeric geography as inner—confined to the Greek Peninsula and Islands—and outer—the wonderland bounded by the river Okeanos, with its eternal flux and reflux around the abode of man. From the days of Homer to those of Herodotus the Greeks had greatly extended their range both of knowledge and influence. They had pushed their colonial enterprise to the mouth of the Don on the shores of the Palus Mœotis and westward to the Golfe du Lion, while Sardinia, Sicily, Italy and Africa had received the impress of their civilization The young man who, in the middle of the 5th Century, unrolled the volume of his travels at the great Olympic festival, in the presence of his assembled compatriots, addressed hearers not quite strangers to the remotest countries which he described. The world, as conceived by Herodotus, comprised less than the half of Europe, about a fifth of Asia, and about a quarter of Africa—a considerable enlargement on that of Homer. He gives hints, moreover, which, if logically followed up, would lead to still further extension, for in almost every direction, the bounding lines are undefined. These lines included in the east the region of the Punjaub or five tributaries of the Indus, which had been explored by Scylax of Caryanda; westward, they touched the Pyrenees and the Atlantic, where Herodotus speaks of the Celts and Iberian Cynesians as having their abode. In the days of Eratosthenes, who died towards the close of the second century, these limits had been pushed back considerably—India being known as far as its southern extremity while

l Claudius, wrote a treatise on gerography,
l manners, gives descriptions of Europe, Asia
which are not without interest. There is a
cipio's Dream, in which Cicero gives a general
earth as known in his day, which seems in
ects to anticipate some discoveries generally
later investigation. He makes Africanus speak
portion of the earth that is inhabited, and also
odes who dwell on the other side of it. After
he inhabited earth to a small island in the
e ocean, he asks whether the fame of any
likely to cross the Caucasus or the Ganges,
he people of the distant East or West or South
r the name of even the most illustrious Roman.
s of Africanus, the elder and the younger, and





the second century, Pausanias published his itinerary or travellers' guide to ancient Greece. It was from Christian missionaries that the Romans were first to learn the lesson that the nations beyond the confines of their power had their part in the scheme of existence and were worthy of study and consideration. They had grown accustomed, as Gibbon says, to "confound the Roman monarchy with the globe of the earth," but were now to learn what they should afterwards acutely feel, the importance of races whom they had scornfully ignored. Before the close of the second century, zealous missionaries had preached the Gospel, not only in every province of the Empire, but in many of the remote regions beyond it. The tradition that St. Thomas evangelized a part of India, is well known. The native Christians of Malabar firmly believed it when they were first visited by the Portuguese. More authentic is the record of the establishment of Christianity in the Chinese Province of Shensi, by the Nestorians, as attested by the Siganfu tablet, discovered in 1625. The Rev. Wells Williams, who lectured in Montreal a few years ago, and who spent much of his life in China, has no doubt of its genuineness. Arnobius, who wrote in the beginning of the third century, mentions the Seres among those who had, in part, accepted Christianity in his time. The monks who brought the eggs of the silkworm to Constantinople in the middle of the sixth century, had long resided in China, and, as Mr. Williams says, it is reasonable to suppose that they were not the first or the only ones who went thither to preach the Gospel. On the other hand, let us see whether the Chinese had been doing anything to overcome the barriers that separated them from the western world. It is certain that the Greeks took the name (*ser*) for silkworm from the Chinese name for the same useful insect. How did it reach them? Nearchus, already mentioned, is the first to speak of the Seric stuffs of India and of the people of the Seres. It is thought that

and his Sons were borne in the ark to the earth which we now inhabit. Mr. Ignatius Donnelly, in his "Atlantis," cites Cosmas as making the Deluge begin from the west in support of the reality of Plato's story in the *Timæus*. Notwithstanding his odd notions, Cosmas gives some valuable information concerning the natural history of the countries that he visited, especially India and Ceylon.

Besides missions and commerce, a new force began now to impel men to travel—the veneration for shrines and holy places. Among those who made the tour of the Holy Land and left an exact account of what they saw was Arculphus, a French Bishop, who in the seventh century, visited Jerusalem and the other scenes in Palestine made dear to the heart of the Christian by hallowed associations. His narrative has a special value as shewing at least the antiquity of the location of places mentioned in the Gospel record, still revered by pious pilgrims of all denominations. He also visited and described Damascus, Tyre, Jaffa, Alexandria and Constantinople. Another pilgrim of less exalted rank but no less interest, though he wrote no book, was Godric, the Hermit, whose story is so delightfully told by Charles Kingsley. Having been a merchant-sailor for sixteen years, and prospered in his career, he began to think that there were other things than money-making to live for. So, having worshipped at the shrines of St. Andrew and St. Cuthbert of Farne, and still yearning for the blessedness of a soul at peace with God and with itself, he took the Cross and started for Jerusalem, facing difficulties incredible, but managing at last to reach his destination. He made his way home by Spain, so as to visit the sanctuary of St. James of Compostella. Then he settled down as a hermit at Finchale, near Durham. His pilgrimage took place several centuries after Arculph's, but another Englishman, named Willibald, a member of a wealthy family, made the same journey in the 7th century. It would be out of place in a paper like the

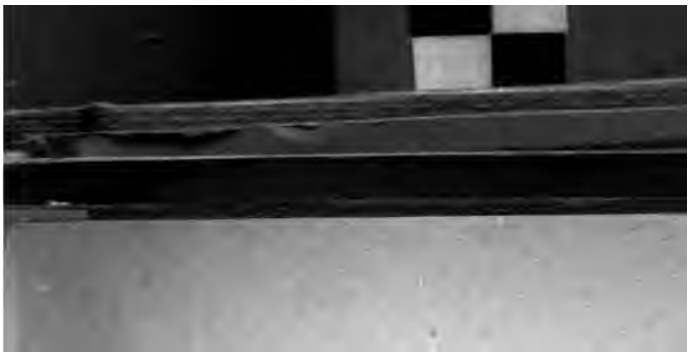
present to say anything of the wonderful voyage of St. Brendan to the Land of Promise. Though generally regarded as an allegory, it had, no doubt, some basis in fact and, at any rate, it marks the impulse for pilgrimage and exploration which had begun to have such fruitful results. With St. Brendan sailed St. Malo, who gave his name to that French seaport which was destined in after times to send forth so many valiant voyagers and discoverers and among them our own Jacques Cartier.

The rise of Mohammedanism, with its wars of religious and material conquest, could not fail, directly and indirectly, to stimulate inter-communication among the nations of the world. It was a mission of the sword and, as such, had a remarkable success. But, while the sword was doing its work, the arts of peace were not forgotten. In the sixth century there was a brisk commerce between China and Arabia. Haroun Al Raschid not only corresponded with Charlemagne but carried on trade with the Coreans whose ports have only lately, not without trouble and even bloodshed, been reopened to the world. "A thousand years," Mr. Griffis tells us, "before Perry sailed for the Tycoon's capital, the subjects of Haroun Al Raschid traded with the Coreans, bringing to Bagdad and Damascus pearls, gold, jewelled ornaments, saddles, porcelain and drugs from Shinra," (an ancient state in Corea). Chinese merchants came as far as the Persian Gulf where they were met by Arabs from Muscat and Syria. It is thought that in that way Mohammedanism was introduced into China and it is stated by those who have given attention to the subject that to this day the Arab origin of the Chinese Moslem can be detected in their faces and forms. In the middle of the eighth century an alliance existed between the Emperor of China and the Caliph of Bagdad and the former was even supplied ith soldiers by the latter, during his conflict with a rebel neral. When the war was over, the victorious Arab

re allotted land and allowed to settle in the Em-
t not only did the disciples of the Prophet thus
e boundaries of geographical knowledge by war
; they also furnished the world with some dili-
orers. Of these one of the most noted is Soleyman,
nt of Bassora, on the Persian Gulf, who, in the
the ninth century, travelled over a great part of
Of the story of his voyages part was written by
the remainder by a geographer named Abouzeyd
Their combined narrative treats of the Chinese,
oos and of a portion of the African continent.
famous was Ibn Batuta or Abd Allah el Lawati,
of Tangier in Morocco, who, in the beginning of
d quarter of the fourteenth century, started out on
er a great portion of the then known world. Like

staid some time, they made their way along southern Arabia to Ormuz on the Persian Gulf. From there, after passing through Persia, Ibn Batuta made a second pilgrimage to Mecca. Then he again visited the Nile region, from which he passed through Syria, touching at Jerusalem, Tripoli, and other cities, to Anatolia. At Erzeroum he saw an aerolite that weighed 620 lbs. Crossing the Black Sea, he landed in the Crimea, reached the city of Astrakhan at the mouth of the Volga, where the Tartar King was then passing the winter. The princess, his wife, daughter of the Greek Emperor, being about to make the journey to Constantinople, Ibn Batuta was asked to be her escort, a charge which he gallantly accepted. On the way the august party was guarded by 5000 men, who carried a mosque which could be set up at every stage. At the Byzantine capital, Ibn Batuta was received with much distinction and he took advantage of his position to make himself acquainted with all points of interest and to gather all possible information. Afterwards he re-traversed the desert to Chorasm, to Bokhara, to Balkh, and at every stage in his wanderings he saw the traces of the devastating march of Barbarian conquerors. Having arrived at Herat, he conceived the project of visiting the farthest East. At Delhi, he was appointed ambassador to the Emperor of China, but, as we shall presently be accompanying another traveller in the same direction, perhaps we had better take leave of the enterprising Ibn Batuta at this point, merely adding that he reached the distant city to which he was commissioned and went even as far as the Great Wall, having on the journey visited Ceylon, Sumatra and a number of other places of interest. In 1348, we find him once more at Mecca and in the following year, he returned to Tangier. But not to rest—he had enjoyed the charm of travel so long that repose was a burden to him. So he set out anew and penetrated to the heart of Africa, traversing the desert of

ojourning for a time in the great trading
o. In 1353, 29 years after his first depa
r, Ibn Batuta settled at Fez, in the domini
of Morocco, having won by his untiring e
ened curiosity, the merited reputation o
st explorers of the middle ages.
hammedans had their distinguished tra
a, the Jews had one scarcely less illus
s he lived two centuries earlier,) in the
amin of Tudela. He was the son of a
n the kingdom of Navarre, at that tim
y members of his scattered race. He di
ar eastward as Ibn Batuta, but he left a f
atever was worthy of note in what h
ay, in what he did not see. While Gi





ancients which, but for him, would have passed wholly out of memory. Whatever may have been his offences as a churchman, for this service to literature, he deserves to be had in grateful remembrance. But the days were approaching when the kindly relations of which Charlemagne's correspondence and the mission of Photius give evidence were to be changed for a struggle in which the Cross and the Crescent should meet as deadly foes, and Western Christendom, stirred by a common impulse, should move eastward to rescue the Holy Land and the shrines of the Faith from the occupation of scornful infidels. That the Crusaders were not without their influence on the progress of exploration by giving intensity to the spirit which, in those ages, entered so largely into it, cannot be denied. Robertson thinks, indeed, that their effect on trade was injurious and temporarily it may have been so. But any sentiment which impels men to do great things whether for the love of religion or for the glory which they may bring, must ultimately stimulate every kind of human endeavor. Religion, chivalry and commerce were often combined, indeed, in impelling men to undertake enterprises attended with danger as well as with profit and honour. Milman tells us that the "silks, jewels, spices, paper and other products of the east were brought home from Palestine by the pious but not unworldly merchants of Venice, Pisa, Marseilles and even of France and Germany."

If time permitted, some reference might be made to the deeds of the adventurous Norsemen and especially to their voyages to Iceland, Greenland and the New World. I may, however, before proceeding, pause just a moment to mention a recent valuable addition that has been made to the already important manuscript collection of this Society. Dr. Marsden has received from the venerable Mr. Henderson, of Megantic, his admirable contribution to the litera-

loration entitled "The Discovery of America by
ders." Following the argument of Rafn, in his
ites Americanæ," Mr. Henderson urges that the
pushing on from conquest to conquest, had in
vered the Ferroe Isles, Iceland and Greenland
k of other discoveries in other directions,) were
n from whom such an exploit as the discovery
might have been expected. The subject is one
g interest and Mr. Henderson has treated it with
l and judgment. We might also consider the
previous discovery of these shores by the Irish,
n in the saga of Aré Marsson and maintained
derable ability by M. Beauvois. The energetic
of Jean de Bethencourt among the Canary Is-
belong to this branch of exploring enterprise

ed to this vice-roy in Slavonic, Arabic and Tartar. Having read the documents, Bathy ordered the ambassadors to start at once for Caracorum. The journey was a rapid one—the horses being changed six times a day. The country through which they passed was almost a desert, sparsely inhabited by tribes whom the Mongols had conquered and enslaved. Having traversed Turkestan, they came to Kara-Kithay where the governor received them with due honor and gave them what he considered suitable entertainment. They then continued their journey through a cold, mountainous region and at last on the 22nd of July, 1245, they reached the environs of the royal city. The emperor had just died and the election of his successor had not yet taken place. The empress-dowager meanwhile acting as regent, it was to Her Majesty the ambassadors were presented. They saw a countless multitude of princes and dukes on horseback occupying all the surrounding heights. Every day they appeared in a different garb, sometimes in white and purple, sometimes in scarlet and white, and so on. On the harness of some of the horses there was silver valued at twenty marks. A month passed before the heir was proclaimed emperor, and the mission of Carpini and Jean de Boheme began to come to an end. It brought them little profit, except the experience which it gave them of strange scenes and people, and the renown and promotion which it won for them on their return. After their presentation to the newly enthroned emperor, they were detained for a month, getting no satisfaction and but poor fare and treatment. They were not even allowed the privilege of entering Caracorum. Finally, they were haughtily dismissed with a letter which bore the impress of a scornful fatalism, as though Okkaday and Kuyuk, his successor, were God's servants, whose duty it was to command while other men, including the Pope and all Christian princes, were called upon to obey. Possibly, the fact that His Holiness, either

he eastern custom of sending gifts or not deem-
rvance necessary, had sent no present with his
s, may have affected both the treatment of Car-
he tone of the reply. His mission gained for
archbishopric of Antivari and the fame of a
ler.

ars later, DeRubruquis, a Belgian, was des-
a similar mission, at the command of St. Louis
He had the privilege, which had been denied
of being admitted into Caracorum. The city, as
s us, contained two streets, the one of Chinese
the other of Mohammedan traders, and several
religious worship—a Nestorian Church, two
d twelve temples of various idols. Rubruquis
a countryman of his own, by name Boucher,

Khan. The great emperor received them hospitably and, having already learned the Tartar tongue, they were able to converse with their royal entertainer, who was just then thinking of sending an embassy to His Holiness.

They took their leave of the great Khan in 1266, accompanied by one of the Emperor's suite named Cogatal. The latter falling ill, they had to make their way home alone, and it was not till after three years that they reached Armenia. Arriving at Acre, they heard of the death of Pope Clement IV, but they were well received by the legate, Tebaldo, who, being soon after elected Clement's successor, gave a reply to Kublai and commissioned two monks to accompany the Polo brothers. During his long previous absence, Niccolo's wife had died, having given birth to a son. This son, now about 17 years old, was the celebrated Marco, who began his career by going with his father and uncle on their important embassy. To give any thing like a satisfactory sketch of Marco's career would require a paper and a pretty long one to itself and, as my purpose is to indicate the general course of discovery, not to give the lives of discoverers, I must be exceedingly brief. It is almost needless to say that doubt has been cast upon the accounts which Marco Polo has left of his travels, as well as upon those of his predecessors. But if he did not witness all that he recounts, he tells us himself that he heard it from persons of credit. If, moreover, some persons have pronounced him untrustworthy, others, quite as capable of judging as to his veracity, have cleared him of the imputation. He was not a man of science and is not to be criticized as though he professed in all that he wrote to make an exact scientific statement. He made his few notes, probably, in haste, as he had leisure, and dictated, for the most part, from memory, to his chosen amanuensis, the narrative which bears his name. Under such circumstances perfect accuracy is not to be looked for. It is enough that his

he main true and, in no case, written intention-
ive. As Robertson points out, it is to his credit
who knew most placed most confidence in his
nd to him Columbus owed it, in a great mea-
e discovered the New World. To-day, when
t parts of the earth are practically within hear-
of each other, when it is a small thing to make
half the Globe, and not an uncommon thing to
gate it, Polo's marvels have lost their charm
It is only as marking an important stage in the
geographical science that his account of his tra-
esting to us. He traversed great parts of China,
ndostan, he describes the city of Pekin which

in appearance that they had some difficulty in convincing their friends that they were really themselves. The story runs that, in order to show how prosperous they had been, they gave a public feast, in which they appeared in rich apparel, the suits being arranged one over another so that, disrobing in succession, they appeared in turn in crimson satin, in damask and in velvet, and that they then produced the rags in which they had reached home, but these too disguised, so that, being ripped open, they exhibited a profusion of diamonds and all precious stones and jewels. Persons of all ranks than flocked around them and so accustomed had Marco become to the use of the term million, then not so common in Europe as it is today, that they dubbed him Messir Millioni.

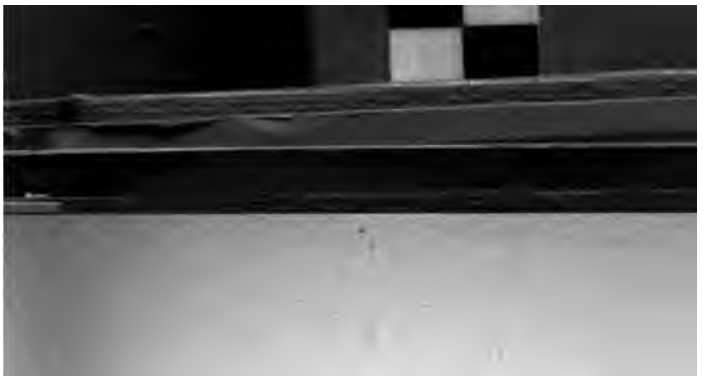
Contemporary with Marco Polo, was an Armenian Prince, named Haitho, who paid a visit to the grand Khan on a matter of tribute. Monte Corvo or Corvino, a distinguished missionary, was born in Apulia in 1247, and in 1288 was sent to Tartary by Pope Nicholas IV. In 1291 he arrived in India where he remained for a year, preaching and baptizing such of the natives as received his message. He then set out for Cathay, where he was kindly received by the Khan. He built a church at Cambalu, that is, Pekin. Clement V., made him Archbishop of Tartary and sent him seven men to serve under him as suffragans. Both he and Marco Polo make mention of Prester John, an alleged Christian prince generally located in Central Asia, but whom the Portuguese claimed to have traced to Abyssinia. When the extent to which Christianity prevailed in the middle ages, among the Tartar tribes—" one of the most curious questions" as Milman says, " in Oriental history "—is remembered, the existence of such a potentate is not impossible. Some of the Nestorian priests said he was Jung Khan, a Tartar chief in the Karacorum range who was slain by Zenghis Khan in 1202. Mosheim thinks he may have been one of

ns themselves who, by his influence over his
sed himself or was raised by them to the
ers, set him down as the Grand Lama of Thi-
bon deems the story partly due to a mistaken
he Lama's creed and functions, and the proba-
stianity having been professed by some of the
ordes of the Mongols. One of the latest of many
e subject regards Prester John as a Khan of
(Howorth's *History of the Mongols*). There is no
ing chapter in human history than the record
missions in Tartary and China, but it is a topic
me will only allow me to indicate. (See *Lettres*
*nnales de la Foi*, Purchas's *Pilgrims* and also
for "Prester John") Baring-Gould's *Curious*
*Middle Ages*). Oderic, a friar has left a journal

Sir John Mandeville is the great English traveller who took up the work of exploration soon after the Polo family left off. He set out on his travels in the year 1322, and, according to his own account, visited Tartary, Persia, Armenia, Libya, Chaldæa, India, greater and less, and the Islands around it, Amazonia and Ethiopia. After an absence of thirty years and more, he returned home, "distressing rheumatic gouts fixing the end of his labour against his will." His book was approved by the Pope, and he turned it first from latin into French and then again into English, "that every man of my nation may understand it." Sir John wrote his book chiefly for the convenience of pilgrims going to the Holy Land, to which it is a sort of traveller's guide with full descriptions of all the holy places. Like Marco Polo, he tells both of what he saw and of what others told him that they had seen. Some of his tales reached him, no doubt, as the elder Disraeli suggests, from the Arabian story-teller. While absent, he served under the Sultan of Babylon (Cairo) and the Khan of Cathay. The former offered the valiant knight his daughter and a province of his domain, but Mandeville would not accept the conditions, one of which was that he should forswear his faith. His good service won him, however, what he much prized, admittance to the holy places at Jerusalem. It is a strange and wonderful world to which he introduced his readers, and his book soon became the rage all over Europe. Talking trees and ladies transformed to dragonesses and people with only one leg whose locomotion was as that of a hoop are only a few of the marvellous phenomena which he relates When Galland published his *Contes Arabes* in the beginning of the last century, the source of many of the *mirabilia* of medieval travellers was discovered, for it is now known that the *Thousand and one Nights*, were in existence (in a form which has, however, been considerably modified) as early as the 10th century. As to his real travels, it has

d that Sir John Mandeville's narrative (espe-
ng the far East) resembles that of Odoric, al-
ned, to such a degree that some think they
velled together. It is also noteworthy that Odo-
s written some twenty years before Sir John's
ics have been cruel enough to ask whether he
ndia or Cathay than what he found in the pages
rd Friar. Yet, not withstanding all the sus-
ich he has been the object, impartial exami-
unded to the great traveller's credit and plac-
re the world as a man of true worth, honest
hted, and only credulous after the fashion of

he days when Sir John Mandeville was the
hor of travels to all that could read or listen in





be ample material, in the merest sketch, for a lecture of no moderate length. And yet the work of exploration is, after all, but well begun. The world has slowly unfolded its dimensions and various qualities to many generations of seekers. But, though we know its extent and can parcel it out by names, how much of it is still unconquered by civilization, of how much of it are the characteristics only matter for conjecture. And never in the whole range of geographic development were so many engaged in "Voyage and travaile," as Sir John Mandeville named it, than in this, our age, when lands and nations far apart in space have been drawn so close by the railway and the telegraph, and a better feeling of man's relations to man. The modern explorer has advantages and manifold appliances to further his aims, which his predecessor in the middle ages had to do without; and it is when we think of the difficulties and retarding drawbacks and dangers which those old heroes, among them that travel by land and water, had to encounter—difficulties and drawbacks so great that we still pray weekly for those who have to contend with them—it is then that we are conscious of the great debt of gratitude which we owe to them, without whose valiant dutifulness we should not be either what or where we are.*

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* The important discoveries of Covilham and B. Diaz would have been included in my sketch, only that the careers of both those brave explorers, though beginning before, ended several years after, the date (1492) on which I had fixed as my limit.—J. R.

# THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

—OF THE—

# GREEK DRAMA.

A PAPER READ

BEFORE THE

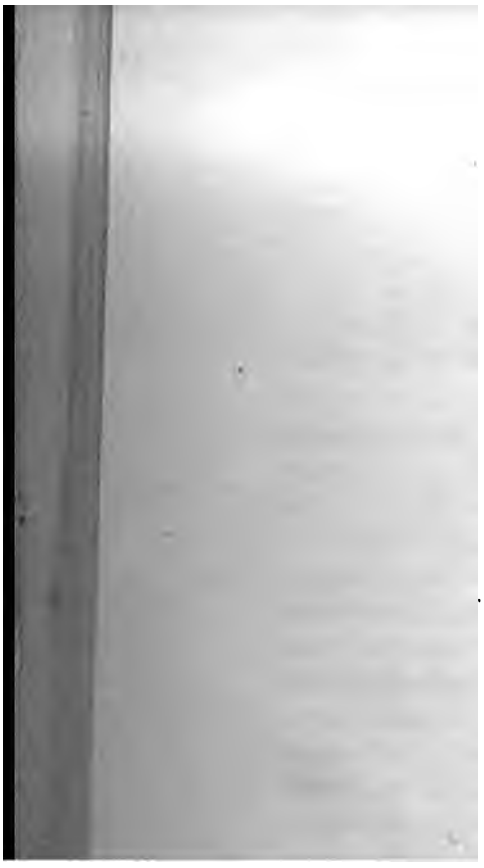
**Literary and Historical Society of Quebec,**

23RD FEBRUARY, 1883,

BY

JOHN HARPER, M.A., F.E.I.S.,

RECTOR OF THE QUEBEC HIGH SCHOOL.



# THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

OF THE

# GREEK DRAMA.

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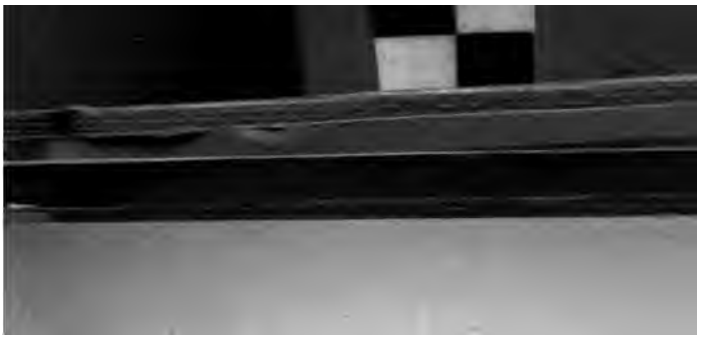
Aut agitur res in scenis aut acta refertur
Segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem,
Quam quae sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus et quae
Ipse sibi tradit spectator.

The Dramatic Art, associated as it has been, in its primary efforts, with the development of the religious principle, and, in its later and more matured effects, with the upholding of the moral virtues, has ever had a most remarkable influence upon humanity. As an educative process or civilizing agency, it is to be classed among those mental activities which indicate how the imagination acts upon, and expands, the intellectual faculties; and as such it has been duly analyzed by those whose task it has been to investigate the genesis of society. To the student of Greek literature, moreover, the first fruits of the art, as witnessed at the Attic festivals, afford a special attraction; and certainly the labour of research and criticism bestowed upon those masterpieces of dramatic art which are among the most precious treasures bequeathed to us by the genius of Greece, has not been without its reward. And just as the explorer, in determining a correct opinion respecting the physical features of a country, unweariedly follows the mighty river to its source to watch the varying scenic effects which burst upon him as he takes note of the soil, the fauna and the flora, or just as he eagerly climbs the rugged mountain to its very summit, in order to command a more extensive prospect of all

y mature his knowledge of the countr
with an honest desire to understand as
grand trilogies of the Athenian dramati
enthusiasm the origin of the art which
bserving with interest the outward condi
s which followed that art towards its p
he task of following the dramatic art b
n idle one, even to the casual reader of th
uity. As he passes across the vast field of
his reward in the invigorating exercis
powers, in the pure exhilarating atmosph
in the presence of primitive life, in the
scenes opening up before him, and in
ttractive flowers of ancient literature lyi





at a time when men's minds were still untrammelled by the co-ordinating influences of the higher intellectual faculties,—when the imagination, revelling in the freedom which is peculiar to the child in his earlier years, committed the strangest freaks—that the dramatic art received the impetus which never left it in its steady growth towards perfection. It is indeed in the earlier stages of society, when the imitative faculties of men have an unlimited freedom, that we may expect to find the true origin of the dramatic art.

The dramatic art and the art of oratory have much in common, so much so that the former may be called the oratory of poetry. As the one acts upon the mind through the intellect, so the other acts upon the whole being through the imagination. Oratory appeals to the judgment, the dramatic art to the emotions. Oratory suffuses the whole intellect with the knowledge of the good and the true, the dramatic art delights, refines and fills the whole mind with a flood of enthusiasm. Both acting in their truest phase, aim alike at ennobling mankind. Oratory, appealing to those purer instincts of man, which enable him to distinguish the right from the wrong, the true from the false, quickens within him the consciousness of a personal responsibility, and on the ground of such a consciousness seeks to promote unanimity in the many; while the dramatic art, acting upon the passions by scene, and character, and sentiment, lifts humanity for the moment out of the rut of everyday life to a higher plane of thought and feeling, and fills the soul with a purifying draught from the atmosphere of the poet's fancy. And while the influence exercised upon man by both of these arts is to a great extent identical in its general tendency, that of the latter seems to be the more permanent. Though we of the present time are unable fully to appreciate the effect which the drama, as perfected by Æschylus or Sophocles, produced upon the minds of an Athenian

we can fairly understand how the temerity and
of thought in the *Prometheus Vinctus* and the vin-
of fate in the *Œdipus Rex* would awaken feelings
ons of the most elevating and permanent character.
ot enter into the spirit of their "agony, ecstasy, or
of belief," as they sat in the theatre of Dionysus
d the piety, wisdom, and modesty of the high-
mphiaraus, the steadfast unselfishness of Antigone's
rds a brother fallen in disgrace, or the furious
f Medea and her vindictive devices, yet we feel
hat the impressions produced must have been any-
t momentary. As they listened to the flow of
Speech" in the choral odes, they must have felt
es elevated to a region beyond their own imperfect
Coming in contact with the noble enthusiasm of

passes away. The greatest of the Greek plays, in the hands of skilful artists and actors, have impressed an audience in the twenty-fourth century of their existence. The popularity of Shakespeare's plays is almost universal, and the influence he wields in the third century of his immortality is the influence of an inspired writer. And so it is with the higher flights of the highest dramatic genius in other countries. True dramatic art is permanent in its results; its sway is not limited by the time, place, and circumstance of passing events. The continuous action of its power in moulding men's minds and manners, leaves oratory behind it as a secondary art, unless we recognise it as the highest form of oratory. Indeed the rapidity with which it sprang from infancy into a strength and excellence bordering on perfection indicates its origin as nature's own offspring, having its root, like the principle of religion, in the strongest of human propensities. Its growth is spontaneous and natural, and, in order to be consistent, those who continue to contemn the drama even in its legitimate operations, should seek to root out the imitative faculty in the child, and repress altogether the almost divine operations of the true poet's imagination.

The dramatic art, as has already been said, is to be found in its earlier stages of development, associated with the rites and ceremonies of religious worship. This is specially the case in the history of Grecian ethics. Nor is this to be wondered at, seeing its origin may be traced to that simple law in human nature, which in its lower as well as in its higher activities, is ever compelling man to represent his abstract conceptions in the concrete form. Pure subjectivity is a state of mind altogether impossible, unless we put faith in the credulity of those Neo-Platonists, who professed to be able to rise to the contemplation of Being in itself. In every phenomenon of what is called subjective thinking, there is an image or an object lurking somewhere, and however

tal the training of the mind may have been, of instinct throws the perceptive faculty back objective for a basis of support. Indeed, the supplant the subjective by some corresponding he abstract by the concrete, the idea by some presentation, seems to be almost irresistible. r example, the varied attempts which have been ring the ideal cosmos within the sphere of eption. Even Plato, the father of idealism, in of the world beyond, compares us to persons a dark cave, with our backs to the entrance and on the shadows projected on the back wall of our thout the image, "the shadows," he can offer us contemplate but the impotency of our own like manner, anthropomorphism, as the great

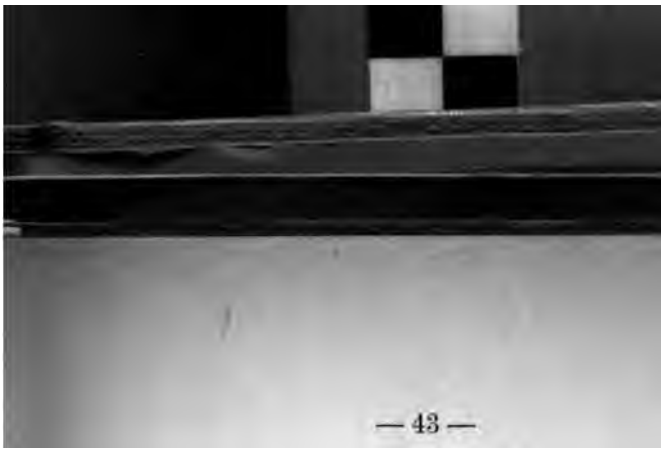
tinguished by some superiority of structure, from the other humble, cave-like abodes of primitive society; and would not this call into being the first notions of a progressive Architecture? Then again, with such a temple built, would not the beautifying of its interior, as an early step in the decorative art in its progress towards more ambitious aims, lead to the development of the Art of Painting? And, more probable still, would not the desire naturally excited in the worshippers to devise some central figure, or image-representation of the humanized divinity (on which their minds might rest during worship through the sense of seeing,) lead to the art of carving in wood and stone, or, its perfection in the Art of Sculpture? In the ceremonial there would also be improvements. The emotions, when allowed to act beyond the control of the will, usually find vent in muscular activity; and, as an actual fact in history, we know that man, in his primitive condition of life, shows the appreciation of the god whom he worships, by an emotional activity which tends to the utter exhaustion of the body. This bodily excitement, at first irregular and under no restraint, seems eventually to have been reduced to some uniformity by the prehistoric tribes as they advanced towards civilization. This uniformity or rythmic movement of the limbs, as the origin of the dance, would naturally induce the rythmic action of the vocal organs as a fitting accompaniment. And in this accompaniment, have we not the origin of choral music and the hymn? But as the gods may claim the best of everything, men strove, as an act of piety, to excel in the dance and in the song; and may we not, in reaching the ultimatum of our theory, decide that, from the progress promoted by such emulation, the Poetic Art, as a twin-birth with the Rythmic Art, became further developed in the Drama as a religious ceremony through the mimic dance and invocation ode?

From the surmise of theory, we turn with a feeling of greater

the records of tradition, respecting the origin of , though it is with the assurance of the explorer, wandering through the mazes of the wilderness of the source of a river, finds himself in the bed , whose shallowness is ominously shaded by the ng forest, and where the slippery path is a pre- of danger. All investigations, which have for ose the determining of the origin of the drama, tually seek a vanishing point in the early history the mother-land of the fine arts. In the Scrip- have some examples of what may be called ialogue, and evidence is not wanting to show that was looked upon by the Hebrews as a legitimate ment to their songs of praise and thanksgiving. d these, the elements of the drama, the Jews

he is introduced as the deity who avenges injustice; and again, as the father of Æsculapius, or under the name of Paeëon, he is represented as the god who sympathises with men in their troubles and shields them from danger. As the god of prophecy, presiding over his oracle-temples at Delphi and Delos, his name was for centuries the most potent in Greece, so potent indeed, that but for the influence of his worship, and the faith of the Greeks in his identity, Athens might possibly never have produced a Phidias or a Socrates, Sparta a Lycurgus or a Leonidas, in the process of attaining to the perfection of human art, knowledge and virtue. Again in the story of Apollo tending the flocks of Admetus, the god assumes the rôle of protector of the husbandman, while the ceremonies connected with the founding of a town indicate that his benignity was not supposed to be confined to the bucolic life. He was the patron god of civil institutions. In war, he is sometimes represented as usurping the authority of Mars. Indeed the universality of his influence for good and evil is typified in his name Phœbus Apollo, the Sun-god, the god of that store-house orb, which pours forth a recuperating stream of energy on man, when he abides by nature's laws, but a torrent the most destructive, when these he forgets or resists. But it is as the god of music and song that his name occurs in connection with the origin of the Greek Drama. As the perfect ideal of youthful manliness, he is usually represented with the bow in one hand and the lyre in the other, and is otherwise recognised as the inventor of the lyre. He takes rank as the leader of the choir of the Muses under the special title of Musagetes. His victory over Marsyas in a musical contest is referred to by Xenophon in his description of the Palace of Cyrus. He also sought to excel the musical skill of Pan, being indignant with the unlucky Midas for deciding in his rival's favour. And so it is with other traditional references. The god of the sun

represented as the patron of music, the dance g. He was the favourite deity of the Dorians ountain fastnesses of their northern home. That even after their invasion of Southern Greece, ink that war, or the rehearsal war, was the only n which a man of valour should engage. Mili- ne, leading to military glory, was evidently the *cipium* in the life of these ancient warriors, and n and supervision engrossed a large share of lation. Every other purpose of life was subor- nis. Religion lent part of her ceremonial to the t. The Pyrrhic and Gymnopœdian dances, been invented in honour of Apollo, became two pal war or drill dances. The hymns or songs ving which had been sung before the altar, be-





As an invention of the Dorians, evidently suggested by the ceremonial of Apollo-worship, and preserved, as it has been in the Doric dialect, the dithyrambic chorus lies as the foundation of the religio-dramatic art of Æschylus and Sophocles, through whose transcendent genius the Greek drama found a perfection, to be surpassed only by the perfection of a Divine inspiration.

From the worship of Apollo we turn to the worship of Dionysus, in order to inquire how the choruses sung in honour of one god came to be introduced as part of the worship-ceremonial of another god. There is the greatest uncertainty with regard to the introduction of the Dionysian revels into Greece. When or by whom they were inaugurated no one can tell. The god himself, who, like nearly all the deities on the calendar of the ancient mythology, was the impersonation of a well-known natural law—in his case, the personification of the productive and intoxicating power of nature—must have risen more and more into favour, as the fertility of the country, under the husbandman's improving intelligence became more productive, and as the cultivation of the vine extended over Attica and Arcadia. The Bacchus-worship of the Pelasgians, the original inhabitants of Greece, must have been of the rudest character—hardly to be identified with these grand choral processions and extravagant festivities which in later times stirred the people of Greece with religious frenzy, and suspended for the moment many of the decorous impulses of humanity. These rude tribes, it is known, worshipped at least two deities, who performing almost similar functions, held towards each other the relation of male and female under the names Helios and Selene. This could have been nothing but the primitive Sun-worship; and as it is a natural stage of development for the savage to pass from the worship of the heavenly bodies to the worship of their presiding divinities or gods, it is easy to

how the names Helios and Selene, as the names
on disappeared among the Pelasges, and how
e god of the sun, and Demeter, the divinity
n, sprung up in their place. But among the
re was also to be found the notion of a female
oddess, who took rank as the sister of Apollo,
m were attributed characteristics and powers
hat god. In the struggle for the supremacy of
eece, there was thus a sympathy between the
nd the conquered in the matter of religion.
of the sun was the favoured deity of both
e process of further assimilation in the worship-
was an easy one, especially as the Dorians seem
oted towards those whom they had subdued, a
n religious matters which might have been

in honour of Apollo and Dionysus respectively. One of those dithyrambs, written by Pindar as an hyporcheme or dance-song, has been preserved to us as the model from which Sophocles probably drew the metre and style of that celebrated chorus in the opening scene of the *Antigone*, beginning:—

> Aktis haelioio, kalliston heptapulo phanen
> Theba ton proteron phaos,

Another has been preserved, which Dionysus of Halicarnassus says was written by the same poet for the Dionysian festivals at Athens, while of his rivals Simonidas and Bacchylides there are extant several lyric remnants written in the dithyrambic measure, and indicating how closely the dramatic poets in composing their choruses, imitated the early lyrics. Indeed, to such an extent do Æschylus, Sophocles and Euripides appear to have borrowed from the form and diction of the dithyrambs of preceding poets, that more than one German critic has favoured the theory that there existed a lyrical tragedy, which lay as the medium of development between the dithyramb and the chorus of Attic tragedy. But such a theory is altogether improbable. The dithyramb has evidently been the model directly copied by the dramatist.

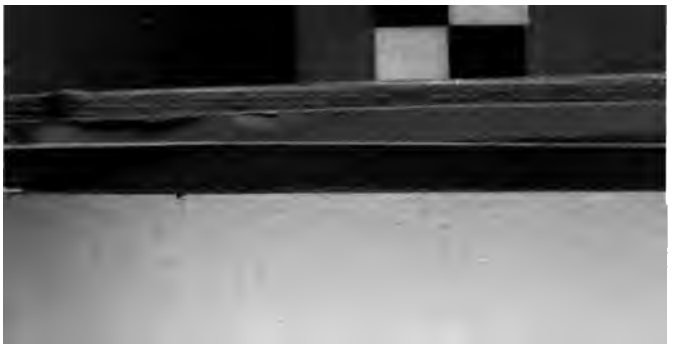
The burden of the dithyrambic ode, except in the case of Epigines of Sicyon, who honoured Adrastus in his dithyrambs, is the mythical suffering of Dionysus or some scene in his career. The story of the jealous and wilful temerity of his mother, with its frightful consequences, is tragedy itself, while the double-birth of the god, has given rise to the conjecture that the word dithyramb is only another form of *dithuramos*. The etymology of the word is, however, no assistance to its true meaning, for from the many conjectures in regard to its origin, we learn nothing beyond the fact, that it was first used to denote the poem or invocation ode,

ards the mimic combinations of music, poetry and
the festivals of Dionysus.
to develop the dithyramb in its dramatic effects,
of Methymna. Among his artistic improvements,
ced the antistrophe among his choreuti, now fixed
nber of fifty—an innovation which specially dis-
his invention of what has been called the cyclic
n fact, Arion's cyclic chorus is the true historic
ragedy. It had all the solemnity and dignity of
worship of Apollo, and must not be confounded
e rude dithyrambs which were sung in earlier
group of dancers *circling* round the altar of the
cyclic chorus as invented or improved by Arion,
g orgiastic in its character; and, further improv-
vas by Lasus, who introduced it into Athens, it
brough its mimetical accompaniments, the true

way consisted of tragedies with a change in the chorus, and must be distinguished, both in origin and character, from comedy. It is called "sportive tragedy." Partaking much of the character of the modern pantomime, the grotesque blended with the serious, it stood, as a stage performance, in the same relation to tragedy proper, which the after-piece holds to the five-act play of the present time. Indeed, a satyric play was usually placed upon the Athenian stage on the second of the two holidays set apart for theatric representations. The programme for the two days generally consisted of a trilogy and a satyric play: the fun and frolic of the satyrs, and their mirth-provoking dances, as a vivid contrast to the tragic in one and the same play, forming a very necessary relaxation to the minds of an audience that had patiently listened to three or more consecutive tragedies.

The origin of dialogue is shrouded in conjecture, although its introduction as an appendage to the cyclic chorus of Arion, may safely be referred to Thespis, the rhapsodist and dramatic poet of Icaria. Becoming a fellow citizen of the tyrant Pisistratus, Thespis brought himself under the notice of that ruler, by exhibitions of his dramatic skill, similar to those he had essayed in his native village. The earlier part of his life he had spent as a rhapsodist, travelling about from place to place, reciting his own or the verses of others, and frequently taking the position of coryphæus at the Dionysian revels, for which his native district was famous. Like the troubadour of the middle ages, the office of rhapsodist was honourable and remunerative, having been sanctified by the divine genius of the old rhapsodes, Homer and Hesiod; and the fact that the rhapsodic art has much in common with the dramatic art in its effects, is significant enough to raise the conjecture of an historical connection between the two. Can the dialogue of tragedy be traced to the alternate speeches in Homer? The arrival of two or more rhapsodists at a Dionysian festival, with all its

s of the mimic dance and dithyrambic chorus, may
to the alternate recital of the speeches of Homer's
Plato mentions an occasion on which a division of
ong the rhapsodists, enabled them to recite a whole
ne day. But the practice was not general. The possi-
entertaining an audience with Homeric dialogues,
e induced the innovation of an actor exchanging
with the leader of the chorus. The conjecture, how-
t fortified by collateral evidence. The iambics of
tist have little in common with the hexametric mea-
he Iliad or the Odyssey. Their literary character
nct as their prosodial. The latter are couched in
language; the former, where the alternate speeches
in the language of every day life. In fact, the
itations of the lyric poets, found in the Greek
point to the source from which the dramatists





restoration to the *arche*, to the dramatic effect produced upon the minds of the populace by a representation of Minerva riding through the city, and whose political obliquities are forgotten in presence of his protective zeal for the literary art, encouraged the tragedian in his efforts. But Solon condemned the innovation, declaring, with the sternness of a lawgiver, that if falsehood and fiction were tolerated on the stage, they would soon find their way into the common occupations of men—an argument fallacious enough, but which is used *ad nauseum* against the modern theatre, by people who know less about the stage as an educative agency than Solon did, whose premature opinion of the art of Thespis, was certainly unguided by experience. In the *Ars Poetica*, Horace makes the following allusion to Thespis:—

> Ignotum tragicæ genus invenisse camœnæ,
> Dicitur, et plaustris vexisse poemata Thespis,
> Quae canerent agerentque peruncti fæcibus ora.

This has given rise to the idea that the theatre of Thespis was a mere perambulating show, a kind of *spectaculum gesticulantium*. The phrase *vexisse plaustris poemata*, may possibly refer only to the ambulance which carried the 'properties' from one town to another. But it is more feasible to suppose that the Roman poet confounds the small stage or platform on which the actor stood, in order to be on a level with the chorus, with the appliances which Susarion, the comedian, used in his excursions round the Isthmian districts. The part which falls to Thespis, in the development of the drama, has been fairly stated in Mahaffy's conjecture—"We would fain believe that an acquaintance with the mysteries and deeper theology of the day, suggested to Thespis the representation of human sorrow, for a moral purpose. There seems no trace of this idea in the earlier dithyrambs, which sang or acted the adventures of Diony-

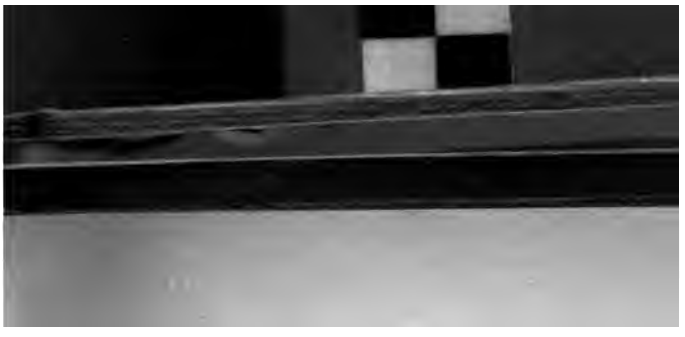
cult and not as a moral lesson. But it seems that espis may have arisen the great conception, which ull blown in Æschylus—the intention of the drama y human sympathy, by exercising it on great and tly disproportioned afflictions of heroic men, when n hand of a stern and unforgiving Providence s old transgressions, or represses the revolt of private nt against established ordinance." Be this as it may, rovements, whatever they were, gave to the drama nanent form. The enthusiastic ingenuity of the s fostered by the great patron of Athenian literature, "new tragedy" grew into favour with the populace. us, we are told, added greatly to his popularity by a temple, in which a record might be kept of won in dramatic competitions. Indeed, so rapidly

was its condemnation. It moved the thirty thousand listeners to tears; but it touched their pride and inflamed their remorse, exciting a full blast of their envy against the men, of whom Phrynichus himself had probably been one, who had counselled them wisely. In the condemnation of Phrynichus and his play, we get a glimpse of that spirit which brought Socrates to the hemlock-cup, which sent Themistocles into exile and which defamed Demosthenes and Pericles. The unlucky poet had to pay his thousand drachmas, not because his art was on the wane, but because, like Socrates, he had pricked the ignorance and folly of a people who plumed themselves on their intelligence. Several improvements in the drama have been referred to Phrynichus, but it is almost impossible to say what these were, so few of the fragments of his writings are extant. By separating the actor from the exarchus, he created the interest of personal antagonism or contrast in the dialogue, drawing out the character represented, by the turn of a phrase or the acumen of an answer or a question. He is said to have introduced female characters on the stage, and to have made several changes in the metres usually employed. Aristophanes speaks of him thus in the *Birds*:—

> Enthen hosper he melitta
> Phrunichos ambrosion
> Meleon apebosketo karpon aiei
> Pheron glukeion odan,—

and Plutarch has preserved an epigram in which his skill in inventing figured dances is referred to. Among his immediate predecessors was Choerilus, who is said to have written one hundred and fifty pieces, and to have made changes in the costumes worn by the actor; but it is Phrynichus, who forms the most prominent link in the chain of dramatists that extends historically between Thespis and Æschylus.

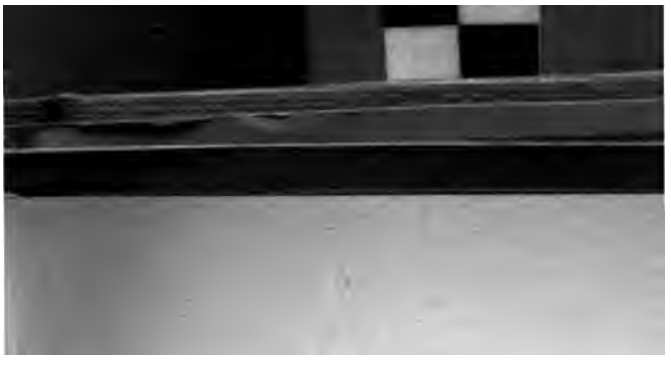
elopment of the Greek Drama culminates in the Æschylus and Sophocles. Sophocles certainly egarded as the *rex* of the Greek dramatists; but Eschylus who, in limiting the functions of the ught into full play the histrionic faculty, by intro- econd actor on the stage, and in whose writings the med its highest and permanent form, there is no ncy in closing this part of our paper with his name Sophocles. It is very little we know of his life. rn at Eleusis, a little town on the north shore of From the humble position of vine-herd, he rose soldier, and is said to have gained some military at the battles of Marathon and Salamis. In his tition as a writer of tragedies, he was the opponent s and Pratinas; in his last he was obliged to leave





dramatic; and this struggle is seen in several of the plays of Æschylus, ending, as it does, in the creation of character, which lies at the bottom of true dramatic power. Indeed, the creative genius of Æschylus as a dramatist, is to be seen repeated more in Milton than in Shakespeare. The picture of Satan, as his huge length lies "floating many a rood" with his pride unsubdued, and his angelic dignity little defaced, is the dramatic art in its sublimest effect, the dramatic art which, centuries before Milton, is seen culminating in the Prometheus of Æschylus. The temerity of genius is seen in both conceptions—the imagination of man playing with the affairs of the gods, and yet producing pictures with a god-like consistency of human knowledge. The imagination of Milton is the imagination of Æschylus, with the influence of previous models upon it; and it is only the student who, among English students, has fallen under the spell of the sublime figures and almost divinely inspired thoughts of the English poet, that is able to enter into the spirit of the ecstacy of an Athenian audience, whilst listening to the Attic dramatist through his plays. Seated in that vast gallery of the Dionysian theatre, with the grandeur and glitter of an eastern splendour illuminating the stage, and with the reflection of the sun itself from the blue vault above for a footlight and headlight, those of the thirty thousand auditors, who could hear distinctly, must have been moved, not by the action of the play, but by the grandeur of the poet's conceptions. To gratify the Athenian religious sympathies, the poet throws open that store-house of his, filled to repletion with dramatic energy, and overflowing perennially with mythic lore in the dramatic form. His comparisons between gods and men are as audacious as some of Milton's invocations. As an orthodox pagan, he revels in the figures which his imagination, under the influence of the ancient mythology, sends bubbling up in his mind; and his revelry has in it all the contagion of faith.

ı lay his great influence to stir the Athenians.
and furies and ghostlike personifications were
his audience; through their belief he reached
s which he inflamed with his own poetic fire.
as to the Greeks an actual personality, sent down
ouncil of Jupiter to bind Prometheus to the rocky
f Mount Caucasus, just as Milton's picture of
become a true picture to many Bible readers.
, in the days of Æschylus, were still to be seen at
e earthquakes, and all the known forces of nature
ive personal activities. The Gorgons were to the
what witches were to Macbeth and his vassals;
no fancy, no prophetic hell, but the actual abode
l, with its presiding deities and shadowy multi-
war in heaven which threw the *imperium* into the

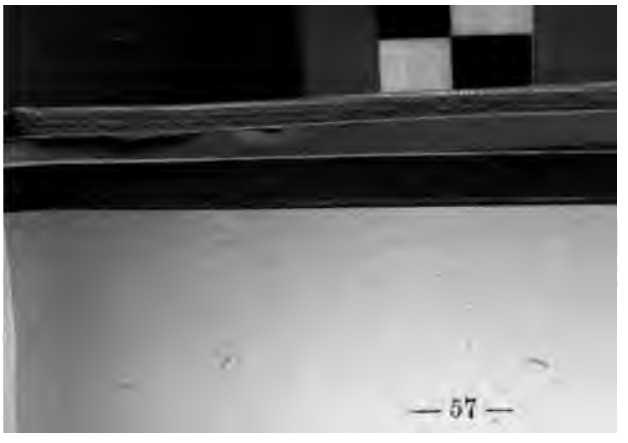




born of the mind which stud every chorus and which sparkle like gems in the grosser setting of the actor's words. "Æschylus does what is right without knowing it," said Sophocles. "His plays are not tragedies, but tragedy itself," said Schlegel. "His greatest dramas, like all highest poetry, formed the tranced insight of the imagination," says the modern critic.

Turning from the higher development of tragedy in the sublimity of the dramatic genius of Æschylus we retrace our steps in point of time to seek in the uncertainty of theory the origin of the Greek comedy. While tragedy, in its intimate association with religious rites and ceremonies, fell at a very early period under the fostering protection of the State, comedy seems to have attained to some definite dramatic form only after a long period of irregular growth. The derivation of the word has some historical importance in strengthening the claim of the Dorians as the inventors of the art, if we agree to derive it from *koma*, the Doric word for village, and not from *komos*, a band of revellers. And yet the theory, that as tragedy was developed from the dithyramb and cyclic chorus, so comedy took its rise from the productions of the early comic satirical poets and from the phallic processions in connection with the vintage festivities, affords a reasonable excuse for adopting the latter derivation of the word. The *komoi* or vintage processions, were originally ceremonies in honour of Phales, the associate deity of Dionysus, which eventually degenerated into a kind of carnival, at which jests and ribald songs were indulged in by those who took part in the fun and frolic of the occasion. During these festivals, the holiday seekers of Megara were accustomed to pass from village to village in their rude waggons, singing satirical hymns as a part of the impromptu exhibitions of which the so-called holiday chorus of Dionysus formed the centre, and allowing no one who came in the way of their maudlin frenzy to

ir not altogether harmless mirth. Among the
f Attica in later times there existed a custom
similar in its effects, according to which they
er the city at night, with their faces disguised by
wine, and make merry by means of lampoons and
rses at the expense of those who had given them
offence in their conduct of public affairs. It is
say how far these customs were connected with
of comedy, yet there is reasonable ground for be-
at the toleration of this *mardi gras* of ancient
of its abusive speeches formed the traditionary
license, which protected Aristophanes and the
edy-writers in their ridicule of the philosophers
c men of Athens. It is also not improbable that
cial hymns and choruses sung on these holiday





performing among the Attic villages. It is Epicharmus who has been honoured with the title of the father of comedy. In the early part of the fifth century before Christ the Sicilian colony had reached the zenith of its glory in the splendour of Hiero's court at Syracuse, and it is under the patronage of that king that we are to look for the full development of what has been called the Sicilian comedy in the hands of Epicharmus, Phormos, and Deinolochus. Of the last two we know little except the names of the comedies they wrote. Phormos was an Arcadian, and as tutor of the king's children was held in much favour at the Syracusan Court. He is said to have written six comedies. Deinolochus, the contemporary and rival of Epicharmus, wrote fourteen dramas, of five of which the titles have been preserved. By far the greatest of the three writers, however, was Epicharmus. He was born in the island of Cos. After spending some time as a student under Pythagoras, he took up his residence at Megara, in Sicily, and there set himself the task to reform the earlier Sicilian drama, and to drive from the stage that vulgar buffoonery which marked the customs from which comedy sprung. Several fragments of his writings have been preserved. In his plays there seems to have been as little plot as in the early Attic tragedy. The wit and humour of his pieces, set in clever dialogues, played around the mythological records of gods and heroes, or parodied the scientific thought and investigation of that day. As an illustration of his travesties of the gods, may be cited his comedy of the *Marriage of Hebe*, in which the greater part of the fun is drawn from the supposed gluttony of the Olympic heroes. The habits of the Sicilians, who are said to have degenerated from sheer excess, must have added to the piquancy of the plot, when they beheld the gods satirized on account of that gluttony which was an every day occurrence among themselves. In their excess in eating and drinking may

e found the cause of the popularity of the *para-*
cter which Epicharmus has the credit of in-
d which has been perpetuated in the Roman
utus and Terence. Having the reputation of a
of the Pythagorean order, Epicharmus also
a vein of philosophical thought into some of
hich probably formed the source from which
n this respect largely drew his innovations in
dy. The fragments of the writings of Epichar-
ing to us, however, give no definite outline of
hich the comedy assumed in his hands, or of
between his chorus and actors. We know
e literary and critical character of his plays,
to have embraced a wide variety of topics,
al, philosophical, social and political, than the

to have developed with the growth of Athenian democracy. It opened up a new source of amusement to a people so engrossed in politics as the Athenians, by satirizing political events, and social weaknesses, and by ridiculing the men who stood prominently before the public gaze—the statesmen, orators and philosophers of the time; and in this way it came to lose much of the vulgarity and obscene wit of Susarion's time. Cicero says, that, as an influence in politics and a restraint on morals, it received the sanction of law; though it is also known that on several occasions its virulence had to be repressed by the Archons.

The earliest of the old comedy authors to be mentioned here is Chionides, who wrote at least three comedies, of which the names and a few fragments survive, just sufficient to indicate their political tendency. His contemporaries were Magnes and Ecphantides. The former, a native of the same deme in which Thespis, the father of tragedy, was brought up, is mentioned by Aristophanes as an old man neglected by a once favouring public, and as the author of several plays; from two of these, it may be said, the author of the *Birds* and *Frogs* borrowed these titles. Ecphantides is known only from his nickname *Kapnias*, and from one of his plays the *Satyrs*, in which the State appointed a definite chorus, and thereby for the first time raised the Attic comedy to the dignity of a satyrical play.

In tracing the development of the Attic comedy up to the time of Aristophanes we need only mention other three of his predecessors. First comes Cratinas, who has been called the Æschylus of political comedy, and who has been spoken of in the following words by a Greek writer: "Those who first in Attica constructed the general scheme of comedy brought in their characters without method, and placed as their highest object excitement to laughter. But when Cratinas took it up, he first limited

er of characters to three, thus correcting the
, and moreover, he added a serious moral object
amusement in comedy, by reviling evil-doers,
sing them as it were with a public scourge
ss, even he shows traces of earliness, and even
want of method." He seems to have outrivalled
an one occasion Aristophanes, the Sophocles of
hom he ridicules as a pedant, and treats to a
his own virulence. He wrote twenty-one plays
the names and numerous fragments are still
he second of the three authors is Crates, who in
Epicharmus, was less virulent in his satire than
onfining himself in his plots to the affairs of
r more generalized aspect, and shunning every-
e way of personal abuse. Of his plays there is but
nt left, which indicates, so far the moderate tone

pen against his friend Aristophanes whom he had previously assisted in composing the *Knights*.

The comedy-writers above enumerated, however, only glimmer like stars of a secondary magnitude in the morning twilight of Aristophanes' great reputation. The name Aristophanes is the synonym for Greek Comedy, as it is from his dramas we are able to learn for ourselves what it was in the hey-day of its fame and highest development. We know, it is true, from the fragments of his predecessors, and from references made by him and other writers, that comedy must have fallen into his hands in a well developed condition: and it is even said by some critics that had fate preserved the works of his contemporaries, as it has his, the permanent position he now occupies as the greatest of Greek comedy-writers might have been endangered. Be this as it may, it is from his eleven plays handed down to modern times that we can know with certainty the form comedy had assumed in his time. Extemporaneous effort on the stage had disappeared in the fixed dramatic arrangement of dialogue and chorus. As in tragedy, the chorus was a State-appointed body, duly trained and regulated in ts actions in the theatre. The number of actors was reduced to three. There were competitions among comedy-writers as among tragedy-writers, and the emulation to gain the prize was as great in the one as in the other. In his time the *parabasis* or interlude attained to the fulness of its popularity and influence, while the language employed was developed into the purest of Attic, standing as it does midway between the everyday speech of the citizens and the figurative style of the tragic poets. From his plays we learn with pleasurable effect, of the license which once prevailed in Grecian manners, and can analyze the wit and humour, the satire and fancy, the ingenious versatility of him who has portayed so well the ludicrous side of Athenian civilization. The intellectual power which begat such

s the *Knights*, the *Clouds*, and the *Birds* was well
ne eulogy of the greatest mind of Greece, which
ead in Plato's famous epigram. As far as we of
nt time have been permitted to judge, Aristoph-
nds unequalled among the comedy-writers of
The richness of his imagination is fitly governed
acefulness of his language which runs in a pure
am. Nearly every page of his writings indicate
l skill of the finished artist, while many of his
breathe the purest spirit of poetry. In nearly
of his plays, he retains his influence upon the
means of his playful irony, his sly allusions and
ate knowledge of human nature. Even when
*uds*, the satirist belittles the philosopher whom
and Plato have trained us to admire and revere,

cratic philosophy, it was an easy matter for the unreflecting populace to develope Socrates, the thinker, into the greatest of the Sophists. Thus when Aristophanes, in the legitimate spirit of the old or political comedy, made sport of the Sophists in the person of Socrates, the best known of Athenian philosophers, he merely prepared a dish which he believed the Athenians would relish. It was the business of comedy to make sport of every innovation; and if Socrates was not a Sophist, he was certainly an innovator, and this was probably sufficient to justify the great comedy-writer in his own mind, in associating with his name all the absurdities of the Sophists. In the same light, must be viewed the pictures which Aristophanes gives us of Cleon, Euripides, and others. As author, he wrote to satisfy the conservatism of a dominant democracy, the bitterest kind of conservatism. To produce a pleasing effect he appealed to the ignorance which has light enough only to laugh at wisdom; and yet, strange though it may appear, in such service, the Greek comedy reached its culminating point. Tragedy as Aristotle says, purifies our affections [illegible] terror and pity, and the comedy of Aristophanes ha[illegible] dently for its purpose a like purification by lau[illegible] ridicule. "Never again," says Grote, "will th[illegible] shackled force of comedy be so exhibited. [illegible] liberty in point of subject, there is co[illegible] of derision and satire, a fecund[illegible] and variety of turns, and a richness [illegible] on such as cannot be surpassed a[illegible] explains the admiration expressed f[illegible] pher Plato, wh[illegible] in other respects m[illegible] with unquest[illegible] able disapprobat[illegible] popular in the [illegible] sense of th[illegible] the entire body [illegible] citizens [illegible] to festivity, and pr[illegible] thei[illegible] ion with a sort of d[illegible]

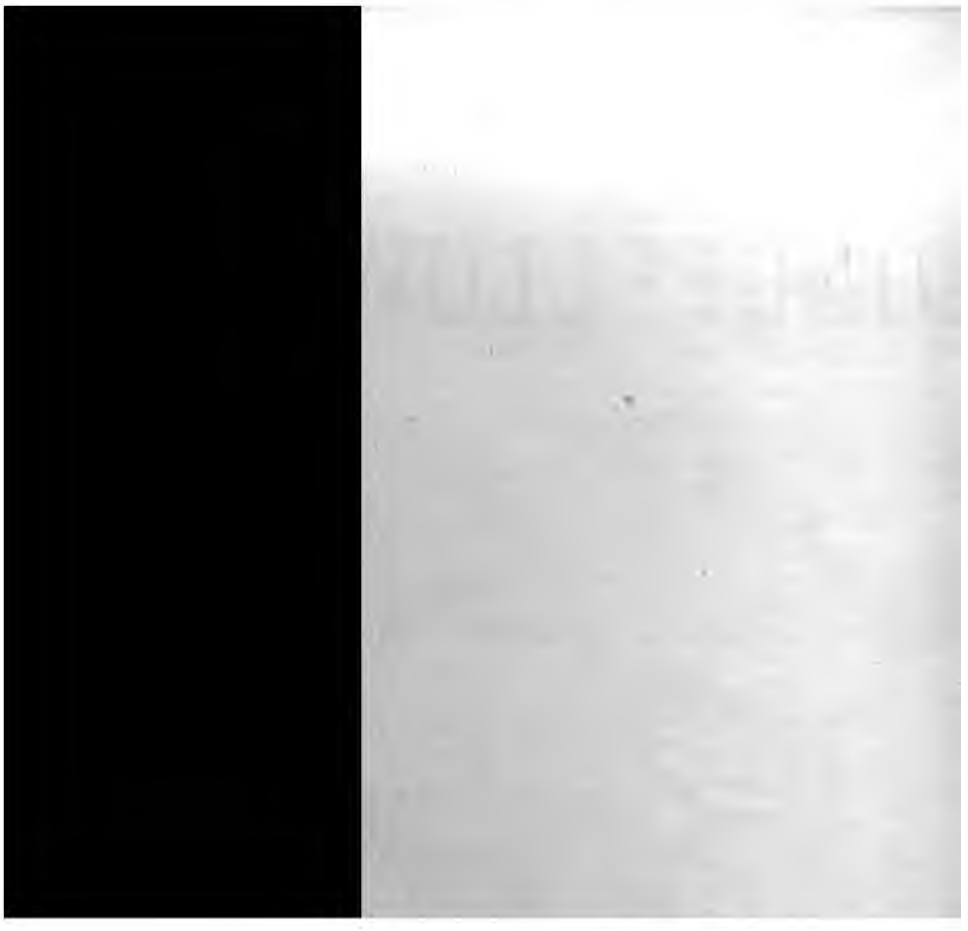
t of all persons or things standing in any way
before the public eye."

erprise of the students of some of our American
resuscitating the *Œdipus Rex* and the *Antigone*
es as stage performances, adds a further degree
to any modern investigation in connection with
Drama. The first attempt to place a Greek play
stage of a modern theatre was made by the
nt of Covent Garden in 1845. The experiment
ted in Dublin, when the part of *Antigone* was
n actress, whose fame was at its height, when
was a student in Glasgow. The representation
n of as a great success, just as were the late
he students of Harvard and Toronto universities.
ord success in such criticisms can only be used

made, though it became customary for the State to pay for the indigent, in order that no one considered worthy would be excluded from joining in the ceremony of the public adoration of the national deity. To exclude a Dionysian devotee from the theatrical festivities on account of his poverty would have been as gross an insult to Athenian piety, as it would be to Christian piety to shut the church door in the face of one whose all is the widow's mite. Each person provided himself with a cushion for his seat, while there were reserved seats in the front for those high in authority. Women were allowed to be present at the tragedies, but the comedies were only for the males. The expense of training a chorus was generally assumed by a wealthy citizen who was ambitious to stand well with the democracy. The person who occupied this office was known as the *choragus*, and Xenophon tells us of the dignity attached to the position. He also drops a hint in regard to the rivalry which sometimes sprung up between successive choragi, who as supervisors of theatrical arrangements became partners or patrons of the poets in competition, and took upon themselves the heaviest share of the responsibility of success or failure. As the chorus was appointed by the State, the needy dramatist in these days as in ours had not unfrequently to seek shelter in the political influence of a richer neighbour. Of the manner in which the competitions were conducted we know very little; but as might be expected under the active emulation of extravagant choragi, no expense was spared in arranging a tetralogy for the stage. Everything must have been on a magnificent scale of splendour. The stage itself was a large oblong platform, facing what we call the 'pit' or the open space on the ground floor set apart for the chorus and the satyric dances. Its breadth was very narrow for its length. Above and below it, there was the necessary machinery for lowering a god

the fleecy clouds of linen, or for raising some
shade or demi-god from Pluto's realms. There
s said, splendid decorations of carved wood shining
d, and immense shifting scenes which in later
re arranged according to the principles of perspec-
ere were three doors for the actors, whose actions
age were subject to the most formal regulations.
s also a curtain which could be drawn up through
he front of the stage, by means of strings running
eys, to be used when it was necessary to conceal
tions of the scene-shifting. Everything, however,
tructed on an exaggerated scale. The actors and
s were alike superbly attired in long flowing
brilliant hue and costly texture. The thick soled
dded greatly to the natural height of the actors,
ir utterance was strengthened by means of a pipe

the heart and blood action in the listener produced by the throbbings of the human voice from grave to gay, from deep wrath or indignation to the high tone of jubilancy—these must have been experienced by the Athenians more from their orators than from their actors. The Greek stage was a mirror convex in its effects : everything was gigantic but often out of proportion. And thus it is that when we seek the origin of that influence which the drama exercised upon the Athenian mind we must fall back upon the genius of the dramatist. He it was who by his literary efforts fortified the Athenians' faith in the gods and thus promoted Greek civilization. It was the *religious* spirit more than the intellectuality of Athens which was played upon by the art of its dramatic poets ; and hence with one of the factors of the effect lost in the past, our modern stage representations of Greek plays can only be successful in a very limited sense.



# THE GENIUS AND LIFE-WORK

—OF—

# LONGFELLOW.

A PAPER READ

BEFORE THE

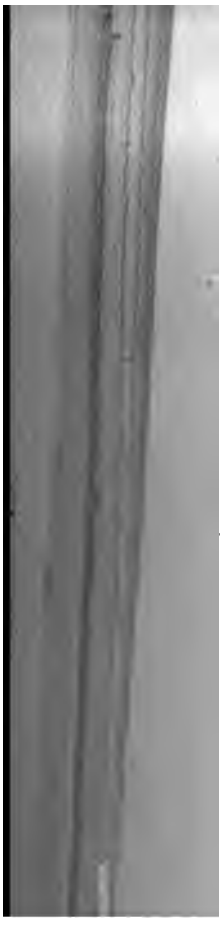
**Literary and Historical Society of Quebec,**

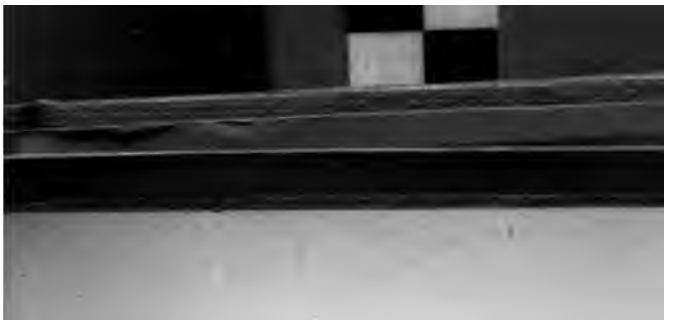
7TH MARCH, 1883,

BY

GEO. STEWART, Jr., F.R.S.C.,

*First Vice-President of the Society.*

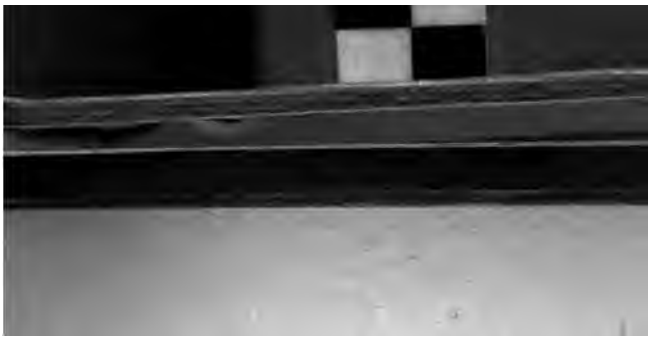




# The Genius and Life-work of Longfellow.

I have selected as my theme to-night, a poet who has many claims upon your affection, a singer who sang for the whole world, and whose verse breathes only the tenderest, gentlest and most humanizing thoughts and sentiments. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow was born in Portland, Maine, on the 27th of February, 1807. He was educated at Bowdoin college, where he began his higher studies at the age of 14. In 1825, he was graduated with honours, and entered the law office of his father, the Hon. Stephen Longfellow, but Coke and Blackstone had little charm for him, and he very soon relinquished pleadings and commentaries for the delights of foreign travel. Before starting out on his first journey through Europe, he had been offered a professorship in his *Alma Mater*, and he accepted the position on the condition that he would only assume his duties at the close of his tour. The arrangement being mutually satisfactory, he left America and spent three years and a half in France, Spain, Italy, Holland, Germany, and the British Isles. Returning home in 1829, he at once entered upon his professorship at Bowdoin, and when George Ticknor, the eminent author of the best history of Spanish literature known in the English tongue, resigned in 1835, the chair of Modern Languages, in old Harvard university, Longfellow was appointed to fill the vacancy. To fit himself more fully for his enlarged sphere of action, he again undertook a journey abroad, and sought acquaintance with the language and letters of northern Europe. He devoted twelve months to study, observation and travel in Scandi-

ermany, and the Swiss cantons, and returned to
ed States in the autumn of 1836, refreshed in mind
, and ready for his work. He remained at Harvard
sor until 1854, when he resigned, and was succeeded
iend and associate, James Russell Lowell,—the dis-
ed poet and essayist,—known to you all through his
le series of Biglow Papers,—and at present United
inister at the Court of St. James. Whilst an under-
, Longfellow began writing poetry, and many of
pieces appeared in the *Literary Gazette*, a well-con-
periodical in its day, though once the editor, with
l sapience of editors, who are popularly supposed
and understand everything, except Quebec politics,
him to give up poetry and "buckle down to the
This was odd advice to a man who had produced at



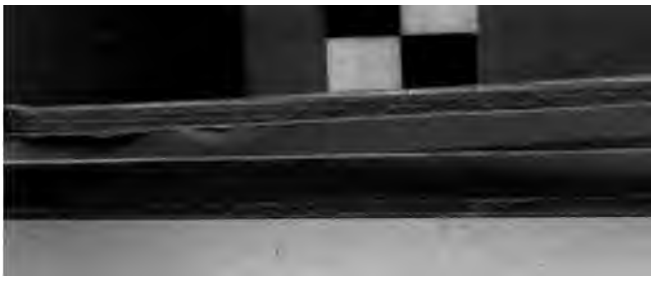


fort for everybody. It has been translated into nearly all the European languages, as well as into several Asiatic tongues, and its teachings have spread all round the universe of God. How often have you heard these lines:—

> "Lives of great men all remind us
> We can make our lives sublime,
> And, departing, leave behind us
> Footprints on the sands of time;
>
> Footprints, that perhaps another,
> Sailing o'er life's solemn main,
> A forlorn and shipwrecked brother,
> Seeing, shall take heart again.
>
> Let us, then, be up and doing,
> With a heart for any fate;
> Still achieving, still pursuing,
> Learn to labor and to wait.

After "Voices of the Night" came in 1842 "Ballads and other Poems,"—full of ringing metres and rapid-flowing thoughts,—and in the year following he wrote "Poems on Slavery," exhibiting much of his strongest work, and "The Spanish Student," a drama not in the Shakespearian mould, vigorous in [illegible], but [illegible] in execution, but [illegible] on the stage. Its humour is exquisite, and the action free and natural. But even Modjeska, who admired it very much as a dramatic poem, and loved to recite portions of it to her small knots of friends, felt that it would never make an acting play. In rapid succession "Longfellow" produced "The Poets and Poetry of Europe," "The Belfry of Bruges," "Evangeline," and the prose story of "Kavanagh." After these came "The Seaside and the Fireside," "The Golden Legend," and the grand "Song of Hiawatha," a poem which attracted a great amount of [illegible] at the day, and made a very lasting impression on the reading world. "The Courtship of Miles Standish" [illegible] every line the

sm in Longfellow's nature, and his rare skill as a
etic artist, appeared in 1858, and met with a
g and kindly reception everywhere. To further
te the poet's writings would be mere cataloguing,
would be wearying to your patience, on the present
, to extend the list. I may say, however, that
his more prominent and permanent work, may be
his admirable translation of Dante,—a stupendous
nce,—his beautiful domestic poem of "The Hang-
the Crane," which all young brides should read
n to repeat by heart,—the "Masque of Pandora,"
os," "Ultima Thule," and his last noble effort,
el Angelo." These exhibit Longfellow at his best,
w his many-sidedness, his intimate acquaintanceship
phases of the human heart, and his love for doing





those bowed down with grief, for those who wanted words of comfort to ease the aching heart and the wearied brain, for those who yearned for some joyous melody, some soul-entrancing strains from the music of the spheres. He spoke words of solace to countless thousands, and filled the air with generous songs, and christianized the atmosphere of the doubting. God, Christ and religion, and the fundamental truths were taught by Longfellow, in his splendid way, and who shall not say that he wrought an influence for good that no man can estimate, and few, now living in the realms of song and story, can surpass? To all hearts, he has sung his tender songs, and who can ever forget the majesty of the man, or the sweet earnestness of the poet? No one would wish to blot out a single line from his works. His poetry is the natural outcome of a fresh, pure and lofty soul full of sympathy for those in affliction, full of helpfulness and joy for mankind. His humanity is so broad, his sympathies are so just and true, the spirit of his poetry is so penetrating and catholic, that it would be singular indeed if he failed to exert an influence on the Canadian people as intense and real as it is in his own country. The esteem in which his writings are everywhere held throughout the Dominion, is naturally enough, very high and cordial. For several years past, Canadian authorship has been largely indebted to American letters for many refining influences and teachings in the science of intellectual development. American thought has influenced Canadian thought. The idealism of Emerson, the transcendentalism of Alcott, and the Unitarianism of Channing or of Clarke have not carried many away, but their influence, though in a slight degree, will be admitted. The excessive morality of these men has awakened something more than a mere echo across their own border. Their teachings, however, have only found pupils among the class which seeks enlightenment in a certain department of human thought, and consequently the

cy is not large. American poetry has had no ight, no prejudices to overcome, except the pre- ignorance, and the Canadian mind readily the songs of Whittier, of Longfellow, of Bryant, olmes, and ranked them with some of the best hat other English literature across the sea.

ariety of reasons, Longfellow's verse has always d a strong hold on the Canadian public, and to- ritings have a larger circulation in Canada than ny four living poets combined, and the list may nd Tennyson and Robert Browning. The institu- anada, its system of education, and the natural f its civilization have so much in common with e United States, that the whole range of American offer little that Canadians may not appreciate t. They may not care to throw up their caps over

through that section, Longfellow's poems have penetrated, and he is oftener quoted in the every-day speeches of the people, in the pulpits and in the press, than any other writer of modern times. The sister province of New Brunswick, which in the old days was a part of Nova Scotia, takes as kindly to her Longfellow. "The Wreck of the Hesperus," and the "Building of the Ship," are taught as exercises in the schools, while "Hiawatha" is widely read, and has formed the task of many a youthful elocutionist in the recitation room. The winter described in that legend is almost the counterpart of the winter of northern New Brunswick, neither intensified nor overdrawn.

The literary activity of Ontario is represented by the city of Toronto, which is the centre of university life and motive. English poetry, in its higher form, finds expression in such types as Mr. Tennyson, and Mr. Browning, and often Mr. Swinburne, whose star is climbing to a prodigious height in the west, just now. These writers, sensibly enough, affect the intellectual development of Upper Canada; and particularly to the cultivated classes, to college people, among readers who lay aside their philosophy as they find it in Spencer, or Lewes, or Clifford, now and then, to dip into poetry, do these singers offer relaxation and amusement. Ontario poets, when they are not influenced by these purely English bards, sometimes follow Longfellow, though he has not altogether captivated their ear. University men are slow to rank him with Matthew Arnold, Shelley, or Arthur Hugh Clough, whom they all worship; but they read him all the same, and perhaps, admire him. They enjoy his fine culture, his superb scholarship, the melody of his verse, the beauty, and often sublimity of his thought; but Longfellow's christianity, and religious fervor which break out so frequently in his poetry, and which illumine so much of his work, they, apparently, do not wish to understand or recognize. I use

s "university men" in this instance as signify-
e of character, and illustrative of a class. On the
he western part of Canada, Longfellow's hold is
ng. They learn morality from him, and high
r, and nobility of purpose, and duty. His poetry
ne effect of beautiful music on the senses. It is
ng, and encouraging, and warm. Not a line of it
an impurity or a base thought.

y be too simple, but his very simplicity is his
rce of strength.

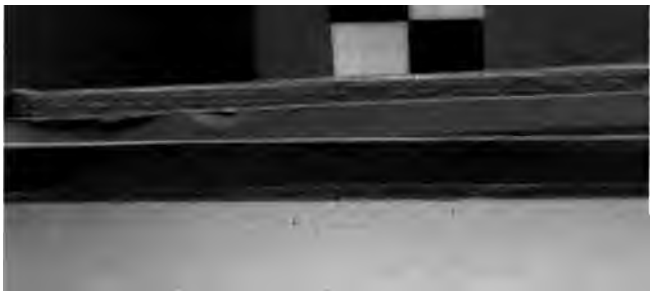
ll always be regarded as a christian poet, as an
of the people, as a teacher of the principles of
nd liberty, and as a real humanizing agency, full
orks and truthfulness.

er Canada, where the highest mental development
lly exemplified by the French writers, who do

it into the susceptible hearts of his countrymen. For many years, the Longfellow version of the story has been implicitly regarded as historically correct, even among Englishmen, who cared to accept no other authority. This one poem, because of the sympathy of the author, as well as his treatment of the incident, has wound itself around the hearts of the people of French Canada, and Longfellow's name is reverently treasured and respected and loved wherever "Evangeline" has found a foot-hold. In this connection, it will be found as well to read "Jacques et Marie," Mr. Napoleon Bourassa's spirited account of the dispersed Acadians, and the sufferings and adventures through which they passed. Mr. Bourassa is one of our own authors, an artist both in pigments and in letters, and his admirable souvenir of the wholesale eviction, is one of the most interesting historical narratives which we have, from the French point of view. Mr. James Hannay, of New Brunswick, has also treated the subject at length in his "History of Acadia," and presents the English or historical version of the incident. The late Dr. W. J. Anderson, of Quebec, published in the Transactions of this society, part VII, 1870, an instructive paper, entitled: *Evangeline and the Archives of Nova Scotia*, in which he discusses the poem by the aid of Dr. T. B. Aikins' valuable volume of Nova Scotia Archives. Mr. Beamish Murdoch's History of Nova Scotia, or Acadie, might also be consulted with advantage by the student.

It is pretty generally known, I think, that the author never saw the spot which he depicts with such fidelity in this poem. He was sitting in his study, once, when the story was told to him by Hawthorne, who had it from a friend who wished him to make a romance out of it. The novelist had it from a gentleman named Conolly, who in turn, had learned it from a French-Canadian, whose name, unfortunately, has escaped the record. Hawthorne

tale in his note-book, as he heard it, and one day, it to Longfellow, who was so taken and impressed at he begged permission to use it as the ground- an idyl. He did this, however, only when he at his friend had abandoned all intention of g the simple and tearful legend as a romance. He y great deal in the story. It was full of poetry in nd his heart at once went out in sympathy for the l the sore trials they were compelled to sus- studied Abbé Raynal for information about life and habits of the Acadians, and his history he Haliburton. And what a poem he has made out of er materials! Evangeline has become a type of l tender maidenhood, as much of a reality as ' or "Desdemona," as gentle a study as "Ophelia." opes herself in the idyl, and lives in the human

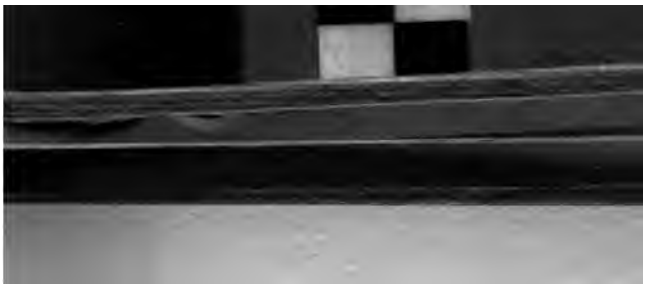




its thought and morality, and presents a picture of womanly devotion, womanly affection and womanly sympathy, which no one can examine without feeling deeply moved. When the poet resolved to treat his theme, he looked about him for a suitable measure in which to cast his narrative. The English dactylic hexameter promptly suggested itself,—a metre made famous by Voss, in 1795, in his idyllic epic of "Luise", and later on by Goethe, in his "Hermann and Dorothea." Longfellow wrote Evangeline in that strain because, as he told "Barry Cornwall" in his letter accompanying a presentation copy of the poem, "I could not write it *as it is* in any other; it would have changed its character entirely to have put it into a different measure."

The critics are divided on the question of Longfellow's masterpiece, the "Song of Hiawatha" contending eagerly for first place with the tale of "Acadie." The latter was the author's own favourite, but those who have studied the two poems well, and measured their relative strength as pieces of artistic workmanship, accord the palm to the Indian legend, which presents, in such a marked degree, a true story of the forest, of rugged nature and of wild life in all seasons of the year, in the poet's own country. Hiawatha is in every way, an heroic achievement in poetry. Frothingham considers it Longfellow's "masterpiece, the fullest expression of his mind. Theme and treatment perfectly correspond, the former calling forth all the poet's peculiar talent; the latter taxing, yet exquisitely illustrating, his literary skill." Rossetti said it was "made for posterity and permanence." Henry Norman considers it "an example of genuine poetic power and sympathy misapplied," and thinks that it has exerted "a weakening influence on American literature," but he is clearly wrong in that assumption. The poem is full of touches of nature. The character-drawing is admirable, and exhibits remarkable familiarity with all aspects of savage life and custom. The

it an edda, and it treats of a tradition current
e Ojibway tribe of Indians, the scene being located
uthern shore of Lake Superior, in the region be-
e Pictured Rocks and the Grand Sable. The
f the poem is the eight syllable trochaic verse, and
n parodied and imitated more than any other piece
. Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes thinks that Long-
choosing this peculiar metre, showed "a subtle
he requirements of his simple story of a primitive
strain being the "most fluid of measures, that
hought run through it in easy sing-song, such as
ion would be sure to find on the lips of the story-
the wigwam." Hiawatha is, perhaps, the best
d, as it has been the most widely read, of the
ger pieces. There are dramatic fire, strong move-
orous description, humour and pathos, and all the





Saw no track of deer or rabbit,
In the snow beheld no foot-prints,
In the ghastly, gleaming forest
Fell, and could not rise from weakness,
Perished there from cold and hunger.
O the famine and the fever!
O the wasting of the famine!
O the blasting of the fever!
O the wailing of the children!
O the anguish of the women!"

The poet then tells of the entrance into Hiawatha's wigwam, of Famine, "Buckadawin," and of Fever, "Ahkosewin," and of the death and burial of lovely "Minnehaha," the bride of the young brave :—

"In the snow a grave they made her,
In the forest deep and darksome,
Underneath the moaning hemlocks;
Clothed her in her richest garments,
Wrapped her in her robes of ermine,
Covered her with snow, like ermine;
Thus they buried Minnehaha."

Though Hiawatha was violently attacked by the critics, it found great favour with the public, and the printing-press was soon taxed to its capacity to supply the demand. The publishers, however, bitterly resented the newspaper and magazine opinions which came to them by every mail. One day, Mr. Fields, more exercised than usual, by the budget of attacks and parodies which he had received that morning, hurried off to Longfellow's house in Cambridge in a state of extraordinary excitement. "My dear Longfellow," he called out as soon as he caught a glimpse of the poet, "these atrocious libels must be stopped." The poet, serene and calm, glanced over the papers, and without a word of comment, archly said, as he handed them back to publisher, "by the way, Fields, how is 'Hiawatha'?" "Wonderfully, none of your books has ever had

le." "Then," said Longfellow softly and with a
I think we had better let these people go on
ng it." In the short space of two years, fifty
copies were sold in the United States alone.
ongfellow cared very little for the attacks of critics
es. He used to say that whenever he encountered
unpleasant about him in his newspaper, or in
ent him by those good-natured friends who think
ors like to read such things, he would look at a
s, and then quietly throw the offensive thing into
and *it would never trouble him again.*
p, author of a study of Thoreau, who writes learned-
Puritan element in Longfellow, finds something of
lity in the poem of "Hiawatha," and traces its
t and play of fancy through the light of that
But Longfellow's puritanism is more strongly

Alden set out on his task. On the way he plucked some may-flowers for Priscilla, whom he really loved himself, though he dared not say so. His passion was returned, though so well concealed, that the brave and lithe young fellow scarcely knew his good fortune. When he saw her that day singing and spinning in her quiet home, he might have had her for his bride for the asking, but his friendship for Standish stood in the way, and he began to ply the suit of his chief. He lost all his *finesse*, and bluntly delivered his message like a schoolboy. Priscilla, annoyed and vexed, could not brook such a system of business-like love-making. She spoke out, and we may be sure her cheeks tingled with roses :—

'If the great captain of Plymouth is so very eager to wed me,
Why does he not come himself, and take the trouble to woo me?
If I am not worth the wooing, I surely am not worth the winning!'
Then John Alden began explaining and smoothing the matter,
Making it worse as he went, by saying the captain was busy,—
Had no time for such things;—such things! the words grating harshly
Fell on the ear of Priscilla; and swift as a flash she made answer:
'Has he no time for such things, as you call it, before he is married,
Would he be likely to find it, or make it, after the wedding?
That is the way with you men; you don't understand us, you cannot.
When you have made up your minds, after thinking of this one and that one,
Choosing, selecting, rejecting, comparing one with another,
Then you make known your desire, with abrupt and sudden avowal,
And are offended and hurt, and indignant perhaps, that a woman
Does not respond at once to a love that she never suspected.'

In this strain the poem goes on. Alden tries to make matters better for his friend, but all in vain. The more he tries, the deeper involved he becomes. He gets warm and excited over his praises of Standish, who could trace his pedigree back to the days of [illegible] Standish.

"But as he warmed and glowed, [illegible] ent language,
Quite forgetful of self, and full of the [illegible]
Archly the maiden smiled, and, with [illegible] laughter,
Said, in a tremulous voice, "Why do [illegible] f, John?"

he sequel to all this delightful fooling was that
l Priscilla were married, and when the grim cap-
over his rage and mortification he forgave them
e the brave and hearty soldier that he was.
s Longfellow somewhere else says:—

> "No one is so accursed by fate,
> No one so utterly desolate,
> But some heart, though unknown,
> Responds unto his own,"

Standish won a wife at last. One Barbara came
e colony in the "Fortune," and the captain having
wisdom by sad experience, this time did his
rting. The kindly maiden smiled upon his suit,
twain were made one. Six children blessed
ion, and many of their descendants are still in the
he living.

inmost heart, was written when Longfellow was only thirty-one years of age. He was sitting between two windows, at a small table in his chamber, looking out on a bright summer morning in July, 1838, when the beautiful Psalm came into his mind, and with scarcely an effort, he penned the lines where he sat. His heart was very full, and he kept the poem by him for some months before he gave it to the world. It was a voice from his very soul, and he could not send it out then, for his own heart was bleeding over a private grief. The poem of "The Reaper and the Flowers" also came without an effort, and the line "There is a Reaper, whose name is Death," crystallized immediately into his mind, and as he rapidly wrote down the stanzas, his eyes filled with tears. "The light of Stars" was composed on a serene and beautiful summer evening, exactly suggestive of the poem. "The Wreck of the Hesperus" was written in 1839. A storm had occurred the night before, and as the poet sat musing and smoking his pipe, about midnight, by the fire, the wrecked "Hesperus" came sailing into his mind. He jotted down some lines, then went to bed, but the mad idea seized him and he could not sleep. He got up, and wrote the celebrated verses, which gave him part of his fame. The clock struck three, when the minstrel's last verse was done :—

"Such was the wreck of the Hesperus,
In the midnight and the snow!
Christ save us all from a death like this,
On the reef of Norman's Woe!"

That other noble ballad, "The Skeleton in Armour," appeared in 1849. The vision encountered him as he was riding along the beach at Newport, on a summer's afternoon. that a skeleton had been dug up at Fall nd corroded armour. It made a pro- poet, w ted the skeleton

with the Round Tower, usually known to the people in the vicinity, as the Old Windmill. At the present day, the tower is claimed by the Danes as the work of their early ancestors. So reliable an authority as Professor Rafn inclines to this view, and declares the structure to be a genuine specimen of architecture, built not later than the 12th century. This applies, of course, to the original building at Newport only, and not to the "improvements" that it has received from time to time, since it was first erected. There are several such alterations in the upper part of the building which cannot be mistaken, and were probably used in modern times for different purposes. The windmill was a later alteration, but the base remains in all its ancient glory. These are the materials which supplied Longfellow with a theme for a ballad. The skeleton would not be laid until the solitary horseman promised a poem. "Excelsior" owes its origin to accident. The poet happened to see the word on a torn piece of newspaper, one autumn night in 1841. It at once fired his imagination, and taking up a slip of paper, which happened to be the back of a letter received that day from Charles Sumner, he crowded it with verses. "The Old Clock on the Stairs,"—one of the most dramatic things that the author has given us, was based on a remarkable sermon which a great French divine, *Père* Jacques Bridaine preached on eternity in 1754, at the Church of Saint Sulpice, in Paris. He compared eternity to the pendulum of a clock, which ceaselessly murmured *Toujours! Jamais! Jamais! Toujours!* Forever, never, never, forever! This sermon caused extraordinary excitement at the time in the French capital, and people were driven, in some instances, into insanity over the wild thought which grew from too much pondering over the idea. As soon as Longfellow read the sermon, he was struck with its awful power, and the startling figure which it conveyed. He could not get it out of

his mind for several days. "Toujours, jamais, jamais, toujours," ran in his head, and his thoughts turned incessantly to the musical refrain. He was haunted as if by a nightmare, and was himself again, only when he had completed his poem :—

> "Never here, forever there,
> Where all parting, pain and care,
> And death, and time shall disappear,—
> Forever there, but never here,
> The horologe of Eternity
> Sayeth this incessantly,—
> 'Forever—never!
> Never—forever!'"

Longfellow achieved distinction as a translator. He was familiar with many foreign languages. His reading was varied and wide, and many an old legend was turned to good account. In the by-ways of Europe he found a vast quantity of well-nigh forgotten tales, and some of his best appreciated poems owe their existence to some humble story or incident in folk lore. His greatest effort, however, in the way of translation, is his version in English of Dante. For a long time, Cary's copy was the recognized edition, and so far back as 1809, the *North American Review* pronounced it, with confidence, the most literal translation in poetry, in our language, and Prescott wrote, in 1824, of Cary, "I think Dante would have given him a place in his ninth heaven, if he could have foreseen his translation. It is most astonishing, giving not only the literal corresponding phrases, but the spirit of the original, the true Dantesque manner. It should be cited as an evidence of the compactness, the pliability, the sweetness of the English tongue." In 1839, the year when Longfellow published five passages from the Purgatorio, Cary's reputation stood higher than it did in 1824. A recent writer, George W. Greene, who died in the early part of this year (1883), and

a man well versed in the Italian language and poetry, made a masterly review of Dante's *Divina Commedia*, and instanced comparisons between Cary and Longfellow, and unhesitatingly stated that the latter's work, with its fourteen thousand two hundred and seventy-eight lines, corresponds, word for word, with the original Italian; and no one claims that much for Cary. The leading scholars of the day, Charles Eliot Norton among the number, unite in the opinion that Longfellow's translation is the only pure English version of the Italian, and must be accepted as the standard. Mr. Greene, in his estimate, was very careful and impartial, and the long excerpts which he made, proved the best authorities he could have for his statements. When the poet was engaged in correcting the proof-sheets of the Inferno, he invited Mr. Norton and Mr. James Russell Lowell, to aid him in the work of final revision. The former gentleman, then professor of the history of Art at Harvard university, gives this brief account of their meetings:—"Every Wednesday evening," he says, "Mr. Lowell and I met in Mr. Longfellow's study, to listen while he read a canto of his translation from the proof-sheet. We paused over every doubtful passage, discussed the various readings, considered the true meaning of obscure words and phrases, sought for the most exact equivalent of Dante's expression, objected, criticized, praised with a freedom that was made perfect by Mr. Longfellow's absolute sweetness, simplicity and modesty, and by the entire confidence which existed between us." Longfellow performed his task,—a real labour of love,—with perfect sympathy. While at work, he wrote to a friend, "how different from the gossip is the divine Dante with which I begin the morning! I write a few lines every day before breakfast. It is the first thing I do—the morning prayer, the key-note of the day."

There was a sad tragedy in the poet's life, and for a while

it threatened to cloud his whole future, but time, that sublime healer of all our woes and sorrows, intervened, and after some anxious years had passed away, the golden sunshine streamed into Longfellow's heart again, and glad songs from his muse once more trilled upon the air. He had been twice married. His first wife was Mary Storer Potter, daughter of the Hon. Barrett Potter, of Portland, Me., a descendant of one of the founders of the New Haven Colony. His bride was a very lovely woman, accomplished in several branches of science, languages and literature, beautiful in person and amiable in disposition. The marriage took place in the month of September, 1831, but the happy domestic life of the poet was destined to be of short duration. In November, 1836, Mrs. Longfellow died at Rotterdam, and her husband tenderly commemorated her worth and gentleness in his touching poem, entitled "The footsteps of Angels." But it was in connection with his second marriage, that one of the sorest trials which ever came to man, occurred to Longfellow. The reader of that delicate and pleasantly-told story, "Hyperion," is doubtless familiar with the incident illustrating the meeting of "Paul Flemming" and "Mary Ashburton," and what followed after those attractive young people had been together some time. In real life, Longfellow met Frances Elizabeth Appleton in much the same way. She was the brilliant daughter of Nathan Appleton, of Boston, and the sister of Thomas Gold Appleton, who judges paintings as well as he writes books. Underwood, who knew her intimately, describes her as the possessor of every grace of "mind and person that could charm the soul of a poet." He says, "her remarkable beauty was fitly accompanied by a serene dignity of manner; and it may be added that, later, as a matron, she was even more beautiful than in her fresh youth. With her children about her she looked a proud Cornelia." Longfellow's story was published in 1839. It will be remembered

that the hero is rejected by Mary Ashburton. So, it is said, that Longfellow's suit was not at first acceptable to Miss Appleton, that he too was dismissed, but as the years wore on a change came over her, and she claimed a woman's privilege and changed her mind. When the romance was published, everybody seemed to know that Paul and Mary had living prototypes in the poet and his sweetheart, and the arch song, beginning "I know a maiden fair to see," had a delicious significance. This ballad occurs in "Hyperion," and as a reminder, I may quote a verse or two :—

"I know a maiden fair to see ;
Take care !
She can both false and friendly be.
Beware ! Beware !
Trust her not,
She is fooling thee !

She has two eyes, so soft and brown ;
Take care !
She gives a side-glance and looks down.
Beware ! Beware !
Trust her not,
She is fooling thee !"

And the last verse :—

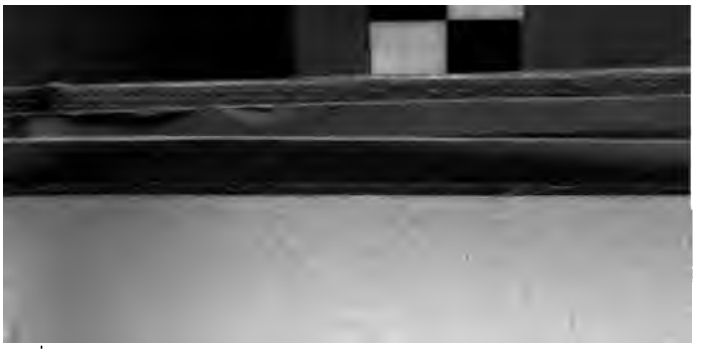
"She gives thee a garland woven fair ;
Take care !
It is a fool's cap for thee to wear.
Beware ! Beware !
Trust her not,
She is fooling thee !"

Of course that sort of thing could not go on long. The lady yielded to her passionate lover of thirty-five, and in July, 1843, the two were wed. Of this union, five children were born, two sons and three daughters, Ernest, the Artist, and Charles, the Cavalry Captain, Alice and Anna,

and "Edith with golden hair." Thomas Buchanan Read, who wrote the martial poem of "Sheridan's Ride," painted the three daughters as children. The picture was afterwards engraved and sold. The grouping of the young ladies left the impression that one of them had no arms, and so natural was this appearance, that the poet was often asked if one of his children had really been born without arms. A few years ago, Miss Edith was married to Richard H. Dana, son of the author of "Two years before the mast," and the eminent counsel in behalf of the United States, during the sitting of the Halifax Fishery Commission.

Longfellow took his bride to the spacious Craigie house, in Cambridge, Washington's old head-quarters, after the battle of Bunker Hill. "This famous house," wrote Dr. Lyman Abbott, in 1881, "with its great fireplaces, its generously proportioned rooms, its hospitable hall and broad staircase, its quaint carvings and tiles, is itself an historic poem. The study is a busy literary man's workshop; the table is piled with pamphlets and papers in orderly confusion; a high desk in one corner suggests a practice of standing while writing, and gives a hint of one secret of the poet's singularly erect form at an age when the body generally begins to stoop and the shoulders to grow round; an orange tree stands in one window, near it a stuffed stork keeps watch; by the side of the open fire is the 'children's chair,' on the table is Coleridge's inkstand; upon the walls are crayon likenesses of Emerson, Hawthorne and Sumner, and in one of the bookcases which fill all the spare wall-space and occupies even one of the windows, are rarest treasures of all, the poet's own works in their original manuscript, carefully preserved in handsome substantial bindings. The study was Washington's room, the parlour opposite was known as "Lady Washington's parlour." The family library, a delightful, long, many-windowed apartment in the rear, was appropriated under

on to the aides-de-camp." This old house is
pilgrimage to see. It is historic in two depart-
human activity, war and peace. Once Miss Long-
ed a rosy-cheeked child at Sunday School, why
s kept Washington's birth-day, and received for
r from the urchin, "because he lived in your
Edward Everett, and Jared Sparks, the historian,
his grand and stately dwelling once, and so did
Worcester, the lexicographer, and the list of
ersons who have, from time to time, spent one or
ts under its hospitable roof, would swell to the
s of a large book, if recalled. At this residence,
eceived many strange visitors. An Englishman
re once, and after a word or two, he said, "My dear
ave no old ruins in this country, and so I thought
ome and *see you*." A lady from the same locality,





vain. She had received injuries which proved mortal, and very soon she died. Her husband's hands and face were severely burned, and his grief and horror at his terrible loss aged him in a night. The poet was never quite himself again from that dreadful moment. He kept his grief to himself, and nursed in his heart the sweet and fragrant memory of the kindly woman he had loved so dearly.

Longfellow was peculiarly the children's poet. He was ever available to them, and loved them all tenderly, and never failed to give them pleasant greeting at all seasons and at all times. He entertained some school girls at his house one day, and one of them, out of gratitude, sent him an iron pen made from a fetter of Bonnivard, the prisoner of Chillon, immortalized by Byron, and a bit of wood from the frigate "Constitution," ornamented with precious stones from Siberia, Ceylon and the State of Maine. Back to the young maiden came a poem of thanks, addressed to "Beautiful Helen of Maine." Of the gift, he says that it is to him:—

> "As a drop of the dew of your youth
> On the leaves of an aged tree."

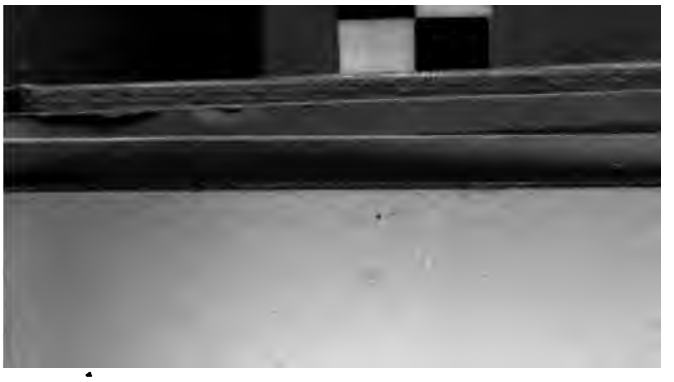
The children of Cambridge presented him with an arm-chair, on the 27th of February, 1879, on the occasion of his seventy-second birth-day. It was made of the wood of the Village Blacksmith's Chestnut tree. For this charming testimonial he returned some graceful verses, the concluding lines being:—

> "Only your love and your remembrance could
> Give life to this dead wood,
> And make these branches, leafless now so long,
> Blossom again in song."

Luigi Monti, who saw the incident himself, tells of a little girl, who on one Christmas-day enquired the way to the poet's house, and asked permission to step into the yard.

ellow being told that she was there, he went to
nd called her in, and showed her the "old clock
airs," and some other things, which we may
ere of especial interest to her. The child went
last filled with grateful recollections of that
tide. But Longfellow was forever doing kindly
ous things, and his warm, loving heart went out
le ones always.

son, he was a handsome man. His mien was
l, his figure erect as an arrow, and his eye was
liquid, and full of good humour, and his manner
ntle as a woman's. The world to him was always
tiful. He looked out upon it, and saw there, only
nesses of life, bright realities and the goodness of
he sought to make all those around him happy,
and joyous. The world too, was very good to



# Literary and Historical Society.

The Annual Meeting of the Literary aud Historical Society was held on Wednesday, the 10th January, 1883. The following gentlemen were present, viz. :—J. M. LeMoine, W. Hossack, F. C. Wurtele, Jos. Whitehead, P. Johnston, A. Robertson, Hon. D. A. Ross, A. Campbell, E. Pope, J. F. Belleau, George Stewart, jr., W. Clint, R. Turner, W. S. Bennett, Ed. Burroughs, C. Tessier, F. Carbray, R. McLeod, and G. Stuart.

The minutes of the last annual meeting having been read and confirmed, the President read the Annual Report, as follows :—

*Report of the Council of the Literary and Historical Society for the year ending* 31*st December*, 1882.

The Council has the pleasing duty to report that the past year has been one of increased prosperity.

Since the last annual general meeting, there has been several changes in, and additions to, the members of the Society.

Among others, they have to note with regret the loss of a valued friend and one of the original founders of this Association, the Hon. John Fraser, who expired at the advanced age of 90 years, in Charleston, South Carolina. It may not be out of place to recall that the venerable deceased, a short time previous to his demise, donated to the Society a valuable collection of coins, medals and other antiquities; on several occasions, Mr. Fras[illegible]inated to the President and to some of the member[illegible]uncil, his intention to bequeath a sum of money t[illegible]rary and Historical Society, in which he felt partic[illegible]st,

half a century ago, helped to found it. This
equest was, however, accompanied with the
erstanding that it was to take the shape of a
to a pre-existing building fund. We have
y no building fund. No bequest to the Society
in Mr. Fraser's will.

cil is of opinion that measures ought to be taken
ay towards initiating a building fund, and that
gal form of bequest ought to be inserted in the
tached to the "Transactions" of each year.

, resignation or removal from the city, the
lost eleven associate members and one life mem-
Shaw, Esq. On the other hand, thirty new
been added, by ballot, to the list of members.

ving papers were read before the Society during
ended :—

ture votes its annual grant, is for making researches into the early history of Canada, and for "receiving, procuring, and publishing interesting documents and useful information in connection with the natural, civil and literary history of British North America." In connection with this branch of the subject, and among rare works recently acquired, the Council can point with satisfaction to the elaborate, illustrated edition of Champlain's Voyages, translated into English, annotated and recently published under the supervision of the Prince Society of Boston; a scholarly undertaking, highly creditable to that learned Society, and advantageously disclosing to the whole continent of America, those precious founts of early Canadian history inherited by posterity from the immortal founder of Quebec—Samuel de Champlain. The Society is also happy in intimating to the students of Canadian annals, that it has of late materially added to its already rich store of manuscripts, by purchase as well as through the liberality of its members. Thus, were acquired by purchase, the manuscripts of the late James Thompson, a volunteer under Major General James Wolfe,—covering the period from 1758 to 1830, the date of Mr. Thompson's demise.† Fifteen other folios, in manuscript, have also been presented by or through the President, and now form part of the archives—invaluable materials, let us hope—for the researches of the future historians of Canada.*

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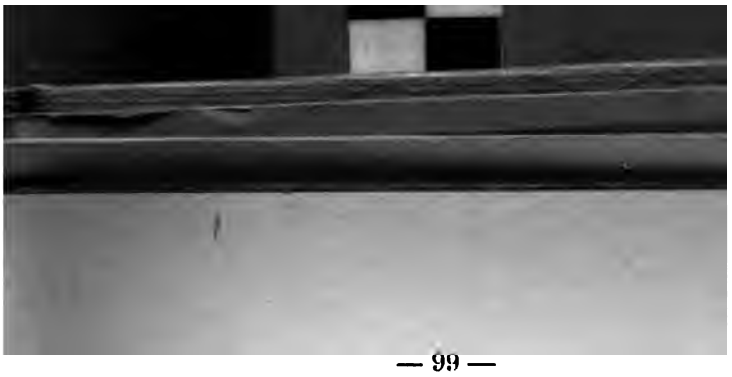
† M. S. S. Memoirs, Letters, Anecdotes, Statistics, &c. JAMES THOMPSON, Sr.
Vol. I. 1758-1830.
Small vols.—Journals 1759, 1775-76, 1779-81, 1787-88.
(1) (2) (3) (4)
Large vols.—Journals 1779-81, 1781-82, 1783-84, 1784-87.—Nine Volumes in all.

* Perrault l'Aîné's Correspondence, 1755-72, presented by Hon. D. A. Ross.
*Histoire de l'Eglise Paroissiale de Québec*, 1771, *Procès-Verbaux*, presented by J. M. LeMoine.
Warrants, Lands, &c., 1764-67, presented by Hon. Geo. Irvine.
Mémoire sur le Canada, 1760-64.
Memoirs, Letters, &c., presented by J. M. LeMoine, 1882.
Minutes of Agricultural Society formed at Quebec, 1789.
Manuscript Lectures, Essays, Translations, Notes, &c., presented to J. M. LeMoine, Spencer Grange, Sillery, by Mrs. Edward Burstall (née Eléanor Fisher),

lent has to report several courteous invitations, ociety to send a representative at divers public of a historical character, to take place in the g Republic. Also, an official invitation from the he Royal Society of Canada, founded by the Lorne, to promote science and literature, in n America, to send a delegate to represent this at the annual meeting of the Royal Society, to Ottawa, on the 24th May next. The members ess, be happy to note, that since the last annual ting, the President of this Society has been His Excellency the Governor-General, with the ty of presiding at the first section of the Royal ch distinguished honor has also been confirmed annual meeting of the Royal Society, held at he election of its officers.

cil took an early opportunity to record by reso-





escaped the attention of, and in fact has found favor with, our leading statesmen, as appears by the pecuniary aid voted by the Dominion Parliament—to have searches made in the British Museum, and other public repositories of papers, documents, letters and memoirs touching the past history of the colony, and that the nucleus of an archive *bureau* exists in the Department of Agriculture, at Ottawa. However jealous each Province may be, to retain the originals of documents, affecting the annals and welfare of its inmates, the Council is of opinion that the joint wants and desires of each Province having been consulted through a commission named by Parliament—measures might eventually be matured, calculated to effect an extensive, permanent and suitable organization or *bureau* of archives.

The relations between the Society and the proprietors of these rooms—the Morrin College—continue to be of a satisfactory nature. In March, 1868, a lease for ten years was executed between the Society and the Morrin College; the term of this lease—which expired in 1878—has been continued from year to year. The report of the Librarian will give the particulars of the purchases and donations of books during the last year, together with his suggestions. You will also see by the report of the Treasurer, now submitted, how the funds of the association have been applied.

Respectfully submitted,

J. M. LeMoine,
President.

Quebec, 10th January, 1883.

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REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

The Librarian, in submitting his first report since taking office, is happy to state that the rooms of the Society have been as numerously frequented, and the library has continued as popular as heretofore.

ions to the library have been 333, as per ap-
s. One hundred and fifty-six volumes by pur-
rest comprise forty bound volumes, one hun-
hirty-seven pamphlets and four maps by dona-
xchanges. The issues during the past year have
volumes. The number of volumes out overdue
of the year in very small—172 volumes.
rules adopted by the Society, limiting the time
books to fifteen days and the number to two
one time, are found to work satisfactorily. He
nestly recommend to the in-coming Council to
ys and means for numbering all the books and
his is found in all large libraries to be a neces-
litates the recording of the issue and return of
keeping of them in their proper places, and the
olumes expeditiously when required. He also

Moved by Mr. R.Turner and seconded by Mr. A. Campbell, —That the Reports be adopted and published.

Messrs. A. Campbell and W. S. Bennett were appointed scrutineers, and Mr. R. Turner was appointed auditor of accounts.

The following gentlemen were then balloted for and elected for the ensuing year:

*President*—D. A. Ross.

*Vice-Presidents*—G. Stewart, jr., F.R.S.C., H. S. Scott, W. Hossack, J. Whitehead.

*Treasurer*—E. Pope.

*Librarian*—F. C. Wurtele.

*Recording Secretary*—J. F. Belleau.

*Corresponding Secretary*—W. Clint.

*Council Secretary*—A. Robertson.

*Curator of Museum*—T. H. Oliver.

*Curator of Apparatus*—R. McLeod.

*Additional Members of Council*—J. M. LeMoine, F.R.S.C., C. Tessier, P. Johnston, J. Harper, B.A.

A vote of thanks was carried in favor of the scrutineers.

Mr. Hossack moved, seconded by Mr. LeMoine,—That the Synod of the Diocese of Quebec be extended an invitation to the rooms during their stay in the city.

Moved by Mr. F. Carbray, M.P.P., seconded by Mr. J. F. Belleau, —That the thanks of this Society are due and tendered to J. M. LeMoine, Past President, for the able and efficient manner in which he has acted during the past five years as President of this Society.

The following gentlemen were then elected associate members :—Rev. Mr. Rexford, E. L. Sears, Buteau Turcotte, and J. Elton Prower.

## )NATIONS TO THE LIBRARY, 1882.

of the Nova Scotia Institute of Natural Sciences.
ers of Canada Medical and Surgical Journal.
rs—New England Historical and Geological Society.
of Scots, from Gen. Depeyster.
tection, from Cobden Club.
of Free Trade, "
lements of Logic, from C. Baillairgé.
Iabit, "
tentiarum Græcarum, "
ichinæ and Trichinasis, "
stitution, Franchise of London, Stockholm, from C. Baillairgé.
th Regiment of Ohio, U.S.
h Regiment of Illinois, U.S.
Address, 1st Regiment, Connecticut.
rs Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography.
its resources.
cident Canadien.
etereological Service of Canada, 1880.
Epic.
ourney through three Wardles, from P. Robinson.

Observations on origin and classification of rocks.
On use of determining slag densities in smelting.
Four Pamphlets relating to Boston.
Bulletin of United States Irish Commission.
Transactions of New Zealand Institute.
Ethnological Report No. 1 of Smithsonian Institute.
Foreign Relations of the United States, 1881.
Free Library, Toronto
Inaugural Meeting of Royal Society of Canada.
Seven Italian Pamphlets from Smithsonian Institute.
Annals of National Museum of Mexico.
Two Publications of Manitoban Historical Society.
General Index to Contemporary, Fortnightly and 19th Century Reviews
The Seal Islands of Alaska, from Hon. D. A. Ross.
Perreault l'Ainée, Correspondence 1755-72, from J. M. LeMoine.
Histoire de l'Eglise Paroissiale de Québec, 1771, "
Procès-Verbaux, &c., G. Irvine.
Mémoire sur le Canada, 1760-62, G. Irvine.
Warrant, Lands, &c., 1764-67, "
Minutes of Quebec Agricultural Society, 1789, G. Irvine.
Eleven Manuscripts, &c., from Mrs. E. Burstall, per J. M. LeMoine.
Annual of the Royal Caledonia Curling Club for 1882 and 1883.
Four numbers of Proceedings of Boston Society of Natural History.
Four Reports from Harvard University.
Two Reports from Historical Society of State of Wisconsin.
Report of New York State Library.
Five Bulletins from American Geographical Society.
Three Transactions from New York Academy of Sciences.
Three Transactions from Royal Society of Dublin.
Proceedings of Philosophical Society of Glasgow.
Two numbers of American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal.
Two Memoirs of American Academy of Arts and Sciences.
35th Report of Trustees Astor Library.
Report of Progress 1879-80 of Geological Survey of Canada.
Supplementary Journal of Franklin Institute.
Report of the Smithsonian Institute.
Transactions of Academy of Science of St. Louis.
Bulletin of Boston Public Library.
Annuaire No. 7 of Institut Canadien of Quebec.
Four numbers of Royal United Service Institution Magazine.
Four Publications from Essex Institute.
61st Annual Report New York Mercantile Library.
Proceedings of Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.
Two Proceedings of Minnesota Academy of Sciences.
Transactions of Royal Historical Society of London.
Eight Transactions Royal Irish Academy.
Two Transactions Academy of Arts and Sciences, Connecticut.
Proceedings of Royal Colonial Institute.

## T OF BOOKS PURCHASED IN 1882.

uebec.
cky Mountains.
the Sandwich Islands.
cks in Japan.
of Letters (6 vols.),
entley, Gray, Swift,
cauley.
e by Frude.
igneur de St. Valier.
oyages, 3 vols.
Britannica, 8 vols., 7
Infancy and Growth.
Canada, 1755 to 1844.
ear Book, 1882.
London, vol. 6th.
Europe.
zores.

Across Patagonia.
Through Siberia, 2 vols.
Victor Hugo and his times.
Three in Norway.
Mozeley's Reminiscences of Oriel College.
Campaign for the Conquest of Canada.
Floating Matter in the Air.
Impostors and Adventurers.
Sergeant Ballantyne's Experiences.
Dominion Annual Register and Review.
Gazida.
Nouveau Récit de Voyages. } Marmier
Légendes des Plantes et Oiseaux. } Marmier
Les Fiancés du Spitzberg. } Marmier
Scot in British N. America, 3rd vol.
Classification of Books.
Bampton Lectures, 1880.

## EXCHANGE LIST, 1882.

American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.
Academy of Science, St. Louis.
American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Boston.
Academy of Sciences, Philadelphia.
Astor Library, New York City.
Antiquarian Society, Montreal.
American Geographical Society, New York.
American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.
Boston Public Library, Boston, Mass.
Bourne, Wm. O., Office of the Board of Education, New York City.
Buffalo Historical Society, Buffalo, N.Y.
Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, New Haven, Conn.
Central Ohio Scientic Association, Urbana, Ohio.
Canadian Institute, Toronto.
Dawson, Principal, McGill College.
Dawson, Dr. George M., Montreal.
Douglas, Prof. Jas., Phoenixville, Penn.
D'Abbadie, Antoine, Institut de France, Paris.
Dwight, T. F., Librarian Department of State, Washington, D.C., U.S.
Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.
Franklin Institute, Philadelphia.
Gould, S. C., Manchester Academy of Arts and Sciences, New Hampshire
Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
Historical Society, New York.
Historical and Genealogical Society, Boston, Mass.
Harvard College Library, Boston, Mass.
Historical Society, Helena, Montana.
Historical Society, Hartford, Conn.
Historical Society, Minnesota.
Institut Canadien, Montreal.
Institut Canadien, Quebec.
Institut Canadien, Ottawa.
Kingston, Prof., Observatory, Toronto.
Librarian Parliamentary Library, Ottawa.
Librarian Parliamentary Library, Toronto.
Librarian Parliamentary Library, Halifax.
Library, Parliament, Quebec.

A. T., Cor. Secty. Michigan Library Association.
Department of State, Washington, D.C., U.S.
Library, San Francisco.
Library, New York.
Finance, Ottawa.
Historical Society, Baltimore.
iversity Library.
State Library, Albany, N.Y.
Academy of Sciences, New York.
istory Society, Montreal.
a Historical Society, Halifax, N.S.
on. Gédéon, Quebec.
ce, Washington, D.C., U.S.
cademy of Science, Salem, Mass.
Francis, Boston, Mass.
cal Society of Glasgow.
nd Historical Society, Providence.
ety of Canada, Ottawa.
ety, Dublin, Ireland.

## VOLS. OF BOUND MAGAZINES, 1882.

| | | Vols. |
|---|---|---|
| London Illustrated News | 1882 | 2 |
| Punch | " | 1 |
| Canadian Illustrated News | " | 1 |
| London Quarterly | " | 1 |
| Edinburgh " | " | 1 |
| British " | " | 1 |
| Westminster Quarterly | " | 1 |
| Nineteenth Century | " | 2 |
| Fortnightly | " | 2 |
| Contemporary | " | 2 |
| North American Review | " | 2 |
| Atlantic Monthly | " | 2 |
| Harper's Magazine | " | 2 |
| Century | " | 2 |
| Chambers' Journal | " | 1 |
| All the Year Round | " | 2 |
| MacMillan's Magazine | " | 2 |
| Blackwood's " | " | 2 |
| Cornhill " | " | 2 |
| Notes and Queries | " | 2 |
| Magazine of American History | " | 2 |
| Art Journal | " | 1 |
| Scientific American | " | 1 |
| Scientific American, Supplement | " | 1 |
| Canadian Antiquarian | " | 1 |
| Bulletin of Nuttal Ornithological Club | " | 1 |
| Le Naturaliste Canadien | " | 1 |
| L'Opinion Publique | " | 1 |
| Revue des Deux Mondes | " | 6 |

## PAPERS ON THE TABLE.

Grip,
Forest and Stream,
Saturday Review,
Mail, London,
Public Opinion,
London Graphic,
Spectator,
Athenæum,
Pall Mall Budget.

## TREASURER'S REPORT.

*ıd Historical Society of Quebec, in account with Edwin Pope, Treasurer.*

DR.

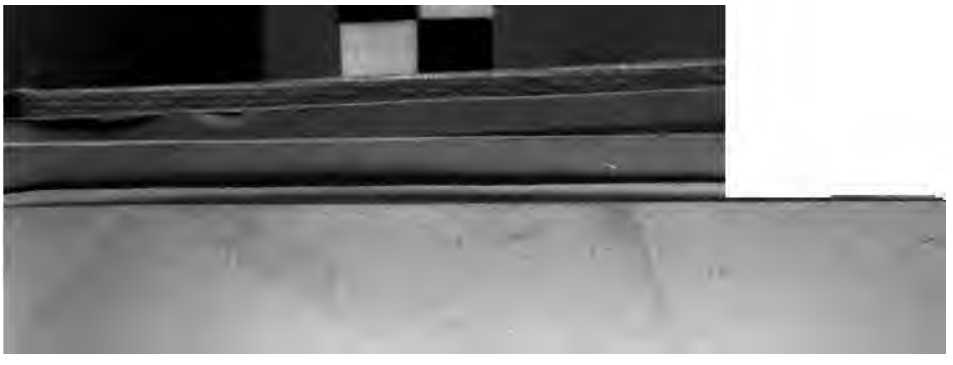
| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| aid for | Printing | $ 164 | 15 |
| " | Binding Manuscripts and Books | 194 | 62 |
| " | Books and Periodicals | 547 | 63 |
| " | Salaries and Collection | 344 | 60 |
| " | Rent and Taxes | 320 | 00 |
| " | Insurance | 30 | 00 |
| " | Fuel and Lights | 149 | 26 |
| " | Miscellaneous | 137 | 28 |
| e | | 29 | 49 |

## * Presidents of the Literary and Historical Society.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1824 | Sir N. F. Burton, Lt.-Governor. |
| 1828 | Hon. Mr. Reid, Chief Justice. |
| 1829 | Lieut. Frederick Baddeley, R.N. |
| 1830 | Hon. Jonathan Sewell, Chief Justice. |
| 1831 | " " " " " |
| 1832 | Hon. Andrew Stuart, Q.C. |
| 1834 | Hon. Wm. Sheppard. |
| 1835 | Joseph Skey, M.D. |
| 1836 | Rev. Daniel Wilkie, LL.D. |
| 1837 | Hon. Andrew Stuart, Q.C. |
| 1838 | " " " " |
| 1839 | Wm. Kelly, M.D., R.N. |
| 1840 | " " " " |
| 1841 | Hon. Wm. Sheppard. |
| 1842 | Hon. A. W. Cochrane. |
| 1843 | Hon. Wm. Sheppard. |
| 1844 | G. B. Faribault, Esq. |
| 1845 | Hon. A. W. Cochrane. |
| 1846 | John C. Fisher, Esq., LL.D. |
| 1847 | Hon. Wm. Sheppard. |
| 1851 | G. B. Faribault, Esq. |
| 1852 | " " " |
| 1853 | " " " |
| 1854 | " " " |
| 1855 | E. A. Meredith, M.A. |
| 1856 | W. Andrew, Esq. |
| 1857 | " " " |
| 1858 | G. B. Faribault, Esq. |
| 1859 | " " " |
| 1860 | E. A. Meredith, M.A. |
| 1861 | " " " |
| 1862 | John Langton, M.A. |
| 1863 | " " " |
| 1864 | " " " |
| 1865 | " " " |

* From list published by late L. P. Turcotte.

6.....Com. E. D. Ashe, Lieut R.N.
7..... " " "
8.....Hon. P. J. O. Chauveau, LL.D.
9.....Prof. James Douglas.
0..... ....Dr. W. J. Anderson.
1.....J. M. LeMoine, Esq.
2–3.....Dr. W. J. Anderson.
3.....Com. E. D. Ashe, Lieut. R.N., F.R.S.
4.....Prof. James Douglas.
5..... " " "
6.....James Stevenson, Esq.
7..... " " "
8..... " " "
9.....J. M. LeMoine, Esq., F.R.S.C.
0..... " " "
1..... " " "
2..... " " "
3.....Hon. D. A. Ross, Q.C.





# Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.

FOUNDED IN 1824.

*Incorporated by Royal Charter, 1831.*

PATRON;

**His Excellency, the MARQUIS OF LORNE, K.T., Governor-General of Canada.**

---

OFFICERS FOR THE YEAR 1883.

| | |
|---|---|
| D. A. ROSS | *President.* |
| GEO. STEWART, JR., F.R.S.C. | *Vice-Presidents.* |
| H. S. SCOTT | |
| W. HOSSACK | |
| J. WHITEHEAD | |
| E. POPE | *Treasurer.* |
| F. C. WURTELE | *Librarian.* |
| J. F. BELLEAU | *Recording Secretary.* |
| W. CLINT | *Corresponding Secretary.* |
| A. ROBERTSON | *Council Secretary.* |
| T. H. OLIVER | *Curator of Museum.* |
| R. MCLEOD | *Curator of Apparatus.* |
| J. M. LEMOINE, F.R.S.C. | *Additional Members of Council.* |
| C. TESSIER | |
| P. JOHNSTON | |
| J. HARPER, M.A. | |

## HONORARY MEMBERS.

Fleming, C. M. G., .E., F.R.S.C.

George Bancroft, New York.

Daniel Wilson, F.R.S.C., Toronto ity.

Bayfield, Prince Island.

Sir J. H. Lefroy, R.S.

Francis Parkman, LL.D., Boston.

Rev. Charles Rogers, LL.D., F. S. A., Scotland.

Wm.C.Howells,Esq.,Toronto.

Sydney Robjohns, Esq., F.R. Hist. Society, Scotland.

James Douglas, Esq., M.A., Philadelphia.

Wm. Kirby, F.R.S.C., author of "Le Chien d'Or," Nia-

## CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

Akins, Dr. Thos. B., Halifax, N.S.

Bury, Rt. Hon. Viscount, London.

Benavides, Don Antonio, H. E., President of the Royal Academy of History, Madrid.

Baird, Professor, Spencer F., Smithsonian Institute, Washington.

Bourne, Wm. Oland, New York.

Brackenbury, Col. H., R.A., England.

Bois, Abbé, L. E., F.R.S.C., Maskinongé.

Boucher de Boucherville, Hon., M.L.C., Boucherville.

Chauveau, Hon. P. J. O., LL.D., F.R.S.C.

Cherriman, J. B., M.A., F.R.S.C., Ottawa.

Chapleau, Hon. J. A., Q.C., M.P., Montreal.

Campbell, Prof. John, Montreal.

D'Abbadie, Antoine, Membre de l'Institut de France, Paris.

DeSola, Rev. A., Montreal.

DeSechelles, Desmazières, St. Malo, France.

De Salas, Don Javier, Member of the Royal Academy of History, Madrid, &c.

D'Urban, W. S. M., England.

Dansereau, Arthur, Montreal.

Fortin, Hon. P., M.P., M.D., F.R.S.C., Laprairie.

Filippi, le Comte Waldémar, Paris.

Graham, Lt.-Col. U. S. A., Chicago.

Gérin, E., Trois-Rivières.

Grazillier, L'Abbé, Saintes, France.

Henderson, W., Frampton.

Kingston, Professor G. T., University College, Toronto.

tour, Major, Mon-

B.A., St. John, N.B.

le Bellefeuille, E.,
l.

ur de Tilly, le
Hyppolite, Chan-
ès-Saintes, France.

Hon. F. G.,
St. John's, Quebec.

enry J., Ottawa.

Powis, Rev. H. D., Toronto.

Saban, Don Pedro, Secretary-General of the Royal Academy of History, Madrid.

Strange, T. B., Major-General, Manitoba.

Sewell, Rev. Henry, England.

Sinding, Professor Paul C., Copenhagan.

Sulte, Benj., F.R.S.C., Ottawa.

Tilley, Sir S. L., K.C.M.G.

# HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

PUBLISHED BY THE

# Quebec Literary and Historical Society,

SINCE ITS FOUNDATION UP TO 1883.

## FIRST SERIES.

1. Mémoires sur le Canada depuis 1749 jusqu'à 1760, en trois parties; avec cartes et plans lithographiés. VII et 211 p. in-8, *Québec*, 1838. Ré-imprimé en 1876.

   Ce mémoire a pour deuxième titre: "Mémoires du S—— de C——, contenant l'histoire du Canada durant la guerre et sous le gouvernement anglais." Il fut communiqué à la Société Littéraire et Historique par M. le colonel Christie. L'introduction donne à entendre que l'auteur du manuscrit pourrait être M. de Vauclain, officier de marine en 1759.

2. Collection de mémoires et de relations sur l'histoire ancienne du Canada, d'après des manuscrits récemment obtenu des archives et bureaux publics, en France. (8 mémoires reliés en 1 Vol.) in-8, *Québec*, 1840.

   1. Mémoire sur l'état présent du Canada, attribué à M. Talon. 7 p.
   2. Mémoire sur le Canada (1736), attribué à M. Hocquart. 14 p.
   3. Considérations sur l'état présent du Canada (1758). 29 p.
   4. Histoire du Canada par M. l'abbé de Belmont. 36 p.
   5. Relation du Siége de Québec en 1759, par une religieuse de l'Hôpital Générale de Québec. 24 p.
   6. Jugement impartial sur les opérations militaires de la campagne en Canada, en 1759. 8 p.
   7. Réflexions sommaires sur le commerce qui s'est fait en Canada. 8 p.
   8. Histoire de l'eau-de-vie en Canada. 29 p.

3. Voyages de découvertes au Canada entre les années 1534 et 1542, par Jacques-Cartier, le Sieur de Roberval, Jean Alphonse de Xaintonge, etc. Suivis de la description de Québec et de ses environs en 1608, et de divers extraits relativement au lieu de l'hivernement de Jacques-Cartier en 1535-36 (avec gravures *fac-simile*). Ré-imprimés sur d'anciennes relations. 130 p. in-8, *Québec*, 1843.

4. Mémoire du Sieur de Ramsay, commandant à Québec, au sujet de la reddition de cette ville le 18 septembre 1759, d'après un manuscrit aux archives du bureau de la marine, à Paris. 84 et 38 p. in-8, *Québec*, 1861. (Dû à M. Geo. B. Faribault.)

AL DOCUMENTS, 2nd Series. 1 vol., 8-vo., viz. :

act from a manuscript journal relating to the siege of Quebec in 1759, kept by colonel Malcolm Fraser..... 37 p. in-8.

nal du siége de Québec en 1759, par M. Jean Claude Panet. 24 p. in-8, Montréal, 1866.

campaign of Louisbourg, 1750-58....., attributed to Chevalier Johnstone. 28 p., 8-vo., Quebec, 1867.

ialogue in Hades, a parallel of military errors, of which the French and English armies were guilty, during the campaign of 1759 in Canada. 55 p., 8 vo., Quebec, 1866. Attributed to Chevalier Johnstone.

campaign of 1760 in Canada. 24 p., 8-vo. A narrative attributed to Chevalier Johnstone.

invasion of Canada in 1775. Letter attributed to major Henry Caldwell. 19 p., 8-vo., Quebec, 1866.

urnal of the expedition up the River St. Lawrence....., republished from the *New York Mercury* of 31st December, 1759. 19 p., 8-vo.

---

AL DOCUMENTS, 3rd Series. Published under the ices of the Literary and Historical Society. 1 vol., , Quebec and Montreal, 1871. Contents :

oire du Montréal, 1640-1672. 128 p., 8-vo. Ouvrage attribué à M. F. Dollier de Casson, S.S.

rnal des opérations de l'armée Américaine, lors de l'invasion du

# LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC.

## By-Laws Relating to the Library and Museum.

*(Passed at General Meeting, May 10th, 1882.)*

1. The specimens in Natural History, and other articles contained in the collection of the Museum, the apparatus, the scientific instruments, the books and works in the Library, which the Council may deem of rarity or value, Encyclopedias, Dictionaries, and books of reference, shall not be lent or taken from the Society's rooms; the Council shall, however, be authorized to lend any of the books, apparatus and scientific instruments to Members of the Society, or other scientific persons applying for the same, upon a representation, in writing, that the articles required are necessary to enable them to carry out investigations connected with the objects of the Institution, such parties undertaking to be responsible for the safety of the articles borrowed, and to return the same within a limited time, and also to make good the damage they in the meantime sustain.

2. The books and works in the Library, except those mentioned in the preceding section, may be lent to Members of the Society for a period not exceeding *fourteen days*, and no one shall be permitted to have more than *two* volumes at one time, without special permission.

All *injuries* to books, and all *losses* shall be made good to the satisfaction of the Librarian, by the person liable therefor. Books *scribbled or written in* or *mutilated*, shall be deemed lost. A person losing one volume of a work shall be held liable for the *whole*. Every volume detained above *three* months shall be deemed lost, and the value of such book or set shall be paid by the person detaining it.

Members borrowing books from the Library are not permitted to lend them to other persons.

No person shall be permitted to take out books till the Rules and By-Laws of the Society have been fully complied with.

By order, J. M. LEMOINE,
*President.*

N. B.—Members returning Books are requested to satisfy themselves that the Assistant Librarian has credited them with the book returned.

# FORM OF BEQUEST OR DEVISE BY WILL

TO THE

## Quebec Literary and Historical Society.

I give and bequeath to the Literary and Historic
Society of the City of Quebec, incorporated by Roy
Charter, dated 5th October, 1831, and amended in the 12th
year of the reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, Chapte
152, of the Statutes of the Province of Canada. dated 25th
April, 1849, the sum of..... or.....shar
of stocks in the Bank of.....standing in my nam
on the books of the said bank, or of Debentures (describ
them) or property (describe it) upon trust to be by the said
Literar
the sai

# TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

# Literary and Historical Society

## OF QUEBEC.

No. 18.

SESSIONS OF 1883 TO 1886.

QUEBEC:
PRINTED AT THE "MORNING CHRONICLE" OFFICE.
1886.

n.s.
no.18

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# LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

—§—

## ANNUAL MEETING, 9TH JANUARY, 1884.

—§—

The Council of the Literary and Historical Society have the honour to submit the following report of the working of the society, since the last annual general meeting :—

They note with regret the loss, by death, of three prominent members, viz., Mr. H. S. Scott, who was one of the oldest, most zealous and devoted members, and for several years one of the Vice-Presidents ; of Dr. James Sewell, who was a life member, and Mr. Justice Alleyn.

During the year there were ten resignations, and six members have removed from the city, while on the other hand twenty new names have been added to the list, and five corresponding members have been elected.

The following papers were read before the society during the past year, viz :—

February 2, 1883, "Great explorers before Columbus," by John Reade, F.R.S.C., (Montreal.)

February 23, 1883, "Origin and development of the Greek Drama," by John Harper, M.A., Ph. D.

March 7, 1883, "Genius and Life-Work of Longfellow," by George Stewart, jr., F.R.S.C.

December 7, 1883, "Naples," by Hon. D. A. Ross, Q.C.

The Library has been increased by the addition of [illegible] volumes, which have been carefully selected, and the [illegible] have been re-arranged, so that greater facility in [illegible] books in the departments to which they belong [illegible]

arrived at; further details in this particular will be found in the Librarian's report.

During the past year our Library was considerably enriched by valuable donations of maps and charts, etc., from the Smithsonian Institute and other friends, and several important gifts and exchanges have been added to the Museum.

The Treasurer's report shows the funds of the society to be in a highly satisfactory condition.

The retiring Council would recommend that certain issues of the Transactions and Historical Documents already published by the society, but now out of print, should be republished.

Your Council joined with many other societies in a congratulatory address to the well known philanthropist, Sir Moses Montifiore, on his entrance upon his 100th year, and forwarded the same by a recent mail.

The members must have observed with great pleasure and satisfaction the improved light in the rooms during the evenings. The Council and members are indebted to the kindness and generosity of an associate member, Mr. R. R. Dobell, for the new reflector and lamp, which he gave to the society early in the season.

The lease of the present spacious rooms was continued on the same terms, and the society has reason to congratulate itself in having its Library in such a commodious and central locality.

---

The Librarian, Mr. F. C. Wurtele, then submitted the following report:—

The Librarian in submitting his report at the expiration of his second term of office, is pleased to say that there has been no falling off in the number of members using the Library and rooms of the society. Two hundred and nineteen members have availed themselves of the privilege of

taking out books, and the number taken out during the past year has been four hundred and forty-five volumes more than in the previous year.

The issues during the year have been 3,018 volumes. The number of volumes remaining out overtime at the close of this year is two hundred and thirty-six. The members are reminded that the limit for keeping out books is 14 days, and also that no one is allowed to have more than two volumes at one time without special permission. There have been two hundred and seventy-four volumes added to the Library as by appended lists—one hundred and sixty by purchase, the remainder comprise twenty-six bound volumes and one hundred and nine unbound, and maps by donation and exchange. The number of periodicals, bound or otherwise, issued, has been 1,101,: the most in request have been *Cornhill*, *All the Year Round*, *Chambers' Journal*, and *Harper's Magazine*. The *Popular Science Monthly*, subscribed to for the first time this year, is well liked and will prove to be one of the favourite magazines on the table. Nearly all the books on the shelves have been re-arranged, and, where it could be done some new shelving has been put in, but still more room is desirable. In examining the stock of the society's publications it is found that some numbers have been all disposed of. It would be advisable to reprint, when practicable, such of the Transactions and Historical Documents as are out of print, thereby increasing the demand for them, when it is known that full s can be supplied.

Quebec, 31st December, 1883.

---

Messrs. Gustavus G. Stuart and Lorenzo Evan appointed scrutineers, and the election of of ensuing year, was then proceeded with, the tlemen being elected :—

*President*.....Hon. D. A. Ross, Q.C.
*1st Vice-President*.....George Stewart, Jr.,. F.R.S.C.
*2nd* " .....W. Hossack.
*3rd* " .....J. Whitehead.
*4th* " .....C. Tessier.
*Treasurer*.....E. Pope.
*Librarian*.....F. C. Wurtele.
*Recording-Secretary*. .....J. F. Belleau.
*Corresponding-Secretary*...F. H Oliver.
*Council Secretary*.....A. Robertson.
*Curator of Museum*.....J. U. Gregory.
*Curator of Apparatus*.....R. McLeod.

*Additional members of Council.*—J. M. LeMoine, F.R.S.C., W. Clint, J. Harper, Ph. D., Gustavus G. Stuart.

It was moved by Mr. G. G. Stuart, seconded by Mr. Wm. Hossack, that the reports be adopted and published.

———§———

## Annual Meeting of the Literary and Historical Society. 14th January, 1885.

Quebec, 14th January, 1885.

The Council of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec have the honour to report as follows :—

They regret that for the first time for many years past the usual pecuniary aid has not been extended to them by the Provincial government.

They are not conscious of having failed throughout all those years in judiciously applying towards the fulfilment of the duties which they owe to the promoters of this institution and the public, those funds which have been hitherto so generously bestowed upon them.

The subject which must now be discussed is whether we shall seek to maintain our present freedom from debt by means of a higher annual subscription, or by adhering for some time longer to the present rate in the hope that an increase in the roll of membership may enable us to overcome the threatened difficulty.

We have certainly reduced our expenditure to a minimum, in accordance with the well-considered and fully-discussed suggestions of a committee specially appointed for the purpose of devising a practical mode of accommodating our new arrangements to our altered financial position.

This year we have to deplore the decease of three of our members and most excellent citizens, Messrs. MacLean Stewart, J. B. Renaud and J. Brown, Jnr.

On the twentieth of May last, Dr. Harper, a distinguished member of this institution, attended on our behalf the meeting of the Royal Society of Canada, and submitted a report.

The opening lecture for the session of 1884-85 was delivered by the President.

The following papers were read before the society during the past year :—

February 18:—Literature and Science, by Matthew Arnold, Esq., D.C.L., of London, England.

February 25:—History and Formation of the French language, by Prof. DeKastner.

March 11:—New France from the first administration of Frontenac to the Massacre of Lachine, by George Stewart, Jr., Esq, 1st Vice-President.

December 16:—King Edward the First, by Hon. D. A. Ross, President.

Matthew Arnold, Esq., D.C.L., of England, was elected an honorary, and R. A. Brock, Esq., of Richmond, Virginia, a corresponding member of this society.

The Treasurer, Mr. Edwin Pope, then submitted the statement of accounts as follows:—

Quebec, January 13th, 1885.

The Treasurer begs to report, as follows :—

| | |
|---|---|
| The number of Associate members at the beginning of 1884, was.... | 261 |
| There were elected during the year..... | 23 |
| The number withdrawn was..... | 45 |
| The number now on the rolls is,— | |
| Associates..... | 239 |
| Honorary..... | 23 |
| Corresponding..... | 42 |

An abstract of receipts and disbursements is appended. Over five hundred dollars of the disbursements represent accounts of 1883, which were paid out of the Government grant for that year, shown on the credit side of the account.

It is to be hoped that the Government will be able to renew the grant to the society which was withdrawn last year.

| | |
|---|---|
| Subscriptions due by Associate members for 1884, amount to..... | $292 |
| And for previous years, to..... | 132 |

Most of this will be collected, and it is all needed to pay accounts now standing against the society. It would greatly assist the working of the society if the members would observe the rules which calls for the payment of their annual subscriptions at the beginning of the year.

---

*L. & H. Society of Quebec in Account with Edwin Pope, Treasurer.*

DR.

| | |
|---|---|
| By Cash paid for Books and Periodicals | $ 316 09 |
| " Binding | 169 48 |
| " Printing | 171 40 |
| " Rent | 140 00 |
| " Fuel and Light | 292 40 |
| " Salaries | 336 55 |
| " Miscellaneous | 160 40 |
| By Balance | 12 01 |
| | $1,598 33 |

CR.

| | |
|---|---|
| By Balance from 1883 | $ 202 08 |
| " Government grant for 1883 | 562 50 |
| " Cash for Historical documents, periodicals, &c., &c | 36 75 |
| " Members' subscriptions for 1884 | 668 00 |
| " " " arrears | 129 00 |
| | $1,598 33 |
| By Balance | $ 12 01 |

Quebec, January 12th, 1885.

EDWIN POPE,
Treasurer.

Examined and found correct.

LORENZO EVANS,
Auditor.

Quebec, 12th January, 1885.

The Librarian, Mr. F. C. Wurtele, then submitted the following report :—

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

The Librarian in submitting his annual report is sorry to say that want of funds has greatly curtailed the purchase of books, and the number of members taking out books has fallen off. One hundred and seventy-five members have availed themselves of the privilege of taking out books during the past year, being forty-four less than in the previous year. The number of volumes so taken out is 3,104, of which 239 volumes remained out on the 31st December, the greater portion being kept over the time allowed by the rules, namely, fourteen days.

Twenty-five volumes of new books have been purchased, and 39 bound volumes of magazines have been placed on the shelves. Fifty-four bound and one hundred and fifty-seven paper covered volumes, besides maps, have been received as donations, exchanges with other societies and from the Dominion and different Provincial governments, making in all 275 additions to the library as detailed in the accompanying lists. Almost all of the publications and maps of the Canadian Geological Survey have been obtained by exchange, and the set is as complete as it can now be made.

Now that the historical documents published by the society are more sought after, the librarian would ask the incoming council to reprint the 24-page document on the campaign in 1760, by Chevalier Johnston. It is now out of print, thus making the second series of historical documents incomplete. Of the books taken out there were 643 bound and 485 loose volumes of the magazines now subscribed for. The society will endeavour to keep the table as well supplied with magazines and papers as heretofore.

By order of the Council the Librarian sent to all the members and a few others, a circular containing a list of

all the periodicals published by the society, with the view of increasing the membership and also to show what, among other advantages, the society has to offer them in return for their annual subscription of four dollars.

It was moved by Mr. R. Turner, seconded by Mr. Archibald Campbell,—That the reports of the Council, Treasurer and Librarian be adopted and published.

R. McLeod and Gus. G. Stuart, Esquires, were appointed scrutineers.

The following gentlemen were then elected for the ensuing year :—

*President*.....George Stewart, Jr., F.R.S.C.
1*st Vice-President*.....William Hossack.
2*nd* " .....J. Whitehead.
3*rd* " .....Cyr. Tessier.
4*th* " ..... .....John Harper, Ph. D.
*Treasurer*.....Edwin Pope.
*Librarian*.....Fred. C. Wurtele.
*Recording-Secretary*.....J. F. Belleau.
*Corresponding-Secretary*.....Theophilus H. Oliver.
*Council-Secretary*.....Alexander Robertson.
*Curator Museum*.....J. U. Gregory.
" *Apparatus* .....R. McLeod.

*Additional members of Council*—J. M. LeMoine, F.R.S.C., Gustavus G. Stuart, H. M. Price and Lt.-Col. Cotton.

Mr. R. Turner was appointed Auditor for the ensuing year.

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# LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

—§—

**Annual Meeting, 13th January, 1886.**

—§—

The Annual Report for the past year was read by the President, as follows:—

The President and Council of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, in submitting their reports for the past year to this annual meeting, have to express regret that the society's finances are not in as good a condition as they would wish. It has been found difficult to make the revenue balance with the expenditure, and the library, which ought to have been enriched during the year with many new volumes of value and merit, has consequently suffered. The expense of carrying on the work of the institution has been reduced to a minimum, and, in all directions, the greatest economy has been practised. The Council is anxious to increase the number of books in the library, but the funds are so low, and our facilities for raising money are so limited, that we have reluctantly been forced to make but few additions. It has been suggested that the annual subscription might be increased to $5, but the Council hesitates to recommend the change at present, and prefers to ask the members to make a strong and vigorous personal canvass to secure an increase in the roll of membership. The list at this moment contains 221 names,—a wholly inadequate number to enable us to carry out our well defined objects, and to render the society as attractive and useful as we would wish. With persistent individual effort, we believe that at least 400 new members could be secured, and

with that increased number on our books no difficulty would be experienced in placing the society on a flourshing and hopeful basis.

During the year 24 new members were elected, and 12 withdrew. By the hand of death, six of our most esteemed members were removed from among us. These were Messrs. W. Darling Campbell, Ninian Davidson, E. C. Burke, William Home, Michael Stevenson, and Dr. Jackson.

His Excellency the Marquis of Lansdowne, Governor-General of Canada, was elected patron and honorary member of the society. The following letter of acceptance was received :—

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,

OTTAWA, Dec. 15, 1885.

DEAR MR. STEWART,—I am desired by His Excellency the Governor-General, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 14th inst., announcing the fact that you had forwarded the diploma of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, for His Excellency's acceptence.

His Excellency desires me to inform you that the diploma arrived this morning, and begs you will convey his thanks to the society for the honour conferred upon him.

I am, dear Sir,
Yours very truly,
(Signed,) MELGUND,
Governor-General's Secretary.

GEORGE STEWART, jr., Esq.,
Quebec.

I. Allen Jack, Esq, D.C.L, Recorder of the city of St. John, N.B., and B. Percy Scott, Esq., M.A., of Windsor, N.S., were elected corresponding members.

In May last Dr. Harper attended the annual meeting of the Royal Society of Canada, at Ottawa, as delegate of this

society, where he presented a report of our proceedings, and read a valuable paper before the English literature section of the Royal Society, which the Printing Committee of that body ordered to be published in its volume of transactions. The opening lecture for the session of 1884-5 was delivered on the 16th of December, 1884, by the president of the year, Hon. David A. Ross ; subject, "King Edward the 1st." The second lecture was delivered by Lt-Col. Wm. Rhodes ; subject, " Geography in connection with the Province of Quebec."

The opening lecture of the course of 1885-86 was delivered by the President, George Stewart, jr, F. R. G. S., on the 19th of November last, subject : "The administration of Denonville and the second term of Frontenac." The second lecture on the 3rd December was by Mr. W. A. Ashe, subject : "A year's experience amongst the Eskimos in Hudson's Straits." The third lecture on the 11th December, was by Lt-Col. Rhodes, subject : " Burmah and the Indo-Chino territory in its connection with the Canadian Pacific Railway." The fourth lecture on the 18th December, was by J. M. LeMoine, Esq., subject : " Impressions de Voyage, Sir Walter Scott, sa carrière, ses écrits, son château d'Abbotsford." The fifth lecture on the 30th December, was by the Hon. Judge Routhier, subject : "Une course dans le Nord de l'Afrique."

The reports of the Librarian and Treasurer are herewith submitted.

The Librarian, Mr. Fred. C. Wurtele, then read his report :—

This year the Librarian has nothing of importance to report. The number of volumes borrowed by members of the society during the year, is, 2,234 : which is 870 less than the previous year. The reason of this falling off, is owing to the fact that few new books have been purchased. The magazines and periodicals as usual form a large portion of

the issues. Of the above number, 183 volumes still remain out over 14 days, the time specified by the rules.

Two hundred and six volumes have been added to the Library.

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RECEIPTS.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Balance from 1834 | $ 12 01 | |
| Papers sold | 31 75 | |
| Documents sold | 13 50 | |
| Members' fees | 592 00 | |
| do arrears | 154 00 | |
| Balance | 1 19 | |
| | | $804 45 |

EXPENDITURE.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Books and periodicals | $191 29 | |
| Printing and advertising | 180 70 | |
| Rent | 60 00 | |
| Fuel and light | 86 92 | |
| Salaries | 220 00 | |
| Miscellaneous | 65 54 | |
| | | $804 45 |

The unexpected withdrawal of the Government's grant, two years ago, left the society in debt. The amount still due to various creditors is about $550; to balance this there is about $400, yet to be collected, for members' subscriptions leaving a deficit of $150.

EDWIN POPE,
Treasurer.

The following gentlemen were then elected office-bearers for the ensuing year :—

| | |
|---|---|
| *President*..... ..... | George Stewart, Jr., F.R.G.S., F.R.S.C. |
| *Vice-Presidents*..... ..... | Wm. Hossack.<br>Cyr. Tessier.<br>John Harper, Ph. D., F.E.I.S.<br>J. Whitehead. |
| *Treasurer*..... ..... | Edwin Pope. |
| *Librarian*..... ..... | Fred. C. Wurtele. |
| *Recording Secretary*..... | J. F. Belleau. |
| *Corresponding Secretary*..... | W. S. Bennett. |
| *Council Secretary*..... | Alexander Robertson. |
| *Curator of Museum*..... | J. U. Gregory. |
| *Curator of Apparatus*..... | R. McLeod. |
| *Additional Members of Council.* | J. M. LeMoine, F.R.S.C.<br>Herbert M. Price.<br>Hon. D. A. Ross, Q.C.<br>Peter Johnston. |

Mr. R. Turner was appointed Auditor for the ensuing year.

# Presidents of the Literary and Historical Society.

1824.....Sir N. F. Burton, Lt.-Governor.
1828.....Hon. Mr. Reid, Chief Justice.
1829.....Lieut. Frederick Baddeley, R. N.
1830.....Hon. Jonathan Sewell, Chief Justice.
1831..... " " " " "
1832.....Hon. Andrew Stuart, Q.C.
1834.....Hon. Wm. Sheppard.
1835.....Joseph Skey, M.D.
1836.....Rev. Daniel Wilkie, LL.D.
1837.....Hon. Andrew Stuart, Q.C.
1838..... " " " "
1839.....Wm. Kelly, M.D., R.N.
1840..... " " " "
1841.....Hon. Wm. Sheppard.
1842.....Hon. A. W. Cochrane.
1843 .....Hon. Wm. Sheppard.
1844.....G. B. Faribault, Esq.
1845.....Hon. A. W. Cochrane.
1846.....John C. Fisher, Esq., LL.D.
1847.....Hon. Wm. Sheppard.
1851.....G. B. Faribault, Esq.
1852..... " " "
1853..... " " "
1854..... " " "
1855.....E. A. Meredith, Esq., M.A.
1856.....W. Andrew, Esq.
1857..... " " "
1858.....G. B. Faribault, Esq.
1859..... " " "
1860.....E. A. Meredith, Esq , M.A.
1861..... " " "
1862.....John Langton, Esq., M.A.
1863..... " " "
1864..... " " "
1865..... " " "

1866.....Com. E. D. Ashe, Lieut. R.N.
1867..... " " " "
1868.....Hon. P. J. O. Chauveau, LL.D.
1869.....Prof. James Douglas.
1870.....Dr. W. J. Anderson.
1871.....J. M. LeMoine, Esq.
1872-3.....Dr. W. J. Anderson.
1873.....Com. E. D. Ashe, Lieut. R.N., F.R.S.
1874.....Prof. James Douglas.
1875..... " " "
1876.....James Stevenson, Esq.
1877..... " " "
1878..... " " "
1879.....J. M. LeMoine, Esq., F.R.S.C.
1880..... " " "
1881..... " " "
1882..... " " "
1883.....Hon. D. A. Ross, Q.C.
1884..... " " " "
1885.....Geo. Stewart, jr. Esq., F.R.S.C., F.R.G.S.
1886..... " " " " "

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# Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.

FOUNDED IN 1824,

*Incorporated by Royal Charter, 1831.*

PATRON :

HIS EXCELLENCY, THE MOST HON., THE MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE, G.C.M.G., GOVERNOR GENERAL OF CANADA.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Sandford Fleming, C. M. G., LL. D., C.E., F.R.S.C.
Honble. George Bancroft, D. C. L., Washington.
President Daniel Wilson, LL. D., F. R.S.C., Toronto University.
General Sir J. H. Lefroy, R. A., F.R.S.
T. Sterry Hunt, LL.D., F.R.S., F.R.S.C., Montreal.
Charles Lanman, Esq., Washington, D.C.
John Miller Grant, Esq., London.
John Langton, M.A., Toronto.
E. A. Meredith, LL.D., Toronto.
E T. Fletcher, Esq., British Columbia.
Matthew Arnold, D.C.L., London.
Francis Parkman, LL.D., Boston.
Rev. Charles Rogers, LL.D., F.S.A., Scotland.
Wm. C. Howells, Esq., Virginia.
Sydney Robjohns, Esq., F.R. Hist. Society, Scotland.
James Douglas, Esq., M.A., Philadelphia.
Wm. Kirby, F.R.S.C., author of "Le Chien d'Or," Niagara.
John Reade, F.R.S.C., author of "The Prophecy of Merlin," Montreal.
James Ashbury, Esq., England.
Professor Goldwin Smith, D. C. L., LL.D., F.R.S C., Toronto.
Henry Phillips, Jr., Philadelphia.
Joseph W. Lawrence, Esq., St. John, N.B.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

Akins, Dr. Thos. B., Halifax, N.S.
Bury, Rt. Hon. Viscount, London.
Benavides, Don Antonio, H.E., President of the Royal Academy of History, Madrid.
Baird, Spencer F., Professor Smithsonian Institute, Washington.
Bourne, Wm. Oland, New York.
Brackenbury, Col. H., R.A., England.
Bois, Abbé, L. E., F.R.S C., Maskinongé.
Boucher de Boucherville, Hon., M.L C., Boucherville.
Brock, R. A., Richmond, Virginia.
Chauveau, Hon. P. J. O., LL.D., F.R.S.C., Montreal.
Cherriman, J. B., M.A., F.R.S.C., Ottawa.
Chapleau, Hon. J. A., Q.C., P.C., M.P., Montreal.
Campbell, Prof. John, Montreal.
D'Abbadie, Antoine, [illegible] de l'Institut de France, [illegible]
Dent, John Charles, [illegible]
DeSechelles, Des[illegible] Malo, France.
DeSalas, Don Ja[illegible] Royal Academy [illegible] &c.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.—*Continued.*

D'Urban, W. S. M., England.
Dansereau, Arthur, Montreal.
Fortin, Hon. P., M. P., M. D., F.R.S.C., Laprarie.
Filippi, le Comte Waldémar, Paris.
Graham, Lt.-Col. U.S.A., Chicago.
Gérin, E., Trois-Rivières.
Grazillier, L'Abbé, Saintes, France.
Henderson, W., Frampton.
Jack, I. Allen, D.C.L., St. John, N.B.
Kingston, Professor G. T., University College, Toronto.
Huguet-Latour, Major, Montreal.
Lee, G. Herbert, B.A., St. John, N.B.
Lefebvre de Bellefeuille, E., Montreal.
Le Gardeur de Tilly, le Comte Hyppolite, Chantreau-près-Saintes, France.
Marchand, Hon. F. G., F.R.S.C., St. John's, Quebec.
Morgan, Henry J., Ottawa.
Noble, Capt. R.A., F.R.S., F.R.A.S., England.
Provencher, Colonel N., Montreal.
Powis, Rev. H. D., Toronto.
Roberts, Professor, Chas. G. D., M.A., Windsor, N.S.
Saban, Don Pedro, Secretary-General of the Royal Academy of History, Madrid.
Scott, B. Percy, M.A., Windsor, N.S.
Simmonds, Peter Lund, London, Eng.
Strange, T. Bland, Major-General, Manitoba.
Sinding, Professor Paul C., Copenhagan.
Sulte, Benjamin, F.R.S.C., Ottawa.
Tilley, Sir S. L., K.C.M.G., C.B., Lt.-Governor of New Brunswick.
Wynne, Thomas H., Richmond, Va.

## COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1886.

| | |
|---|---|
| GEORGE STEWART, JR., F.R.G.S., F.R.S.C. | *President.* |
| WILLIAM HOSSACK | *Vice-Presidents.* |
| CYRILLE TESSIER | |
| JOHN M. HARPER, Ph. D., F.E.I.S. | |
| J. WHITEHEAD | |
| EDWIN POPE | *Treasurer.* |
| F. C. WURTELE | *Librarian.* |
| J. F. BELLEAU | *Recording Secretary.* |
| W. S. BENNETT | *Corresponding Secretary.* |
| A. ROBERTSON | *Council Secretary.* |
| J. U. GREGORY | *Curator of Museum.* |
| R. MCLEOD | *Curator of Apparatus.* |
| J. M. LEMOINE, F.R.S.C | *Additional Members of Council.* |
| HERBERT M. PRICE | |
| HON. D. A. ROSS, Q.C | |
| PETER JOHNSTON | |

———:o:———

S. MACDONALD ..... *In charge of the Rooms.*

# HISTOIRE DU CANADA,

## PAR M. L'ABBÉ DE BELMONT.

Reprinted from the *Collection de Mémoires* published by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, in 1840, from a manuscript copy in the *Bibliothèque du Roi à Paris.*

L'AN 1608 M. Champlain fonda la ville de Québec, et fit 1608
alliance avec les Algonquins qui y habitoient. Il les mena à la guerre contre les Agniers dans la Rivière de Richelieu : il les défit par ses mousquetiers au Lac Champlain.

Il fit durant vingt ans la découverte des Hurons, Athistarëronrons, Neutres, etc. ; fut plusieurs fois en France ; en fut Lieutenant du Roy sous MM. de Soissons, Montmorency, Ventadour. Il fit venir les Récollets en 1615 ; puis les Jé- 1615.
suites furent fondés en 1625 par un homme qui, entrant 1625.
dans la compagnie, donna 16,000 écus.

Québec fut assiégé en 1629 par trois bâtiments anglois, 1629.
et capitula après avoir attendu secours pendant un an ; et selon la capitulation se rendit. Deux ans après, c'est-à-dire en 1632, il fut rendu, avec accord que le païs serait aux François depuis.....méridien, et au.....En 1640 les 1640.
Hollandois s'établirent sur la Rivière d'Orange dit Ohioye, donnant des armes aux Iroquois. Les Pères Lanoue, Le Jeune, Lemoine, Brébeuf, Lallemant et Buteux furent aux Hurons, et composèrent une Grammaire huronne.

M. de la Doversière, Trésorier, à la Flèche, homme d'une grande sainteté, eut une vision de l'Isle de Montréal, avec mouvement d'y établir une Colonie ; il consulte le Père la

Chaise, qui approuve ce dessein ; le dit à M. le Baron de Fancamp et se lie avec luy. M. de la Doversière va à Paris pour ce dessein, rencontre M. Ollier au Luxembourg, lequel l'embrasse, luy dit son dessein, l'encourage ; lui donne cent louis d'or, et s'unit avec eux : va négocier avec M. de Lauson, à qui l'isle appartenoit, accompagné du Père Lallemant. Le Traité entre M. de Lauson et la Compagnie de Montréal se passe à Vienne. A son retour, M. de la Doversière logea dans une auberge où il fit rencontre d'un gentilhomme Champenois qui venoit de la guerre de Hollande, nommé M. de Maisonneuve, qui, entendant parler d'un embarquement qu'on faisoit pour Montréal, vint s'offrir au Père Lallemant, qui le donna à M. de la Doversière.

Tous les Ducs, Princes, et toute la Cour, fournirent ou donnèrent des priviléges d'indépendance au Gouverneur, etc. Le premier embarquement fut de 75,000 francs et de 45 hommes. Mademoiselle Manse, native de Langres, entendant parler avec zèle à un Chanoine de Madame de la Peltrie qui avoit amené des Ursulines en Canada, et des Hospitalières fondées par Made. D'Aiguillon, sentit un désir de venir en Canada ; elle le communiqua, vint à Paris, parler au Père Lallemant, au Père le Jeune qui, à la seconde visite, approuva sa vocation qui se divulgue, enfin qui est approuvée par le Père Rapin, Provincial des Récollets.

Madame de Villevoisin et Madame de Bullion luy proposent le gouvernement de l'Hospital, lui donnent 22,000 lbs. Elle part pour la Rochelle, y prend, par le moyen du Père la Place, la connoissance de MM. de la Doversière et Fancamp ; s'embarque en un navire, séparée de M. de Maisonneuve, qui relâcha trois fois et perdit son chirurgien.

Mademoiselle Manse arriva la première. On fut fort surpris à Québec du pouvoir et de l'indépendance de M. de Maisonneuve. On voulut détourner Mademoiselle Manse. M. de Maisonneuve arriva à Tadoussac où il trouva M. Carron, Amiral de la flotte de Canada, qui lui donna un

chirurgien. M. de Montmagny, Lieutenant du Roy, voulut détourner M. de Maisonneuve de venir à Montréal, et lui offrit l'Isle d'Orléans. Il lui dit qu'il ne venoit pas pour délibérer, et quand tous les arbres seroient changés en Iroquois il feroit sa commission. M. de Montmagny changea de pensée, et l'accompagna à Montréal au mois d'Octobre.

Au retour M. de Maisonneuve, M. de Puiseaux, vieillard, 1641.
lui donna sa belle maison d'habitation et s'associa à la Compagnie; il fit bâtir une bagarre, deux barques, avec quoy il partit le 8 May. M. de Montmagny vint à Montréal, et l'on y dit la première messe le 18 May 1641. On choisit un angle de terre que fait une rivière qui entre dans le fleuve vis-à-vis un petit islet, pour bastir un Fort, à quoy on s'employa toute l'année sans estre apperçu des Iroquois.

On eut nouvelle que la Compagnie étoit de 45 personnes de qualité : MM. de Liancourt, Barreau, Marguerie, Gofreventy, Morangis, Chodebonne, Plessis, Mombart, St. Frémin, Orval, Drouart, Le Prestre, M. de Bretonvilliers, de Kélus, Madame la Princesse, la Chancellière, Villeclavin, surtout Madame de Bullion.

Le 19 Mars 1642, la charpente fut levée; on mit le canon 1642.
dessus. On avoit amené 12 hommes, entre lesquels estoient M. Minime, charpentier.

En 1643 M. de Maisonneuve fut en France, et Madlle. 1643.
Manse consentit que les 22,000 lbs. qui estoient en dépost des bienfaits de Made. de Bullion, fussent employés à engager cent hommes, lesquels défricheroient cent arpens de terre, qui seroient le payement des 22,000 livres, et qui sauveroient le pays et l'hospital; ce qui fut fait.

Dix Algonquins aïant tué un Iroquois en leur pays, furent poursuivis par la rivière jusqu'au Fort. Les Iroquois qui ne connaissoient point ce poste le reconnurent.

Au mois de Juin 1643, les Hurons descendant en traitte, ayant trouvé des Iroquois à la Chine, leur dirent notre poste et notre nombre. Quarante Iroquois montent et surprennent

six hommes qui scioient dans les bois, en tuent deux, emmènent le reste, et le lendemain les Hurons furent eux-mêmes taillés en pièces ; il ne s'en sauva que 30, qui furent reçus au Fort. Les Iroquois passèrent à la Prairie et ne purent emporter tout le castor. L'un des François se sauva et vint reprendre le castor abandonné, et passa la rivière sur un méchant canot.

1645. En 1645 M. Daillebout, gentilhomme de Champagne, sa femme et sa belle-sœur, vinrent s'habituer icy. Le Roy Louis Treize donna un Navire de 250 tonneaux à la Compagnie, du Canon, etc. Madame de Bullion fait une donation de 2,000 livres de rente pour l'Hospital, 12,000 lbs. pour bastir, 2,000 lbs. à Mlle. Manse pour faire des aumosnes, et on mit le tout entre les mains du procureur de la Compagnie. M. de Puiseaux se répent de sa donation : on la luy rend. Madame de la Peltrie descend à Québec. M. de Maisonneuve, avec 30 hommes, fait un combat contre les Iroquois et fait une belle retraite, faisant passer devant tout son monde, et, restant seul, il se battit contre le commandant des Iroquois et le tua d'un coup de pistolet. L'un de ses pistolets ayant raté, le corps du défunt amusa les Iroquois, et donna lieu à la retraite : c'étoit dans les neiges, au-dessus de chez La Vigne.

1646. En 1646 Made. de Bullion envoya 2,000 livres, trois Chapelles. M. de la Barre, grand hypocrite, amena 60 hommes ; on bastit l'Hospital. Un Iroquois monte sur un arbre ; on place par mégarde un corps de garde au pied : on fit une paix fourrée. Il fit achever le Fort, faire des boutiques ; les pieux estoient de deux brasses, et il y avoit quatre bastions.

M. de Maisonneuve repasse en France pour la mort de son père. Madame de Bullion met vingt mille livres en rente entre les mains de la Compagnie, et envoye deux mille livres à Madlle. Manse. M. Daillebout demeure Commandant en 1646. M. Lemoine, qui avoit servy les Pères, fut

envoyé demeurer icy pour estre l'interprète ; en 1641, il vint de France.

En 1647 M. de Maisonneuve revint, ayant trouvé son beau-frère assassiné, avec sa mère remariée. La guerre recommença. Les Iroquois brûlent le Richelieu, tuent les Algonquins et Hurons qui voulaient trahir les Français, les attirant hors du Fort. 1647.

M. de Maisonneuve pouvoit estre Gouverneur du Canada, mais il fit donner le Gouvernement à M. Daillebout, et le fit repasser en France.

En 1648 les Iroquois saccagent le pays des Hurons qui se firent Iroquois, et grossyrent leur party. Ils viennent à Montréal, font mille trahisons, demandent à parler de paix. Lemoine et Normanville sortent ; ils enveloppent Normanville. Lemoine couche en joue deux Iroquois qui estoient près de luy, ce qui fait ramener Normanville. On fit un Moulin, un Fort. Ils ne tuèrent qu'un seul homme, en blessèrent beaucoup. 1648.

M. Daillebout vient Gouverneur. M. Gofré avoit légué 80,000 lbs. pour un Evesché : elles furent perdues pour n'avoir diligemment poursuivy l'affaire. On augmente la Garnison de six soldats, et les appointements qui n'estoient que de 3,000 lbs. sont augmentés de mille francs. Il se fit une grande Compagnie des Indes qui détruisit celle de Montréal.

En 1649 M. Daillebout envoya un camp volant de 40 hommes sous M. Demousseau, son neveu. Le Père Rapin mourut. M. de la Doversière, qui avoit tout ce que Madame de Bullion avoit donné à l'Hospital, fait banqueroute. La Compagnie se dissipe. Mlle. Manse, apprenant ces nouvelles, passe en France en 1650, pour rendre compte à Madame de Bullion. Les Hurons furent entièrement saccagez. Les Pères Lallemant et Brébeuf bruslés. Tous les Iroquois défiloient chez les François. De 3,500, il n'en resta que 600 qui furent icy, et quelques 500 qui rôdèrent 1649.

en divers lieux vers le Lac Supérieur, toujours poursuivis, et enfin s'arrêtèrent chez les Kikapous. Mlle. Manse fait réunir les Messieurs de la Compagnie par acte dans le Chastelet. M. Ollier est fait Directeur.

Chicot, M. Boudart et sa femme sont attaqués par dix Iroquois ; Boudart estoit sauvé, mais entendant la voix de sa femme, voulant la sauver, il se fit tuer pour la sauver. M. Lemoine, Archambault, et un autre, les voulant secourir, furent coupez par 40 Iroquois et essuyèrent leur décharge qui fut sans effet ; ils s'enfuyrent dans l'Hospital dont ils trouvèrent la porte ouverte, avec Mlle. Manse seule, qui assurément auroit été prise et l'Hospital bruslé sans leur fuite. Chicot s'étoit caché ; ils le trouvèrent et le vouloient amener, mais il se défendit si fort qu'ils lui levèrent la chevelure ; ils bruslèrent cruellement la femme.

Quatre François furent attaqués le 18 Juin, et s'estant jettés dans une méchante redoute à la Pointe St. Charles, cemmencèrent à fusiller. Le nommé La Vigne qui estoit prosche, entendant le bruit, s'en va à travers les fredoches essuyant le feu des ennemis. Le combat recommença, M. Lemoine y accourut, et les ennemis perdirent 30 hommes ; une partie du reste fut blessée, deux des nostres tués et deux blessés.

1652. En 1652 M. de Lauson fut Gouverneur à la place de M. Daillebout; persécuta Lemoine, et retrancha mille livres à M. de Maisonneuve que la Compagnie lui donnoit, dont il fut puny, en ce que les Iroquois prirent dans cette année le reste des Hurons réfugiés à l'Isle d'Orléans, tuèrent l'aîsné et une partie de la famille du Sieur de Lauson ; le tout à la vue de Québec. Le Montréal étoit dans un grand péril. Mademoiselle Manse et M. de Maisonneuve convinrent qu'il repasseroit en France, et prendroit les 22,000 livres que Madame de Bullion avoit données pour un secours, à condition que l'Hospital auroit la moitié de la métairie de la Seigneurie, quoiqu'elle ne valut pas la dite somme, afin de

sauver et l'Hospital et le Païs. Made. de Bullion approuva ce traité et donna encore 2,000 livres. M. de Maisonneuve laissa M. de Mousseau en sa place.

Le 14 Octobre 1653, des aboys de chiens font connoistre que les ennemis sont proches. M. Closse, Major, fut commandé avec 24 hommes. Il détacha Bostom et Lagachetière ; ce dernier fut tué et tua son ennemi en tombant ; l'autre se sauve en une maison de terre. M. Closse fut investy par 200 Iroquois, passe à travers leur feu et se jette dans la maison avec ses 24 hommes. La poudre manque à M. Closse. Bostom sort à la faveur du feu de nos gens, passe à travers les dits ennemis assiégant la maison, va au château, revient avec 10 hommes et 2 pièces de campagne qui viennent à la faveur d'un petit radeau, tire tout d'un coup ses deux pièces de canon. M. Closse fait une sortie et fait entrer le secours. Les Iroquois perdirent 20 hommes, et plus de 50 estropiés de bras et de jambes. 1653.

M. de Lauson envoya, malgré luy, 10 hommes sans armes et sans vivres, dont l'un estoit M. de St. Ange. La bonne femme Parmanda se défendit vaillammant ; elle eut trois coups de hache, et donna un soufflet à un François. M. du Plessis fut tué avec quinze hommes ; il étoit Gouverneur des Trois-Rivières : il venoit de conduire Mademoiselle Manse.

M. de Maisonneuve demeura encore en France. M. de Lauson envoye une barque qui eut peur que le château ne fût rendu, et s'en retourna sans rien faire.

Les Trois-Rivières sont bloquées. Madlle. Manse estant à Québec, apprend que M. de Maisonneuve venoit avec 150 hommes. Le Père Poncet fut pris prosche de Québec ; il laissa au lieu de sa prise un papier qui donna connoissance que les Trois-Rivières estoient investies ; quelques Fran
qui le voulurent aller secourir ne l'ayant pu rejoind
lèrent aux Trois-Rivières et se jettèrent dedans à
de la nuit. Pendant que les Trois-Rivières est

quées, les Hurons qui estoient à Montréal découvrirent un party d'Iroquois ; ils en donnèrent nouvelle aux François ; ils firent deux partys, et prirent les Iroquois par devant et par derrière ; ils en tuèrent, et leur prirent quelques-uns de leurs principaux Capitaines captifs. Le Capitaine des Hurons s'appeloit Kanontaga ; il descendit aux Trois-Rivières, avertit les Iroquois de la prise de leurs gens, et qu'on les rendroit s'ils levoient le siége des Trois-Rivières, et fesoient la paix. Les Iroquois y consentent. Kanontaga faillit être pris luy mesme au Lac St. Pierre.

1653. En 1653 la Sœur Bourgeois arrive ; elle est de Troyes ; elle estoit âgée de 35 ans, Préfète de la Congrégation. M. de St. André leva 105 hommes, que M. de Maisonneuve fit des 22,000 livres de Madame de Bullion, en Poitou, Maine et Bretagne. M. de Lauson, envieux, ne veut pas laisser monter les 105 hommes à Montréal.

Une troupe de François travaillant, avoit posé une sentinelle sur une souche, qui se laisse emporter et prendre par les jambes. Le Major fit courir aux armes ; un Iroquois nommé La Barrique, commandant la troupe, se présente ; on tire dessus avec du plomb à canard, il tombe et est amené vif ; son frère vint quelques mois après, donne quatre attaques à Montréal, mais La Barrique l'appelle de dessus les murs, et lui fait promettre de faire faire la paix.

Les Iroquois saccagèrent l'Isle aux Oyes, à douze lieues de Québec ; tuent toutes les familles de Moyen et de Macart, emmènent les enfans dont Mlle. Dugué étoit ; repassent à Montréal, y donnent quelques attaques. La Barrique pourparle ; les dits Iroquois tuent un nommé Daubigeon, puis veulent pourparler. M. Lemoine venoit d'escorter un Ambassadeur Iroquois, raconte le sac de l'Isle aux Oyes ; on fait dessein de surprendre les pourparleurs. M. Lemoine les prend, allant seul à eux avec ses pistolets. Le Capitaine de la troupe des pourparleurs Iroquois, nommé La Plume, vint le lendemain pour délivrer ses gens, et est encore pris par M. Lemoine avec quatre autres.

Les Agniers, sous la conduite d'un nommé La Grande Armée, viennent en guerre à Montréal, apprennent la prise de ces six Capitaines Iroquois, font faire la paix, où l'on rendit Trottier, St. Michel, Le Moyen et La Treille.

Mademoiselle Moyen a épousé M. Dugué ; Mademoiselle Maur M. de Grandville.

La paix dura toute cette année, et l'habitation avança. 1656.
Les Iroquois tuèrent pourtant au-dessus de l'Isle, une troupe de Hurons, et parmi eux le Père Gareau, qui vient mourir à Montréal, et y est enterré.

M. de Maisonneuve va en France demander à M. Ollier, 1657.
directeur et premier associé de la compagnie, des ecclésiastiques : les Jésuites lui ayant dit plusieurs fois que sans estre fondez ils ne pouvoient venir servir ce lieu au préjudice des Missions. Madlle. Manse se démit et se rompit un bras.

M. Ollier choisit M. l'Abbé de Kélus, M. Souard, M. Gallinier et M. Dalet, qui partirent en caresme ; et M. Ollier mourut à pasques, ces Messieurs estant encore à Nantes.

Le Père de Quen, supérieur des Jésuites, et M. Daillebout viennent au devant à l'Isle d'Orléans. M. d'Argenson est nommé au Gouvernement ; il ne vint que l'année suivante. Cette année M. de Charny commanda à la place de M. de Lauson, son père ; et luy s'en estant allé, M. Daillebout reprit le Gouvernement. En ce temps le Canada dépendoit pour le spirituel de l'Archevêché de Rouen ; M. de Kélus avoit des lettres de Grand-Vicaire ; il en exerça la fonction à Québec.

Les Iroquois commencèrent la guerre le 27 Octobre 1657, 1658.
par l'assassinat d'un menuisier, nommé Nicolas Gode, qui couvroit une maison, et de son gendre nommé Jean St. Pair. On dit que la teste parla estant coupée. Madlle. Manse ayant le bras cassé, et toujours plus mal, demande permission à M. de Kélus de repasser pour aller trouver Made. de Bullion, et faire venir par son moyen des Religieuses de la

Flèche. M. de Kélus dit à M. Souard qu'une hospitalière de Québec avoit besoin de changer et de l'amener icy ; elle y vient avec sa compagne, Madlle. Manse, et M. de Maisonneuve n'en sachant rien, le trouva mauvais à cause que M. Ollier avoit fait un contrat avec les Hospitalières de la Flèche.

1659. Mlle. Manse part, va à la Flèche. M. de la Doversière entendant dire qu'il y avoit des Religieuses à Montréal, jugea témérairement qu'elle s'opposoit à ce qu'il y vint des Religieuses, et qu'elle venoit rendre compte et se retirer : il s'éclaircit. Madlle. Manse va à Paris, fait faire la fondation pour les Hospitalières de la Flèche, recouvre sa santé sur le tombeau de M. Ollier par miracle, et par un second miracle, estant tombée de cheval sur le bras, à huit lieues de la Rochelle, elle ne fut aucunement incommodée du bras qu'elle avoit eu rompu et disloqué avec une vieille luxation.

La sœur Marguerite Bourgeois avoit accompagné Mlle. Manse en ce voyage, et amena 32 filles pour le Montréal, trois Religieuses de la Flèche, savoir: les sœurs Brussolle, Masse et Moillac. Monseigneur d'Angers refusoit son obédience. M. de la Doversière fut malade à la mort, et le peuple d'Angers se mutina ; M. de St. André les écarta l'épée à la main, et elles partirent. MM. Vigne et Lemaître viennent aussi, mais à la veille de partir ils avoient tant acheté de denrées qu'ils n'avoient pas de quoy payer le fret ; et 110 personnes qui venoient se virent sur le point de rester; enfin, le capitaine se fia à leurs promesses.

Le navire avoit servi d'hospital à l'armée navale. Dix personnes moururent d'abord de la peste ; les Religieuses s'exposèrent ; deux Huguenots se convertirent à la mort.

M. l'Abbé de Kélus reçut l'ordre de retourner en France, qu'on luy fit signifier à Montréal par un commandant et une escouade de soldats. M. de Bellestre vint cette année.

1660. Il y eut cette année 22 hommes de tués, et huit morts. Le 21 May dix-sept François estant partis furent attaqués

par 800 Iroquois. Un nommé Daulac débaucha 17 François pour aller en guerre aux Iroquois; au pied du Long Sault il trouve un méchant Fort de pieux commandé d'un costeau, il se jette dedans. Onontaga, Huron, ayant fait deffy à un Algonquin sur le fait du courage aux Trois-Rivières, vient à Montréal; on lui dit où étoient les François; il demande d'y aller aider aux François.

Ils saccagent d'abord deux canots. Quelques Iroquois vont avertir trois cens guerriers qui voulurent enlever le Fort, qui furent repoussez et perdirent bien du monde; ils envoyèrent quérir un renfort de 500 hommes de Richelieu qui descendoient pour enlever Québec. Les Iroquois crièrent aux Hurons de se rendre, qu'ils auroient la vie. Les lâches se rendirent, hors Onontaga et 4 Algonquins, et dirent aux Iroquois que les François n'estoient que 17. Les 500 hommes de renfort arrivèrent enfin: les Iroquois, au nombre de 600, durant trois jours donnèrent de continuels assauts au Fort, abattant les arbres.

Daulac s'avise de charger un mousquet de poudre jusqu'à la gueule, afin de le faire éclater comme une grenade; mais une branche le fit retomber dans le Fort. Les ennemis perdirent le tiers de leur nombre au rapport de Taondechoren. Les 17 François furent tués, hors 4, dont trois moururent d'abord et le quatrième fut bruslé. Les ennemys furent effrayés de cette résistance et se retirèrent; sans cela tout estoit perdu. M. Daillebout meurt à Québec, et M. de la Doversière en France.

En 1661, au mois de Février, les Iroquois prirent treize personnes tout d'un coup; en Mars six, et en tuèrent quat[illegible] 1661.
En Février, nos gens travailloient sans armes, Mlle. Du[illegible] courut à M. Lemoine toute chargée de fusils, et empe[illegible] un plus grand mal, car les Iroquois qui estoient 250 [illegible] fuyrent. Un nommé Baudoin et Lachapelle furent pri[illegible] Monsieur Lemaître, prestre du Séminaire, fut tué a[illegible] Gabriel par Outréouhati, Onnontagué, le jour de la déco[illegible]

demeura imprimée dans

En 1662, environ le te
maître, M. l'Abbé de Ké
venant de Rome ; ce fut p
ser. Le 25 Octobre 1661,
Pierre, où étant abordé, l
François se jettent en cano
tué le capitaine, et ayant l
fut blessé ; MM. Moyen et
M. Vignal, fort blessé, fut l
menez à Onneyouth, où
estant guerry. Le 7 Février
major du Fort, abandonné
hommes qui furent tuez.
Trudeau, Langevin et le so
50 Iroquois, et, s'estant jette
courus de M. de Bellestre ;
prit onze Iroquois.

1663. Mademoiselle Manse pass
mille livres que Madame de
mains de M. de la Doversière
tal qu'on a trouvé moyen d
deux ans en France.

1664. La Compagnie donna cette
sieurs de St. Sulpice ; on leur

MÉMOIRE DE LA GUERRE CONTRE LES IROQUOIS.

C'est une chose également utile et agréable que de conserver la mémoire des maux passés : c'est ce qui me pousse à la fin de cette année 1698, qui sera probablement la fin de la guerre, d'écrire d'un style simple et raccourcy l'histoire de la dernière guerre que nous avons eue contre les Iroquois.

Il y avoit huit ans que M. le Comte de Frontenac estoit 1680.
Gouverneur du Canada, où il avoit fait faire le Fort de Katarok8y, par M. de la Salle, à l'entrée du Lac Ontario. Tout ce temps s'estoit passé dans une paix profonde avec les Iroquois et Hollandois ; et les plus considérables aventures du pays avoient été trois ou quatre démélez domestiques. Le premier, entre Mgr. l'Evesque, les Pères Jésuites et le Clergé d'une part, soutenus par M. Talon, Intendant ; et de l'autre part, M. de Frontenac, M. De la Salle, la Compagnie et les Pères Récollets, touchant l'eau-de-vie traitée et donnée à emporter aux Sauvages ; ce que Mgr. L'Evesque traitoit de péché réservé. Le second fut entre M. de Frontenac et M. Perrot, soutenu de M. Desenclos, au sujet de M. Bizar, lieutenant des gardes de M. de Frontenac, emprisonné par M. Perrot, qui, ayant été pris par adresse et tenu un an en prison, fut envoyé en cour. Le troisième entre M. Talon et M. de Frontenac pour la présidence du conseil ; enfin le quatrième fut une petite révolte de la Justice de Montréal qui vouloit se soustraire à la Jurisdiction du Séminaire.

Les RR. PP. Jésuites Bruyas, Vaillant, Millet, Lamberville, Carheil et Garnier, gouvernoient avec bénédiction les cinq missions Iroquoises d'Agniers, Onneyouths, Onontagués, Oiengouens et Tsonnontouans, outre celles des Hurons, 8taois, Illinois, du Sault Ste. Marie, et Miamis, des Abénaquis et de l'Acadie.

Il y avoit deux missions auprès de Montréal ; l'une du Sault, fondée au commencement du Gouvernement de M.

le comte de Frontenac en 1672, par le R. P. Fremin, et une autre à la Montagne, fondée en 1677.

Le gouverneur d'Orange s'appeloit Major Andros; plusieurs coureurs de bois avoient découvert aux Flamands les grands profits qu'il y avoit à faire à aller traiter aux nations.

Les Iroquois avoient pour un castor, à Orange, ce que les François leur vendoient pour dix dans les bois; ainsy ils hayssoient les François et aimoient les Flamands.

1680. M. de Frontenac voulant, selon les ordres de la cour, empescher que les François n'allassent dans les bois et aux nations éloignées en traite, donna aux Iroquois permission de piller ceux qui n'auroient pas une permission par écrit; ce qu'ils exécutèrent depuis avec grande licence.

1681. Les Iroquois ayant attaqué le village des Illinois, au temps que les hommes n'y estoient pas, prirent mille femmes, enfans, ou vieux. M. de Tonty y fut blessé.

1682. Les Iroquois estoient fiers de leurs victoires sur les Illinois; les Anglois de la Virginie hayssoient les François à cause de leur cherté, animez par les Flamands qui envoyoient au sud et au nord du Lac Ontario des canotés de hardes gratuitement, pour les attirer à eux.

Quelques particuliers estant irrités par des querelles particulières, comme La Chaudière Noire, qui fut maltraité par M. Perrot, à qui il ramenoit 4 8taois. Horchouasse, qui avoit pillé le Père Carheil; Hannonsache, tué par un Illinois à Michilimakinac; pour toutes ces choses, dis-je, les Iroquois cherchoient querelle aux François; ils ne faisoient autre chose dans leurs festins, danses ou sueries, que de mettre Onontio à la Chaudière, et pour en venir aux effets ils commencèrent cette année à piller, à Tcheyagon, trois Français: Le Duc, Abraham, et Lachapelle; ensuite, la barque de Katarok8y estant mouillée dans la rivière de Niagara sous la conduite du Sieur Lamarque, les Tsonnontouans y estant entrés lièrent le pilote, battirent les Fran-

çois, et pillèrent pour 1300 livres de marchandises. Peu après, La Chaudière Noire avec sa bande, au Fort de Katarok8y, se fit donner de force une grande quantité de hardes. Tegannissorens vint faire ici quelques sortes d'excuses à M. le Comte. Sur ces entrefaites M. le Comte est rappelé et a pour successeur M. le Fèvre de la Barre, premier Intendant d'Auvergne, Capitaine de vaisseau, qui avoit donné un beau combat aux Isles, et se fait appeler M. le Général.

M. le Général commence par envoyer trois de ses gardes, avec leurs casaques, aux Iroquois, leur dire de le venir voir au printemps à Montréal pour faire conseil.

Ensuite, il envoye le nommé Salvage aux Flamands leur dire, de n'assister point les Iroquois d'armes. 1683.

Les Flamands allèrent, nonobstant, en traite aux 8taois avec quatre fugitifs François pour débaucher les dits 8taois ; et le nommé Arrathio, frère d'Aria, passa à Katarok8y, descendit les Rapides, vint reconnoistre Montréal, donna un collier aux Sauvages du Sault, et s'en retourna par le Lac Champlain avec une canotée de pelleteries.

Pour les Iroquois ils avoient résolu de ne point venir ; mais on envoya M. Lemoine avec Ondotionnens, capitaine de la Montagne, qui, ayant couru risque d'être tués des séditieux de Tsonnontouans, s'estoient réfugiés chez le Père Garnier, firent enfin venir les anciens des Tsonnontouans qui se joignirent à ceux des quatre nations et vinrent à Montréal, tenir une diète générale, où se trouvèrent aussi les Hurons, 8taois, Algonquins et les trois missions d'icy bas, assemblés dans la grande Eglise non encore bénite.

Le premier discours fut pour la mort d'Hannonsache ; on essuya les larmes des morts par huit capotes blanches, autant de chemises ; autant pour les Ayandés, et quatre fusils pour les guerriers ; on fit un trou pour enfouir [illegible] qu'on couvrit de quatre justes-au-corps galo[illegible] chaque cabane ; on fit passer la rivière dessus p[illegible] lier ; on leur osta la hache par un deuxième coll[illegible] jetta dans le lac par un troisième collier.

2me. discours. On leur oste le pouvoir de piller les François traitant sans permission, par cinq colliers.

3me. discours. Qu'il punira M. de la Salle d'avoir armé l'Illinois.

4me. discours. Il reconnoit pour enfans l'Huron, l'8taois, l'Algonquin, par 5 colliers.

5me. discours. Il leur demande quel sujet ils ont de faire la guerre à l'Illinois et au Miamis.

6me. Le Père Bruyas jette le collier de la Foi.

7me. Les Ganna8aques et Gannensatagués, ne faisant qu'une terre, jettent un collier, puis les Algonquins, enfin les Hurons, pour confirmer la parole d'Onontio. Ces présens montèrent à plus de deux mille écus.

Teganissorens, orateur, chef et interprète des Iroquois, répondit à tous ces colliers par autant d'autres colliers. Pour la question de l'Illinois il dit fièrement: il mérite la mort; il m'a tué; on n'osa point répondre.

Le Général envoye en traite pour 16,000 livres de marchandises.

1683. Novembre. Les vaisseaux nous amenèrent trois compagnies de la Marine: MM. D'Hosta, Chevalier, et Aubry, capitaines.

Monseigneur de Laval s'en va en France.

M. Perrot s'estant brouillé avec les dits capitaines et fait quelque faux pas dans ce procédé, est interdit.

1684. Décembre. La maison des Sœurs de la Congrégation fut bruslée, et deux Sœurs dedans.

Teganissorens, estant descendu de Tsonnontouan à Montréal, visite toutes les costes. Cependant le Père Potier descend des Outaois, apporte les nouvelles que les Iroquois avoient pillé les 16,000 livres de M. de la Barre; de plus, qu'ils avoient assiégé le Fort de Contrecœur où estoit le Chevalier de Baugy, ce qui mit M. de la Barre en fureur et tous les marchands intéressez; sur ces entrefaites, Teganissorens arrive à Québec; sa présence irrite les François. On conclut une guerre à la hâte, sans préparatifs; on assemble

800 hommes des costes ; ceux de Lorette s'y joignyrent, et la nouvelle en estant venu icy, tous les Sauvages se préparent à la guerre. Teganissorens est arrêté.

M. de la Barre fait M. Perrot Maréchal de Camp, mais ayant mis en prison les tambours des capitaines, il est cassé et se bat contre M. de Ste. Hélène.

Cette guerre fut particulièrement excitée par l'avarice des marchands, lesquels avoient, sous M. de la Barre, toute licence d'acheter de luy autant de congez qu'ils vouloient, y ayant cette année icy 150 canots aux 8taouais. On faisoit encore des desseins de commerce à Niagara, à Toucharenton, aux Illinois et ailleurs. M. de la Barre et eux vouloient obliger l'Iroquois de laisser paisible le commerce, et, le premier, de se faire rembourser les 16,000 livres pillées.

Cependant cette armée part au nombre de 1200 hommes, parmy lesquels estoient 350 Sauvages; elle manquoit de vivres. M. le Général très-embarrassé ne donnoit que peu d'ordres pour la marche, et pour le reste désirant fort la paix.

Les RR. PP. Lamberville et Milet apportèrent dans le Lac St. François trois colliers qui disoient que le Tsonnontouan, guerrier, fesoit le maistre; que l'Onnontagué désiroit faire la paix, et qu'on envoya Ok8ouessen. (M. Lemoine.)

Ces colliers furent présentés publiquement à Katarok8y. Ok8ouessen part après la mi-Août de Katarok8y, et quatre jours après on partit pour la Famine, où le mauvais air, le poisson corrompu, et surtout l'infection des ordures du campement qui ne changea point, donnèrent la fièvre à l'armée ; enfin, Ouréouhati y vint faire excuse et la révérence à Ononthio pour le Tsonnontouan qui n'y estoit pas, et il se fit ainsi une satisfaction en effigie.

M. Demeules, intendant, s'en retourne. M. Champigny vient. Au retour de la guerre arrivèrent les v[illegible], M. de Callières, M. Hénault des Rivaux, Gouverne[illegible] Montréal, et trois capitaines de vaisseau. On avo[illegible] en May le bastiment du nouveau Séminaire. 1684.

1685. Au mois de May nous eûmes nouvelles par l'arrivée des vaisseaux, 1o. de l'élection de M. l'Abbé de St. Valier à l'Episcopat de Québec, malgré tous ses parens qui le vouloient retenir, et toute la Cour, où sa sainteté estoit très-distinguée; 2o. du rappel de M. de la Barre, duquel le procédé avec les Iroquois avoit déplu à M. de Seignelay, qui l'appela la paix honteuse du Sieur de la Barre; 3o. que M. le Marquis de Denonville, mestre de camp des dragons de la Reine, luy succède et amène 600 hommes, avec ordre de subjuguer l'Iroquois. Enfin, de la mort du Roy d'Angleterre et de sa conversion.

L'Espérance fut tué le 15e Décembre.

Le Gouvernement de M. de Denonville a duré quatre ans.

L'an 1686, il se prépara à la guerre et demanda des troupes.

L'an 1687, il alla à Tsonnontouan.

L'an 1688, il fit la paix.

L'an 1689, il fut battu à Lachine, et rappelé.

1686. L'hyver, M. Denonville fit faire des présens aux Sauvages du Sault et de la Montagne; ils eurent 200 livres pour leur part en couvertes.

Au mois de Février les Tionnontatés furent conduits à la chasse par le traistre Astolach à Katoge ou Saxina, où il avoit donné rendez-vous aux Tsonnontouans, qui en enlevèrent, moitié de gré, moitié de force, 120.

Sept Anglois allèrent le printemps en traite à Michilimakinac, et firent 200 robbes; ils furent pris des Miamis à leur retour; lesquels Miamis furent repris par les Iroquois, qui ensuite attaquèrent le village des Miamis en l'absence des hommes et y prirent 200 femmes et enfans. Les Iroquois firent leurs cruautés ordinaires, rôtirent les enfans, les firent manger à leurs mères; bruslèrent une fille à la broche,—sa mère la défendit en désespérée. Les guerriers des Miamis réunis et avertis, poursuivirent les Iroquois, en tuèrent 127, et reprirent partie des captifs.

Cependant Turcot, Rolland et Grandmaison, traiteurs François, sont pillez des Iroquois ; et d'un autre costé trois frères, Ste. Hélène, d'Iberville et Maricour, avec leur cousin Ste. André, prennent deux Forts à la Baye d'Hudson : Kichichouan, et Fort Rupert, assistez de M. de Troyes, commandant un détachement de la marine ; ils dégradent le gouverneur en une Isle.

M. de St. Vallier visite l'Acadie, et estant de retour repasse en France.

On fait l'enceinte de Ville-Marie, de pieux. Cependant 1687.
Dongan, Gouverneur de Manhatte, catholique, mais très-méchant homme, persuadé par les nommez Du Plessis, Lafontaine, Marion, francs fugitifs du profit qu'il y a à faire à Michilimakinac, y envoye un nommé Grégoire avec un gros party de 60 hommes, et 3,000 livres d'effets, et qui ayant eu avis que M. Du Luth gardoit le passage de Toncharontio qui communique du Lac Erié au Lac Huron, passèrent par Taronte, et estoient conduits par les Lafontaine, Marion, le nommé Gaustassy et Tegannenstet. Ils arrivèrent au voisinage de Michilimakinac, vers le mois de May au nombre de 60. M. de la Durantaye, très-brave et très-sage officier qui y commandoit, jugeant qu'il falloit prévenir l'entrevue des Staouais et des Flamands, sort au devant de luy avec sa compagnie ; tous les Sauvages sortent en mesme temps avec leurs armes, et font un grand party dans les bois à une portée de fusil des François. Chose admirable, tous les Sauvages estoient partis pour favoriser les Flamands à cause de leur bon marché. Cependant, Grégoire crut infailliblement qu'ils venoient escorter et soutenir les François. M. de la Durantaye, sans leur donner le temps de s'esclaircir, estant entre les Sauvages et les Flamands, s'avance avec sa compagnie le fusil en joue ; fait mettre bas les armes aux 60 Flamands et les lie, et en même temps donne le pillage de leurs marchandises aux Sauvages et aux François, s'acquérant par là ceux qui se seroient peut-être révoltés.

Cependant, M. le Marquis de Denonville, qui songeoit sérieusement à la guerre avoit, dès l'automne précédente, envoyé des présens à toutes les nations des 8taouais, Miamis, Illinois, et Poux, avec ordre aux trois capitaines, Du Luth, capitaine de Toncharontio, Tonti, capitaine des Illinois, et la Durantaye, capitaine de Michilimakinac, comme aussi à tous les chefs des coureurs de bois, comme Nicolas Perrot, chef des Poux, Micheloque, etc., de se trouver à Ganientaragouet au commencement de Juillet.

Rien ne fut mieux et plus secrèment conduit que cette affaire. Les préparatifs de vivres et les ordres pour les missions d'en haut furent si secrets que ny le Père Lamberville qui vint d'Onontaguez, ni les Sauvages ne s'en doutèrent. Il avoit demandé des troupes ; on lui envoya 1500 hommes des recrues de la marine, sous la conduite de M. de Vaudreuil, Mareschal des Logis des Mousquetaires.

Il est vrai que le Roy avoit voulu donner un détachement de vieilles troupes, mais comme elles dépendoient de M. de Louvois, la jalousie de M. de Seignelay fit qu'il aimât mieux cette misérable recrue de milice ; enfin elles arrivèrent à temps, avec la promesse de la Cour d'en donner d'autres. On partit le 11e Juin. L'armée étoit de toutes les quatre missions : 100 hommes du Sault ; 60 de la Montagne ; 40 de Lorette ; 60 Abénaquis et quelques Algonquins, et 1800 hommes, troupes et milices, en quatre bataillons, commandés par Dugué, Berthier, Verchères, et Longueuil : M. de Callières, lieutenant-général.

M. l'intendant de Champigny arriva le premier, et ayant fait appeler les Sauvages de Katarok8y, on envoya prendre tous les Ganneyousses et les Kentés, qu'on pilla et enchaisna dans le Fort, pour n'avoir pas ces Sauvages contre nous dans la campagne. Il y avoit environ 40 hommes et 80 femmes et enfans.

En vérité, cela faisoit pitié que des Sauvages qui estoient comme sous notre protection fussent ainsi pris, pillés et en-

chainez, et pris par l'appât d'un festin ; ce qui fut de pis, 1°. c'est qu'on envoya les hommes à la fin de la campagne aux galères en France ; 2°. que la plupart des femmes et enfans moururent de tristesse et de la maladie pestilentielle qui se mit dans l'habitation. Horchouasse, Ouiongouen et Onnonouaragon, Onnontagué, qui venoient au Montréal dans le temps que l'armée montoit, furent aussi pris, et le premier mené en France. Enfin tout ce procédé a esté d'autant plus blâmé qu'on ne l'a point soutenu, et que si on a été trop rude au commencement, on a esté trop mol et trop humble à la fin.

Cependant cette armée florissante, ces troupes venues au premier May si justement ; cette marche si heureuse à ses premiers commencemens, enfin l'abondance générale fesoit concevoir les plus belles espérances du monde. Elles furent augmentées par un canot qui vint du costé de Toncharontio pour dire que les trois capitaines Tonty, Du Luth et la Durantaye venoient par le Lac Erié, amenant les nations et les coureurs de bois, et, en outre, ce dernier capitaine amenant les 60 Flamands prisonniers.

Pour profiter de ces heureuses conjonctures et commencemens, on partit le trois Juillet, ayant envoyé trois barques par le Lac Ontario chargées de vivres, qui devoient mouiller devant Ateniatarontagué. Nous y arrivâmes heureusement en sept jours de marche, et par une aventure et conjoncture qui ne s'est jamais vue, le 10 au soir, comme nous arrivions, arrivoient aussi les secours des nations, et les trois capitaines avec six cents hommes.

Jamais le Canada n'avoit vu et ne verra peut-estre jamais un pareil spectacle : trois barques mouillées vis-à-vis un camp, dans lequel il y avoit un quartier de troupes réglées de France, avec la Cour du général ; le quartier des habitans en quatre bataillons, avec la noblesse du pays ; le quartier des Sauvages chrestiens, et ensuite une cohue de toutes ces nations barbares, nues, mattachées et peintes par le

corps de toutes sortes de figures, portant des cornes à la teste, des queues au dos, armées de flèches. ¶ On oyait (en tendoit) la nuit une infinité de toutes sortes de langues, et des chants et des danses en toutes sortes de langues. Les Tsonnontouans nous vinrent reconnoistre, et ensuite allèrent brusler leur village et s'enfuirent.

L'on fit entrer et l'on enfonça en l'eau du petit lac d'Aténiatarontagué les bateaux ; on fit un Fort, et l'on partit le 12e Juillet sur le soir.

M. de Callières, lieutenant-général, menoit l'avant-garde composée de 300 Sauvages chrestiens à droite, commandés par M. de Ste. Hélène. Les Sauvages payens à gauche avec trois compagnies. 100 8tois, 30 Poux, 100 Chaouanons ou Illinois, et 50 Hurons, commandés par les interprètes Nicolas Perrot, Micheloque et Penar, avec les coureurs et volontaires au milieu, faisant huit à neuf cents hommes.

A quelque distance de l'avant-garde, marchoit le corps de bataille de quatre bataillons de troupes, et de quatre de milices ; M. le Marquis estoit à la teste des troupes, et M. Dugué de la milice.

La marche fut un peu précipitée ; les troupes fatiguées mouraient de soif ; le jour fort chaud. Les deux corps se trouvèrent trop éloignés l'un de l'autre. Les découvreurs aussy furent trompés, car estant arrivés jusques dans les déserts de Gaensera ils trouvèrent cinq à six femmes qui cercloient dans les champs, ce qui estoit un leurre que les Iroquois donnoient aux François pour leur faire croire qu'ils estoient tous dans le village. En effet, ce fut la cause de la marche précipitée de M. le Marquis, qui vouloit faire une circonvallation avant leur départ. Mais ce qui fut la principale cause de tout ce qui arriva ensuite, fut que Garistatsi et Gannagenroguen, Agniers, s'emparèrent la nuit de la barque, et passant aux Tsonnontouans leur dirent notre nombre, notre dessein, et surtout que les Sauvages portoient à la teste des tours de testes rouges.

D'abord, tous les guerriers quittèrent leurs brayets pour passer pour des 8taouais qui n'en portent point, et en firent des tours de testes, ce qui leur réussit, afin d'estre pris pour estre de nos alliés. Ensuite les femmes et vieillards, chargés de ce qu'ils avoient de meilleur, s'enfuyrent à Ouiongouen. Tous les guerriers au nombre de 800, ayant bruslé leur village, résolurent de dresser une embuscade.

Le territoire de Gaensera est très-montueux. Ce village est sur une haute colline ; on y monte par trois tertres ; au bas est une vallée, et vis-à-vis, d'autres grands côteaux, entre lesquels passe un gros ruisseau couvert, pendant et rapide, qui dans la vallée fait un petit marais couvert d'aunages ; c'est là le lieu qu'ils choisirent pour leur embuscade. Ils se séparèrent en deux ; ils postèrent 300 hommes dans le ruisseau pendant entre deux costeaux, dans un gros buisson de hestres, et 500 dans le bas des dits côteaux, dans ce marais, et entre les dits aunages dans la pensée que la première embuscade de 300 hommes laisseroit passer l'armée, et après feroit leur décharge par derrière ; ce qui l'obligeroit de se jetter dans la deuxième embuscade qui estoit cachée au bas de ces deux costeaux, dans le marais.

Ils se trompèrent pourtant, car comme l'avant-garde que commandoit M. de Callières estoit fort éloignée du corps que commandoit M. le Marquis, ils crurent que c'estoit toute l'armée ; c'est pourquoi comme la dite avant-garde passa près de la hestrière où ils estoient cachés, après avoir fait un horrible sakak8a, (sakaqua) ils firent une décharge.

Inévitablement, il est toujours désavantageux d'estre surpris et tomber dans une ambuscade. Les 8taouais et Sauvages non-chrestiens s'enfuirent tous ; ils estoient à la gauche de l'avant-garde françoise, composée des trois compagnies de Du Luth, La Durantaye, et Tonti, laquelle ils laissèrent découverte. Les Sauvages chrestiens de la Montagne et du Sault et les Abénaquis tinrent bon, et firent deux décharges.

M. le Marquis s'avança avec le corps de bataille composé des troupes du Roy, pour occuper le haut du côteau où il y avoit un petit Fort de pieux ; mais la terreur et le désordre de la surprise fit, qu'il n'y eut que M. de Valrenne qui s'y distingua, et M. Dugué qui, menant l'arrière-garde, rallia le bataillon de Berthier qui fuyoit, et estant à la teste de celui de Montréal fit tirer deux cents coups. M. le Marquis, en chemise, l'épée à la main, fit tirer le corps de bataille, et battre les caisses lorsqu'on ne voyoit presque plus personne ; cela épouvanta les 300 Tsonnontouans de l'embuscade qui s'enfuyèrent d'en haut vers les 500 qui estoient embusqués en bas. La crainte que toute la terre estoit là les fit enfuir avec tant de précipitation qu'ils laissèrent leurs couvertes en un monceau, et on ne les vit plus.

On tint conseil ; on résolut, comme il estoit tard, de coucher sur le champ de bataille, de peur d'autre surprise. On alla dans le lieu de l'embuscade ; on trouva 14 Iroquois morts ou mourans ; on coupa les testes qu'on apporta, et un encore en vie dit, qu'ils estoient 800, 300 en haut et 500 en bas, et que les Ouiongouens devoient venir le lendemain ; ce qui fit qu'on s'arrêta où l'on estoit. On a trouvé en divers lieux, les jours suivans, des vivres, et d'autres Sauvages morts, ou qu'on tua.

Pour notre perte, le Père Angelran, missionnaire célèbre des 8taouais, eut les hanches percées ; parmi les François furent tués Nantara, Filliatro, et d'autres.

Parmi nos Sauvages furent tués Tégaretouan ; Le Soleil, de la Montagne, brave chrestien en toute façon ; Oyenratarihen ; La Cendre Chaude, du Sault ; Gonhiagou ; Le Ciel des Tionnontatés, Huron. On emporta trois Sauvages blessés, et beaucoup de François qui souffrirent beaucoup, portés sur des brancards par quatre hommes qui se relevoient plusieurs fois par jour.

Le lendemain on marcha en bataille, s'attendant à des attaques. On descendit du côteau par une petite vallée

pendante, ou gorge, par laquelle couloit un ruisseau bordé de halliers et qui se déchargeoit au bas du côteau, dans un marais plein d'une vase profonde, mais plantée d'aunages si épais qu'on se voyoit à peine ; c'est là où ils avoient posé leurs deux embuscades et où nous aurions peut-estre donné s'ils n'avoient pas pris notre avant-garde pour toute l'armée, et ne se fussent pas tant pressés de tirer. M. le Marquis fit très-prudemment de ne pas poursuivre ; car c'est une ruse de l'Iroquois de s'enfuir pour attirer dans une plus grosse embuscade. Le marais qui a vingt arpens environ de large estant passé, nous trouvâmes environ deux ou trois cens méchantes couvertes, plusieurs méchants fusils, 1668.
et commençames à apercevoir la fameuse Babylonne des Tsonnontouans, ville ou village d'écorce, situé au haut d'une petite montagne de terre où l'on monte par trois tertres ; elle nous parut de loin couronnée de tours rondes ; mais ce n'estoit que des grandes caisses d'écorce ! de quatre pieds environ de haut, enchassées les unes dans les autres, de la largeur de quinze pieds environ de diamêtre, où ils mettent leur blé d'Inde. Le village avoit été bruslé par eux-mesmes, il y avoit huit jours. Nous ne trouvâmes dans le village rien d'entier que le cimetière et des tombeaux— le tout fort peuplé de serpens et d'animaux ; un grand masque avec des dents et des yeux de cuivre jaune, et une peau d'ours dessus avec laquelle ils jonglent dans leurs cabanes ; il y avoit aux quatre coins de grandes caisses de blé qu'ils n'avoient point pu brusler ; ils avoient outre ce poste leur blé d'Inde dans un fort de pieux au haut d'une petite montagne escarpée de tous côtés, où il y en avoit jusqu'au genou partout le fort. Les Tsonnontouans avoient quatre grands villages qu'ils changeoient de dix en dix ans pour s'approcher du bois, et lui donner le temps de recroître. Ils s'appeloient Gaensera, Tohaiton, qui estoient les deux plus grands ; Onnontagué, Onnenaba, moindres ; dans ce dernier demeuroit Ganonketahoui, le premier chef. On

coupa le blé qui estoit sur pied, déjà bon à manger, et on brusla le vieux. On fait état qu'on brusla cent mille minots de blé vieux, et cent cinquante mille minots de celui qui estoit sur terre, sans les fèves, et les cochons qu'on assomma. Il mourut 60 personnes des coups reçus dans le combat; mais une infinité périrent de misère; plusieurs s'enfuyrent au-delà des grandes montagnes d'Onnontagué qui les séparent de la Virginie, et allèrent habiter le pays des Andastoez; la plupart des esclaves se dispersèrent, et depuis ce temps la nation Tsonnontouane, qui estoit au moins de huit à neuf cens guerriers et dix mille âmes en tout, fut réduite à la moitié.

De là contre l'attente des Sauvages qui croyoient qu'on iroit à Ouienguien, Onnontagué, et aux autres Iroquois, on alla établir un fort à Niagara, où nous fûmes après trois jours de marche. C'est une pointe qui est formée par le Lac Ontario, et la Rivière de Niagara de l'autre pointe, de 60 pieds de haut, à dix lieues de la fameuse chûte du Lac Erié dans cette Rivière, et après dix lieues dans le Lac Ontario.

Désormais, je ne parlerai ni de la description des lieux, ni des actions, mais bien de la chronologie des faits.

M. de Troye y fut laissé commandant ; c'est lui qui avoit été à la Baie d'Hudson avec 60 hommes.

Nous traversâmes le Lac Ontario, du Sud au Nord, qui en cet endroit a quatre lieues de large, avec un petit vent qui fesoit faire des lames comme en mer. Nous trouvâmes en abordant un agréable spectacle qui est, que pendant un quart de lieue tous les arbres du rivage avoient un chevreuil écorché, pendant à leurs branches. Là mourut M. de Troye, de la dissenterie. La nourriture avoit donné à tous la dissenterie, qui s'estoit mise au camp à cause des porcs frais et des fèves qu'on mangea. Après avoir cotoyé Téhiâgon, et qu'on vint passer à Kenté et Ganeyousse, par la Rivière de Tannahouté on arriva à Katarok8y, le lendemain d'une
15 Août 1687. grosse tempête, qui nous fit coucher sur un Rocher ou petit

Islet. Nous arrivâmes à Katarok8y, où M. le Marquis estoit en peine de nous, non sans raison, car nous avions esté suivis par des Iroquois. Nous arrivâmes de là à Montréal en quatre jours de marche.

Niagara, Katarok8y, et la Rivière furent le camp de la guerre en 1687. 20 Août.

Cinq cens Iroquois vinrent à Katarok8y, où commandoit M. d'Orvilliers. Quatre cens Iroquois descendirent la Rivière. Dix soldats, de Duclos, capitaine, s'estoient égarés dans les bois à Katarok8y, huit hommes estant allés moissonner des pois en avertirent le fort ; trois soldats furent pris, avec Mademoiselle d'Alonne qu'on fit monter sur une souche, avec le chapeau de la Chaudière Noire.

Deux soldats furent tués dans les guérites qui étoient de pin.

La barque, chargée de vivres, partit pour Niagara avec le Père Lamberville. Le fort de Katarok8y fut assiégé un mois ; celui de Niagara fut assiégé par 40 canots, et on coula bas quelques canots. 24 Sept.

Des 400 Iroquois qui descendirent la Rivière, 60 prirent à la Galette neuf monteurs, où les eaux estoient basses, avec tous les habits et vivres des soldats. Duclos commandoit ce détachement. Les Iroquois tuèrent Vincent au bout de l'Isle, et Fournier dans l'Isle.

Beau combat de l'Evitier, enseigne, qui sauva Amiconti, arracha une épée et tua le Sauvage qui l'avoit, sauva le capitaine Basque, et eut son chapeau percé.

Le 4 Octobre, 150 Agniers assiégent Chambly, où commandoit M. Du Plessis. Ils prirent un soldat, sa femme et son enfant.

Les Agniers bruslèrent Verchères, tuèrent 80 bêtes ; et L'Etang, officier, gendre de Verchères, fut tué en la rivière de Richelieu. Décembre.

Grégoire, qui avoit été pris à Michilimakinac par La Durantaye, puis amené par la barque à Katarok8y, après avoir

travaillé à Katarok8y descendit à Montréal, et renvoyé, vient en ambassade avec Onnaské, le crapaud. Le Père Vaillant retourne aux Iroquois assemblés à Orange pour tenter une négociation, et revient de même sans effet.

1688. Le 16 Février au matin, on apporte pour nouvelle de Katarok8y, que les Tsonnontouans ont jetté des colliers au Père Lamberville à Katarok8y, pour faire la paix à Niagara.

M. de Ste. Hélène va quérir le Père Lamberville qui avoit le scorbut, et avitailler le Fort de Katarok8y. 20 soldats y sont malades. M. de Villeneuve, commandant, y meurt, aussi M. de Troye ; M. de la Durantaye meurt à Niagara, et presque toute la garnison, du scorbut qui ne manque point aux garnisons nourries uniquement de salé, et assiégées sans pouvoir sortir, ni avoir des herbes.

30 Mars. Le Pére Vaillant revient avec Mademoiselle d'Alonne, et Gastari, Mari d'Aratable de la Montagne. M. de Ste. Hélène, capitaine, en remenant 80 François ou soldats de Katarok8y, est attaqué à Tonihata. Il a quatre hommes de tués, et un fait prisonnier.

Des Agniers viennent débaucher la mission du Sault, et assurer que les François estoient perdus : trente hommes et vingt femmes quittent la mission du Sault.

Dongan, après le départ du Père Vaillant, assemble les Gouverneurs de Maryland, Boston, Virginie, Baltimore et de Pensylvannie, et les Iroquois, à qui il donne des paquets de cordé pour lier les François, et se venger de ce que Grégoire avoit été pris et pillé par M. de la Durantaye à Michilimakinac.

Le 2 Juin, le Chevalier d'Eau apporte des nouvelles que plusieurs Sauvages, entre autres la Chaudière Noire, Outréouhati, autrement dit Grand Gueule, et Gagniégoton, venoient en paix : on verra que c'estoit pour tromper. Combien la crédulité de ce qu'on souhaite aveugle ! Enfin, ils viennent et font un conseil ou négociation de paix sous la direction du Père Lamberville, plénipotentiaire en ce traité.

1er Article. On rase Niagara où il étoit bien morts 100 hommes, et qu'on ne pouvoit avitailler. 2e On ôte la hache aux Outaouais. 3e On rend 91 esclaves que le Sault et la Montagne avoient. 1688. 2 Juin.

Cette année le scorbut ou autre maladie populaire enleva 100 hommes à Niagara ; autant à Katarok8y ; autant aux Abénaquis, et 1400 au Canada.

Les Abénaquis que nous avions, après avoir bien fait des dettes aux Trois-Rivières, vont s'establir près d'Orange, et viennent brusler un François ; le six et le neuf brûlent Sorel, St. Louis et Boucherville. Le 18, Larivé et Nicolas ramènent treize prisonniers, François ou Sauvages. M. de Callières monte avec mille hommes à Katarok8y. 5 Juillet.

Le 15 Août, cinq de nos Sauvages de la Montagne furent attaqués par les Onnontagués à Orakonenton ; deux furent tués, dont un nommé Haratsion, beau jeune homme, fort pleuré.

Les Abénaquis qui étoient dans la Colonie vont contre les Anglois, lèvent dix chevelures Iroquoises et six Angloises.

Le Rat, Huron de Téonontaté, prend Téganissorens afin d'empêcher la paix. Pionontio traitoit, et dit : J'ai tué la paix. Il avoit intérêt qu'Onnontio ne fit la paix de peur que l'Iroquois ne tombât sur lui.

Monseigneur vient de France.

Onnonchiagon vient épier Onnontouac. Trois grands Chefs viennent nous abandonner et tromper. Ondechio, mari de Sagoguenchon, vient et s'en retourne. Tiontoragué vient aussi assurer la paix et trahir. 1689. Mars.

Le 14 Juillet, nouvelles de la révolution d'Angleterre, et de la guerre.

Jean-Baptiste Honnentarionni trouva les Iroquois dans l'Isle, qui lui prirent sa chemise et son bracelet, disant qu'ils luy rendroient s'il persuadoit au village de venir trouver l'Iroquois, et que nous étions perdus. Honanderon dit que cela estoit vrai ; ni nous, ni personne voulut le croire.

Cependant, Attérihata revint ou s'enfuit du village d'Onnontagué, rapportant que tous étoient partis. En effet, 1400 Iroquois, plusieurs femmes habillées en hommes, estoient partis. La femme de Garatolan donna l'alarme.

Juin. Juillet. Cela fut cause que M. le Marquis ordonna qu'on se retirât dans les forts, et il envoya le Père Lamberville et M. de Longueuil en ambassade pour rencontrer les Iroquois et les adoucir.

Enfin, le 24 Août, au milieu de la nuit, les 1400 Iroquois passèrent le Lac St. Louis dans une tempête de grêle et de pluie. Ils se placèrent par pelotons, en corps de garde à toutes les maisons, durant sept lieues, et commencèrent un massacre général d'hommes, de femmes et de maisons.

*Suit une liste de noms, la pluplart indéchiffrables.*

La nouvelle de cet étrange massacre arrive ;—M. le Marquis fait partir M. de Vaudreuil avec 300 hommes qui arrivèrent à leur camp au haut de l'Isle, où on les trouva presque tous saouls. C'étoit là une belle occasion d'en tuer cinq ou six cents, et ravoir les prisonniers; mais par une conduite dont je laisse le jugement à d'autres, il défendit de tuer, disant qu'il avoit des ordres contraires. On en prit pourtant trois dans le fort de la Présentation, qu'on assomma dans la cave.

Il se sauva un chirurgien du Lac des Iroquois qui dit, que le Père Milet avoit été pris, attiré par les Iroquois pour confesser un chrestien moribond.

M. le Comte ramena le parti au fort Roland. Le lendemain, 5 Août, un gros parti descendit de leur camp au haut de l'Isle, et se vint poster entre le fort Roland et celui de l'Eglise de Lachine, partie dans le bois, partie au bord des bleds qui estoient hauts, s'envoyant du secours selon le besoin par des sentinelles posées sur les arbres.

L'Arabelle, capitaine réformé, fut commandé pour amener 40 hommes de renfort à M. de Vaudreuil; M. le Marquis restant pour garder la ville où étoit sa femme et sa famille,

A L'Arabelle, se joignit une troupe du Sault et de la Montagne ; mais les Iroquois, laissant les Sauvages, tirèrent sur le gros des soldats, dont ils mirent la plus grande partie par terre, et se jettèrent sur L'Arabelle, qu'ils prirent avec La Plante et Villedenné. Sept Sauvages du Sault, voyant cette déroute, volurent gagner le fort de l'Eglise où étoit M. d'Ollier, mais comme ils étoient vieux et lassés, ils furent tous tués à la montée du moulin ; la face de Lahaie eut des coups de sabre, et il fut détruit.

Après cette victoire complette, cette malheureuse troupe de prisonniers essuya toute la rage que la vengeance la plus cruelle peut inspirer à des Sauvages. Elle fut transportée au-delà du Lac St. Louis par l'armée victoriéuse qui fit, en passant le Lac, 90 cris, pour marquer le nombre de prisonniers ou chevelures qu'ils avoient ; disant : on nous a trompés, Ononthio ; on te trompes aussy. Etant abordés, d'abord ils allumèrent des feux, plantèrent des poteaux, firent brusler cinq François, firent rôtir six enfans, et d'autres griller sous les cendres et les mangèrent. Ils emmenèrent les autres pour être immolés au gré de leur vengeance, à Onnontagué, où on les fit promener longtemps sur un chemin de charbons ardents.

Peu de temps après, la peur s'étant emparée des Sauvages, on fit venir demeurer en ville tout le village du Sault, avec leur blé qu'on mit sous les voûtes de l'Eglise.

On envoya des ordres à Katarok8y que la garnison abandonna ; et l'on fit sauter les bastions et les courtines en partie ; et au commencement d'Octobre, M. de Frontenac vint reprendre le Gouvernement.

MM. Du Luth et Mantet donnèrent le plus beau combat qui se soit donné de cette guerre. Vingt-sept Tsonnontouans contre environ autant de François s'étant découverts et rencontrés dans le Lac des Deux Montagnes, M. Du Luth fit mettre le soleil aux yeux des Iroquois et commanda à ses gens d'essuyer le feu ennemi. Ils ne blessèrent personne ; 1689. 16 Octobre.

alors M. Du Luth commande de prendre chacun le sien, se mettant en travers et en flanc,—ce qui s'exécuta si heureusement, que tous tombèrent dans le Lac blessés, hors deux, dont un fut bruslé sur le champ par les Algonquins, l'autre à la Montagne par ordre de M. Denonville.

Le 13 Novembre, les Iroquois firent encore un horrible massacre, dans un jour de poudrerie de neige à Lachenaye, où ils massacrèrent la nuit vingt François, dont ils dispersèrent les membres et les boyaux sur la neige.

Le 15, Pagnet, marchand, fut assassiné chez lui.

Le 27, le magasin du Séminaire fut bruslé, plein de galettes et de hardes.

1690. 3 Février. MM. d'Iberville et de Ste. Hélène, avec 120 François, et autant de Sauvages, arrivent près de Corlar, trouvent les portes ouvertes, bruslent le fort, pardonnent aux femmes et aux enfans et à trente Iroquois. D'Iberville prend le devant, et le 30 Mars vingt-cinq soldats, menant des chevaux des Flamands, furent coupés pas les Iroquois à qui on avoit donné la vie, et qui en prirent 14.

Le 8 Mars, Gagniegoton vint avec des colliers.

Le 2 Juillet, un party d'Iroquois estant descendu par la Rivière des Prairies à Repentigny, fit encore un grand massacre. Il y eut 20 hommes tués, et 30 Iroquois.

Pierre Milet, tué ; sa fille bruslée. Trois Lajeunesse, bruslés. La fille de la Meunière emmenée. Le sergent Dumoulin, tué. Daillot et Colomb, lieutenants, tués. Charles Pouliot, aussi tué dans l'Isle Ste. Thérèse. Planchau, Gervais, Baudry et Desroches tués, et Lamour pris.

La Gémeraye et d'Hosta tuèrent 10 Iroquois, et perdirent cinq hommes. Le Chevalier de Clermont recouvre cinq garçons. Ensuite, MM. Ste. Hélène et Valrenne laissent échapper les Iroquois.

18 Août. Tous les blés furent bruslés et il y eut une famine.

Il y eut un combat à St. François où 20 soldats furent tués; 30 Iroquois furent aussi tués.

Le Chevalier d'Eau, estant envoyé à Onnontagué, est arrêté. Colin, l'un de ses canoteurs, est bruslé, et Bouviat tué.

On eut nouvelles que trente-deux voiles venoient assiéger Québec, commandées par William Phipps. M. Prévost, major, avoit fait gabionner. M. de Callières amena mille hommes de son gouvernement. M. le comte de Frontenac se trouva avec 3000 hommes. Il fut sommé par un trompette de se rendre, avec espérance de pardon s'il le faisoit dans une heure. La réponse fut fière comme elle le devoit. Les Anglois descendirent à Beauport. On leur fit la guerre à la Sauvage, en chemise, les harcelant sans cesse ; s'enfuyant, ils leur tuèrent 100 hommes et en blessèrent 300. Ils se retirèrent, laissant leurs canons en désordre. Estant rembarqués, on fit eschange de MM. Trouvé, Joliette et Lalande. Les gros vaisseaux qui estoient criblés de coups de canon périrent, avec cinquante hommes qu'on trouva gelés le printemps suivant. Le pavillon de la Ste. Vierge, qui flottoit au clocher de Québec, fut victorieux du canon.

Les Agniers prennent vers les montagnes de Chambli 6 Ganneyousses ; puis 13 qui sont ramenés, par Onnonouagaren, pour entretenir l'intelligence secrète. 1691. 2e Mai.

Le 7 Mai, les Iroquois bruslèrent le moulin de M. le Bert, à la Rivière des Prairies. La femme de Guillon ; Grégoire, sa femme ; Goulet, le fermier de Lachenaye, et quelques autres défendent une brêche de quarante pieds contre 300 Iroquois. Verchères, et un soldat furent tués.

Le 17 Mai, 70 Iroquois s'embusquent la nuit à la Montagne, en trois bandes, donnent sur les Sauvages qui, à quatre heures du soir, dormoient. Nous perdîmes Tondiharon. On tira trente fois, mais on tira trop bas. Ils perdirent sept hommes.

*Suivent plusieurs noms, mais qui ne sont pas lisibles.*

Le 17 Juin, M. de Bienville commande un party pour poursuivre les Iroquois. On les rencontre ; on les prend et amène 80 en nombre. On ne leur fait point de mal ; et ils achètent de la poudre et des fusils.

10e Août. Ayant avis que les Flamands devoient donner à Laprairie, M. de Callières y alla. Les habitans campèrent d'un côté du fort, les soldats de l'autre, au nombre en tout de 1200. La débauche fut extrême en toute manière. Cependant, avant le jour, 80 Loups se glissèrent par le fossé, derrière le moulin, tuèrent la sentinelle endormie, levèrent la chevelure à six Outaouais, et tuèrent vingt habitans. Les capitaines qui estoient au fort accoururent; trois furent tués à la porte, par une embuscade qu'on y avoit dressée exprès, savoir: St. Cirq, Hosta et De Cairac. On envoie L'Evitier et Domergue; ce dernier fut tué avec douze hommes, et trois prisonniers.

Les Flamands, commandés par Peter Schuyler, n'osèrent pourtant pas s'engager, à la face de tant de monde, à entrer dans le fort, et ils s'en retournoient en victorieux. Mais Valrennes et Demuy, qui avoient été envoyés précédemment pour les chercher avant qu'ils fussent arrivés, rencontrèrent les découvreurs: chacun s'embusqua. Les Agniers de de Peter Schuyler, reconnus vis-à-vis de l'embuscade, essuyent le feu des Hurons et des soldats de Valrennes, et les Flamands aussi. Les ennemis eurent cent et un hommes de tués, mais ils enfoncèrent notre embuscade. Les Sauvages qui combattoient de notre côté plioient; M. Guay les rallie et ramène. Les ennemis s'enfuyrent. On manqua, en ne les suivant pas.

Le 12 Octobre, on fit un party sous le commandement de M. de Vaudreuil. M. Guay y alla, mais on relâcha à Sorel.

Dix-sept hommes du Sault, et leurs femmes, furent attaqués par 30 Agniers derrière St. Michel; huit se sauvèrent. On trouva deux ennemis morts. On suivit les ennemis, on les joignit; quinze furent tués. Gaxari et Garistatsi furent pris, on les massacra.

Cent vingt hommes du Sault, 40 de la Montagne, 20 de Lorette, et 100 François firent le party d'Onneyouth: M. Guay, menant les Sauvages; Beaucourt, Auberville et Beaubassin, commandant les François.

On surprit Tateguenondahi, chef des Tsonnontouans, dans une Isle de la Rivière Keutsagué, au bout du Lac St. François. Il avoit 60 hommes, dont 24 furent tués et 20 pris. Six Sauteurs tués; trois chefs de la Montagne. M. Guay vint dans l'eau gelée jusqu'aux genoux, couchant sur la neige, jeunant le caresme, avec une grosse fluxion sur les dents et la joue. 1692. Février.

En Mai, huit jours après la Fête-Dieu, nos gens qui avoient quatre heures par jour pour escorter, tardèrent au bas du rapide Bruslé, et furent surpris par les Iroquois. La Valterie fut tué, Ononari pris, Oganontara sauvé et blessé. Ononari fut ensuite délivré par Babouchi, qui tua 7 Iroquois à Katarok8y. Il y eut sept François tués au rapide Bruslé.

Six cents hommes, savoir: cinq cents François et cent Sauvages menés par M. Guay, entrent dans les trois villages des Onnontagués qu'on brusla. On prit 150 Agniers; mais on s'amusa. Les Iroquois assemblés à Onneyouth, joints aux Flamands, poursuivirent l'armée jusqu'au Lac St. Sacrement, qu'on passa heureusement, car le lendemain il dégela, sans quoi on se seroit battu désavantageusement. Les gens du Sault virent échapper 100 de leurs parens, pris par les Flamands; on en amena que 50 tout transis de froid. 1693. 20 Janvier.

Trente-six François, accompagnés des Têtes de Boules, peuple du Long Sault, furent attaqués par soixante Iroquois. Quatorze François pris; entre autres Artel, et huit autres furent tués; Labuissière, sergent, et Lagorgendière se sauvent, sautant le Sault avec la moitié d'un canot.

Sagenouara, Vincent, Faucher, et neuf autres à la Chine, furent tués; trois enfans de la Montagne furent pris à l'Isle Ste. Thérèse. Villedenné se sauve; il avoit été pris avec l'Arabelle cinq ans auparavant par la Chaudière Noire, qui commandoit 60 Iroquois. On fit un party de 550 hommes commandés par MM. de Vaudreuil, Crisasy et Mantet. On les conduisit à la Rivière des Outaouais au-dessus du Sault. Quoiqu'on fit bien du bruit, comme ils avoient le soleil aux

yeux, ils ne nous virent pas. On les surprit comme ils traversoient. La Chaudière Noire alloit arriver quand nous fondîmes sur eux. On en prit, on tua 40, mais le reste se sauva. Nous perdîmes La Potherie, Montesson, Labrosse, gentilhommes ; ce dernier estoit débauché, et avoit amené une.....Il vouloit lier un Sauvage, qui lui donna un coup de sabre au visage. Il estoit parent de M. de Champigny. Outre celui-ci, Joachim Lavallée, avec deux Sauvages, fut tué. Le lendemain on alla pour chercher leur cache ; nous allâmes debout dans des canots et à découvert. Ils nous tirèrent une volée de coups de feu qui tua Urbain, et rompit le genou d'un autre. On baptisa un enfant au feu. Taréha ramène St. Amour, pris en 1690.

Orchouche, avec les Ouiengiens, ramène 13 esclaves; entre autres, M. de Hertel et M. de Joncaire.

Le party de M. de Louvigny va au Long Sault. M. Guay marche pour la troisième fois. De Louvigny ne voulut pas traverser le bois à Onderakontera ; il revient avec les Sauvages faire un coup de huit tués; ses prisonniers furent bruslés à Montréal. Charleville fut tué.

La Durantaye tue 10 Iroquois à Boucherville.

M. le Comte monte à Onnontagué à l'âge de 74 ans, et brusle Onneyouth ; M. Guay menant les Sauvages pour la quatrième fois. Un âne fit peur aux Iroquois, car il se mit à brailler la nuit.

1697. Naissance de Sta8ennah, nommé Sorel. Retour du Père Milet, pris à Katarok8y en 1689.

1698. La Chaudière Noire tue trente François. Mort de M. le comte de Frontenac.

1699. M. de Callière succède à M. le comte, et fait la paix.

1700. Nous avons eu six cens personnes de tuées, ou pris ; plusieurs de ces derniers sont revenus.

Les Iroquois en ont eus autant réellement, et tous de bons hommes.

Les Outaouais, et autres alliés, leur en ont tués autant. Ils sont diminués de moitié.

# TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

# Literary and Historical Society

## OF QUEBEC.

**No. 19.**

SESSIONS OF 1887 TO 1889.

QUEBEC:
PRINTED AT THE "MORNING CHRONICLE" OFFICE.
1889.

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19

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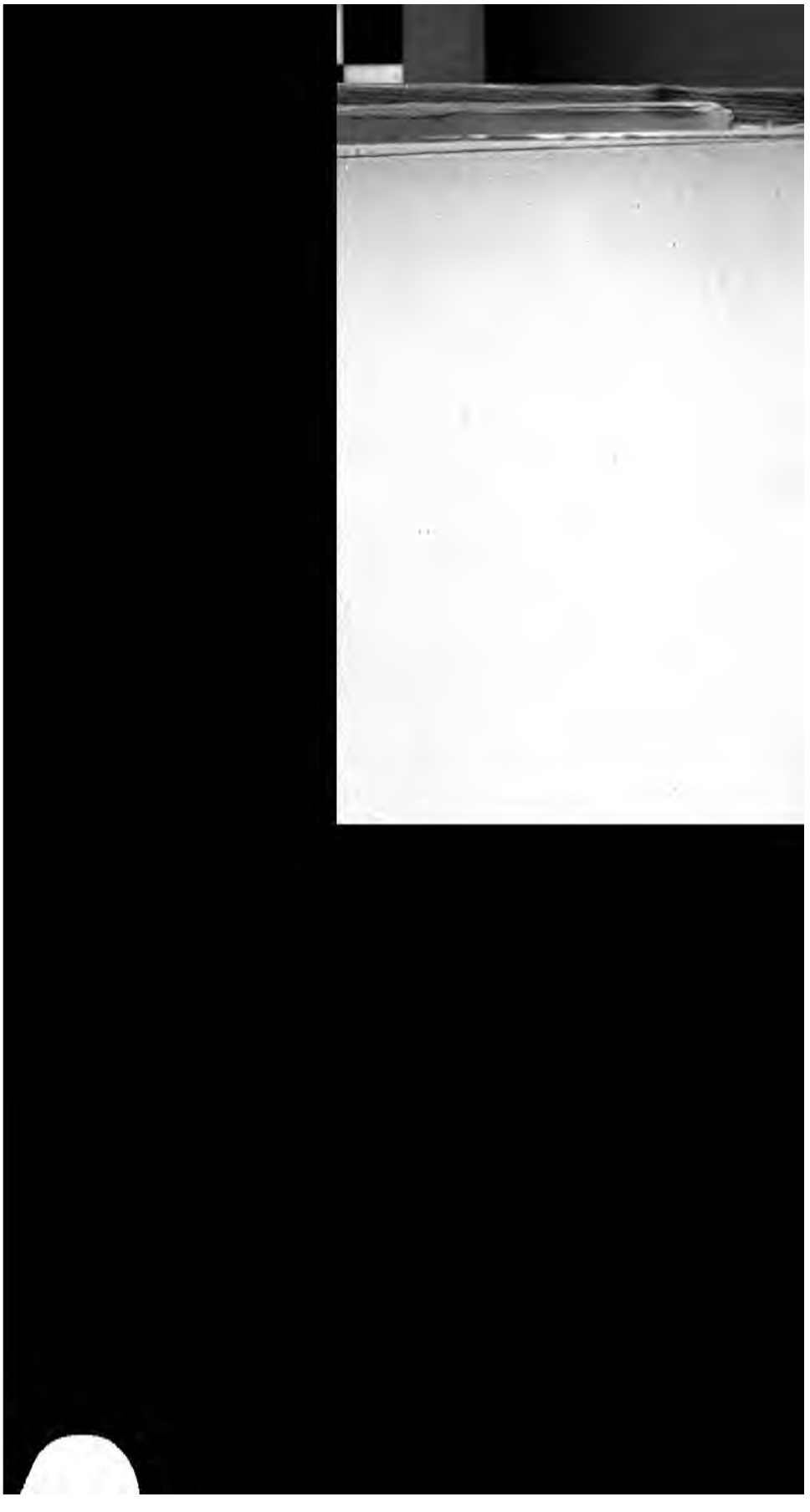

# Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.

—§—

**Annual Meeting, 12th January, 1887.**

—§—

## ANNUAL REPORT.

QUEBEC, 12th January, 1887.

The President and Council of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, beg to submit their report for the past year, to this annual meeting of the Society. We have again to state that the finances of the institution are not as satisfactory as we would wish. The membership has not increased to any appreciable extent, and though the greatest economy has been practised in all directions, our available resources are still far short of what they ought to be. Unless the membership increases very materially this year, the Board seriously believe that subscriptions to many leading publications, which are now to be found in the Reading Room, will have to be abandoned. Other privileges at present enjoyed by the members may also be cut down. During the year only 20 new members were elected, four withdrew, 12 left the city, and four members died. The latter were Abraham Joseph, William Sharples, Jean Langlois and Alexander Fraser, Esqs.

The Council again desires to impress on our citizens the value and usefulness of the Literary and Historical Society, and it is to be hoped that every member will feel it to be his bounden duty to propose at least one friend for membership. At this moment we have but 210 members on

-a number wholly inadequate to successfully
ır work of historical study and investigation.
embers have complained of the scarcity of new
ıe Library. We agree with them that additions
rary ought to be made. But without money this
ıle. We have added a few new books, but even
much, we have been compelled to discount the

/. Bailey, of Fredericton, N.B., was elected a cor-
g member last year.
re invited last May by the Royal Society of
send a delegate to the annual meeting of that
tawa. Dr. Harper was appointed to attend to
e in behalf of our Society.
last, the Royal Historical Society of London,
celebrated the commemoration of Domesday
we were invited to appoint a representative to

During the year, the Society published, by private subscription, Belmont's Histoire du Canada.

The reports of the Librarian and Treasurer are herewith submitted.

GEORGE STEWART, Jr.,
President.

A. ROBERTSON,
Council Secretary.

Quebec, January 12th, 1887.

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The Librarian's report was then read by Mr. F. C. Würtele :—

The Librarian has nothing important to report this year. There have been 218 additions to the Library, composed of 17 bound and 182 unbound volumes. These consist of donations from friends, exchanges from other societies, also the sessional papers for 1885, which have been received from the Dominion and Provincial Governments, as well as all the blue books for 1886 as they were issued at Ottawa. Nineteen volumes were purchased, these being books of reference, and the continuation of the Encyclopedia Britannica, and the International Science Series.

The Librarian hopes that the new Council will be in a position to make more additions to the Library by purchase than they have done lately. There have been 2219 volumes issued to the members during the past year, of which 119 still remain out over the time specified by the rules of the Society. The thanks of the Society are due to Major Tapp for kindly placing the *Broad Arrow* regularly on the table. The usual magazines and papers have been supplied, and it has been decided to bind only those that are most called for. This year there has been an increased demand for the Society's transactions and historical documents, and as a good many of the oldest publications are now out of print,

be advisable to reprint them, especially the his-
cuments.

: of donations, exchanges and purchases, also the
list for 1887 are herewith attached.

tfully submitted,

F. C. WÜRTELE,
Librarian.

, 31st December, 1886.

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' AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY IN ACCOUNT WITH
EDWIN POPE, TREASURER.

*Dr.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| l for books and periodicals | $ 214 | 24 |
| " rent | 90 | 00 |
| " fuel and light | 197 | 26 |
| " printing and binding | 70 | 18 |
| " salaries | 240 | 00 |

The election of office-bearers for the year 1887 was then proceeded with. Col. Pope and Mr. Peter Johnston were appointed scrutineers. The following gentlemen were duly elected :—

*President*.....George Stewart, Jr., D.C.L., F.R.G.S., F.R.S.C.
1*st Vice-President*.....Wm. Hossack.
2*nd* " .....Cyr. Tessier.
3*rd* " .....John M. Harper, Ph.D., F.E.I.S.
4*th* " ..... ..George R. Renfrew.
*Treasurer*.....Edwin Pope.
*Librarian*.....Fred. C. Würtele.
*Recording-Secretary*.....J. Elton Prower.
*Corresponding-Secretary*.....Wm. A. Ashe.
*Council Secretary*.....A. Robertson.
*Curator of Museum*.....P. B. Casgrain, M.P.
*Curator of Apparatus*.....W. C. H. Wood.

*Additional Members of the Council*—J. M. LeMoine, F.R.S.C., Peter Johnston, H. M. Price and William Clint.

S. Macdonald in charge of the Rooms.

Prof. A. W. Walters was elected a member of the Society.

The meeting then adjourned.

——‡——

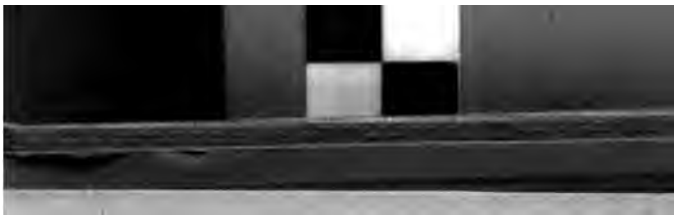
# ry and Historical Society of Quebec.

## ANNUAL MEETING, 11th JANUARY, 1888.

### ANNUAL REPORT.

QUEBEC, January 11th, 1888.

resident and Council of the Literary and Historical f Quebec, beg to submit to this annual meeting, orts for the past year. It is matter for regret that ty's finances continue in a condition which is far sfactory. The membership has not increased, and death, resignations and other causes, the Society red much. Owing to lack of funds, the principal the Society, the publication of its Proceedings and





ciety by the present Government that a grant would be given to us. The following letter was addressed last May to the Hon. D. A. Ross, ex-President of this Society :—

QUEBEC, May 11th, 1887.

*Hon. D. A. Ross,*

DEAR SIR,—I see in the supplementary estimates an item of $500 for the *Institut Canadien.* Now as you are an ex-President of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, with whose aims and work you are well acquainted, I hope and trust that you will use your influence with the Government to have our Society placed on the same footing. I leave the matter in your hands, because you are familiar with our needs and the character of the work which we have in hand.

The Society meets this afternoon at 4 o'clock. Would feel obliged if you could let me know what you intend doing to-day, so that I may lay the matter before our Council.

In the meantime,

I am, dear Mr. Ross,

Yours very truly,

GEORGE STEWART, Jr.,

President.

To the above, this reply was received :—

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL,

13th May, 1887.

*George Stewart, Esquire, D.C.L., President Quebec Literary and Historical Society.*

DEAR SIR,—It was by inadvertence that nothing was granted to the Society which you represent. The error will be remedied next session, so that the grant to the Society shall be made equal to that given to the *Institut Canadien.*

Yours truly,

(Signed,) DAVID A. ROSS.

s also sent in the following letter, addressed to
e Hon. Mr. Mercier, Attorney-General and Prime
f Quebec :—

Québec, 12 mai 1887.

r COLLÈGUE,

connaissance de la lettre de M. G. Stewart, jr.,
le la Société Littéraire et Historique de Québec.
vivement qu'il soit trop tard pour accorder
icité à cette session.
us ferons un plaisir de considérer cette demande
ine session, avec faveur autant que possible.

Bien à vous,

(Signé,) HONORÉ MERCIER.

oss,
ller Législatif,
Québec.

t again ask the members to exert themselves in

land Poet." The second lecture was by Mr. W. A. Ashe, on Friday, January 14th, on "An Elementary Discussion of the Nebular Hypothesis." The third lecture was by Lt.-Col. Wm. Rhodes, on Friday, January 28th, on "The Ice of the St. Lawrence as compared to that of the Arctic Ocean." The fourth lecture was on Friday evening, 4th March, by R. R. Dobell, Esq., on "Imperial Federation." The fifth lecture was by Col. Rhodes, on Friday evening, March 11th, on "The Ice of the St. Lawrence," and the sixth was delivered by M. Faucher de St. Maurice, M.P.P., F.R.S.C., on Friday evening, 15th April, on "Vers le Passé." The lectures were well attended. A course for the present year has been arranged, Mr. Ashe giving the opening lecture on Thursday evening, January 12th. Subject: "Popular Superstitions."

GEORGE STEWART, Jr.,
President.

A. ROBERTSON,
Council Secretary.

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The Librarian's report was then read by Mr. F. C. Würtele.

## LIBRARIAN'S REPORT.

The Librarian reports 276 accessions to the Library during the past year as per enclosed lists :— 30 cloth and 27 paper bound volumes, donations from friends of the Society, and the Dominion and Provincial Governments ; 24 cloth and 153 paper bound volumes by exchange with other Societies, and 42 volumes of latest works were purchased by order of the Council. There were 1,932 volumes issued on loan to members, of which 161 still remain out beyond the time allowed by the rules of the Society. Our rooms were visited, in September last, by several librarians from the United States and Ontario, members of the American Library As-

returning from the annual meeting held this
Alexandria Bay. These gentlemen were well
ith the Library, and especially with our collection
elating to the history of Canada. From this visit
ian learned that there is an increasing desire in
d States for information on the history of America
ally Canada. Therefore, to make known more
hat this Society has contributed to the early his-
r country, he, with the consent of the Council,
detailed list of its publications to be printed and
umber of societies and public libraries in the United
lso, by the same authority, he had reprinted three
e second series of Historical documents, viz :—
in Canada in 1760, the Dialogue in Hades, and
on of Canada in 1775. The result is that eighty-
and eighty-two cents have been handed to the
during the year, from the sale of our publications,
ries for them still continue. Some valuable ex-

The Treasurer's report was read by Mr. Edwin Pope, Treasurer.

THE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, QUEBEC, IN ACCOUNT WITH EDWIN POPE, TREASURER.

*Dr.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| To cash paid for books, periodicals, etc. | $ 267 75 | |
| " " printing, binding, etc. | 201 16 | |
| " " fuel and light | 37 46 | |
| " " insurance | 30 00 | |
| " " salaries | 240 00 | |
| " " miscellaneous | 38 79 | |
| To balance | 68 12 | |
| | | $ 883 28 |

*Cr.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| By balance from 1886 | $ 35 26 | |
| " members subscriptions for 1887 | 530 00 | |
| " " " arrears | 180 00 | |
| " newspapers, etc., sold | 38 70 | |
| " subscriptions towards printing transactions | 8 00 | |
| " payment for lost book | 4 50 | |
| " sale of transactions | 86 82 | |
| | | $ 883 28 |
| By balance | | $ 68 12 |

Quebec, January 10th, 1888.

EDWIN POPE,
Treasurer.

Examined and found correct.

Quebec, January 10th, 1888.

WM. S. BENNETT,
Auditor.

On motion of Dr. Harper and Col. Pope, the reports, as read, were adopted.

tion of office-bearers for the year 1888 was then
with. Col. Pope and Mr. James Morgan were
scrutineers. The following gentlemen were
d:—

.....George Stewart, Jr., D.C.L.,
F.R.G.S., F.R.S.C.
*President*.....Wm. Hossack.
" .....John Harper, Ph.D., F.E.I.S.
" .....Cyr. Tessier.
" .... .....George R. Renfrew.
.....Edwin Pope.
..... .....Fred. C. Würtele.
*g-Secretary*.....J. Elton Prower.
*ding-Secretary*.....Wm. A. Ashe, F.R.A.S.
*Secretary*.....A. Robertson.
*of Museum* .....Wm. Clint.
*of Apparatus*.....W. C. H. Wood.

# Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.

## ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, JANUARY 9th, 1889.

The annual general meeting of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec was held on Wednesday morning, 9th January, in the Library of the Society, at 10 o'clock. There was a good attendance of members. After reading the minutes of the last monthly meeting, the Council Secretary, A. Robertson, Esq., submitted the annual report of the Society, for the past year.

### ANNUAL REPORT.

QUEBEC, January 9th, 1889.

The President and Council of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec beg to present at this annual meeting of the Society, their reports and accounts for the past year. It is a matter for congratulation that we are able to state that, through the liberality of the Premier of the Province and his colleagues, the Government and Legislature of Quebec have restored to the Society an annual grant, to enable us to print transactions and rare manuscripts, and to otherwise prosecute our labours according to the aims of the Society. Up to 1884 the amount yearly granted us was $750. In that year it was discontinued, however, and owing to losses of membership, non-payment of subscriptions, &c., the financial position of the Society became somewhat crippled. Last year, the present Government granted us $500, and we have reason to believe that that sum, if not more, will be annually placed in the estimates for our benefit. By means of that grant we have been enabled to place in the printer's hands the manuscript of a volume of transactions, which will be published early during the present winter. We have also added to the Library a large number of volumes.

ral years past, the Quebec Government has
ertain original manuscripts relating to the early
e country, which have been in the possession
ety for a great many years. The committee
y the Society to confer with the Government,
ect, satisfied themselves that the claim of the
was legal, and that the Society was the custo-
t the owner of the papers in question. Accord-
ibrarian handed over to the Provincial Secretary
mes of original manuscripts, and manuscript
the Paris and London archives, as described in
which is here appended :

he year 1888, seventeen new members were
fourteen withdrew from the Society. Of the
resigned, seven left the city, and four died.
l regrets exceedingly the sad loss which the
ains in the deaths of Jean B. Dion, Roderick

Last May, Mr. W. C. H. Wood attended the annual general meeting of the Royal Society of Canada, at Ottawa, as delegate from this Society, where he presented a report of our proceedings, and took part in the sessions of that learned body.

The opening lecture of our annual course was delivered on the evening of Thursday, 12th January, by W. A. Ashe, Esq., F.R.A.S., on "Popular Superstitions." The second lecture was by Major Prower, on Tuesday evening, January 24th, subject, "The Briton in English History." The third lecture was by F. C. Würtele, Esq., on Friday evening, 3rd February, subject, "Our Library." The fourth lecture was by J. M. LeMoine, Esq., F.R.S.C., on Thursday evening, 16th February, subject, "Heroines of New France." The fifth lecture was by W. C. H. Wood, Esq., on Wednesday evening, 7th March, subject, "Darwinism and Evolution." The sixth lecture was by Napoléon Legendre, Esq., F.R.S. C., on Wednesday evening, 21st March, subject, "La Légende d'un Peuple," par Louis Fréchette. The seventh lecture was on Tuesday evening, 3rd April, by Faucher de St. Maurice, Esq., F.R.S.C., subject, "Halifax, Cap Breton, Louisbourg, St. Pierre et Miquelon." The eighth lecture was on Friday evening, 12th April, by Dr. Harper, F.E.I.S., on "Champlain's Tomb," and the ninth lecture was on Tuesday evening, 1st May, by Rev. Dean Norman, D.D., D. C.L., on "Shakespeare, a study." The lectures were well attended. A course for the present year has been arranged, Rev. Dr. Norman opening the course on Thursday evening, December 13th, with "A Study of the Merchant of Venice, with readings from the play."

GEORGE STEWART, Jr.,
President.

A. ROBERTSON,
Council Secretary.

ort of the Librarian was then read by Mr. Wür-

brarian has to report that 1,839 volumes were
ring the past year to members of the Society,
of these books are still out over the time speci-
e rules. There have been 451 accessions to the
of these 109 bound volumes have been pur-
nd the remainder, consisting of 76 bound and 269
ered books and pamphlets, were received in ex-
om other societies, and donations from the follow-
emen: Justin Winsor, G. M. Fairchild, Montague
ain, Dr. G. M. Dawson, D.S., F.G.S., Charles Bail-
nes M. LeMoine, Esq., also the Treasurer and En-
the City of Quebec, and the late W. R. Baldwin,
the Dominion and Provincial Governments.
h the kindness of the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava,
oy of India, your Society has been placed in com-

copy from the London Archives, detailed on page 1622; three vols. manuscript copy, badly damaged by fire, viz: One vol. Cahier d'Intendance; one vol. Table des Ordonnances, résolutions, avertissements, proclamations rendues par le Conseil du Canada, 1764 to 1775, and one volume Registres des Insinuations des Cahiers d'Intendance.

Complete sets of the books of George Eliot, Matthew Arnold, Emerson, J. Russell Lowell, Oliver Wendell Holmes and Nathaniel Hawthorne, are included in the purchases of the year, but the works of Sir Walter Scott, Dickens, Thackeray and Bulwer Lytton are still in a most dilapidated and irreparable condition, but it was deemed more advisable to purchase the works of authors that were not on our shelves than to renew these old ones, but the incoming Council may see their way to procure the much needed sets of these favorite authors.

F. C. WÜRTELE,
Librarian.

Quebec, 31st December, 1888.

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The Treasurer's report was read by E. Pope, Esq.

EDWIN POPE, TREASURER, IN ACCOUNT WITH THE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

*Dr.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1888. | | | |
| Jan. 10.— | To balance from 1887 | $ 68 12 | |
| Dec. 31.— | " Members' subscriptions, current | 512 00 | |
| | " Members' subscriptions, arrears | 188 00 | |
| | " Newspapers sold | 21 30 | |
| | " Transactions sold | 39 90 | |
| | " Grant from Provincial Government | 500 00 | |
| | | | $1,329 82 |

*Cr.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| amount paid for books and periodicals | $ 238 17 | |
| printing and binding | 127 01 | |
| fuel and light | 129 50 | |
| rent and insurance | 222 50 | |
| salaries and miscellaneous | 340 58 | |
| balance | 271 56 | |
| | | $1,329 32 |

January 9th, 1889.

E. & O. E.

EDWIN POPE,
Treasurer.

and found correct,

. BENNETT,
Auditor.

The election of office-bearers for the year 1889 was then proceeded with. A. Campbell, Esq., and Wm. A. Ashe, Esq., were appointed scrutineers. The following gentlemen were duly elected :—

*President*.....George Stewart, Jr., D.C.L., D. Litt., F.R.G.S., F.R.S.C.
1*st Vice President*.....Cyr. Tessier.
2*nd* " .....Wm. Hossack.
3*rd* " .....J. M. Harper, Ph. D., F.E.I.S.
4*th* " .....Very Rev. Dean Norman, D.D., D.C.L.
*Treasurer*.....Edwin Pope.
*Librarian*.....F. C. Würtele.
*Recording Secretary*.....J. Elton Prower.
*Corresponding Secretary*...Wm. A. Ashe, F.R.A.S.
*Council Secretary*.....A. Robertson.
*Curator of Museum*.....W. Clint.
*Curator of Apparatus*.....W. C. H. Wood.

*Additional Members of the Council*—H. M. Price, J. M. LeMoine, A. Campbell and Peter Johnston.

Mr. W. S. Bennett was appointed Auditor, S. Macdonald in charge of the rooms.

The meeting then adjourned.

## nts of the Literary and Historical Society.

.....Sir N. F. Burton, Lt.-Governor.
.....Hon. Mr. Reid, Chief Justice.
.....Lieut. Frederick Baddeley, R.N.
.....Hon. Jonathan Sewell, Chief Justice.
..... " " " " "
.....Hon. Andrew Stuart, Q.C.
.....Hon. Wm. Sheppard.
.....Joseph Skey, M.D.
.....Rev. Daniel Wilkie, LL.D.
.....Hon. Andrew Stuart, Q.C.
..... " " " "
.....Wm. Kelly, M.D., R.N.
..... " " " "

1866.....Com. E. D. Ashe, Lieut. R.N.
1867..... ..... " " " "
1868.....Hon. P. J. O. Chauveau, LL.D.
1869.....Prof. James Douglas.
1870.....Dr. W. J. Anderson.
1871.....J. M. LeMoine, Esq.
1872-3.....Dr. W. J. Anderson.
1873.....Com. E. D. Ashe, Lieut. R.N., F.R.S.
1874.....Prof. James Douglas.
1875..... " " "
1876..... .....James Stevenson, Esq.
1877..... " " "
1878..... " " "
1879.....J. M. LeMoine, Esq., F.R.S.C.
1880 ..... " " " "
1881..... " " " "
1882..... " " " "
1883..... .....Hon. D. A. Ross, Q.C.
1884..... " " " "
1885.....Geo. Stewart, jr., D.C.L., F.R.S.C., F.R.G.S.
1886..... " " " " "
1887..... " " " " "
1888..... ..... " " " " "
1889..... " " " " "

# y and Historical Society of Quebec.

FOUNDED IN 1824.

*Incorporated by Royal Charter, 1831.*

PATRON :

LENCY, THE RIGHT HON., THE LORD STANLEY OF PRESTON,
GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF CANADA.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

f Dufferin and Ava.
of Lorne.
of Lansdowne, G.C.M.G.
ming, C.M.G., LL.D.,
.C.
rge Bancroft, D.C.L.,
.
niel Wilson, LL.D.,
oronto University.
J. H. Lefroy, R.A.,

Francis Parkman, LL.D, F.R.S.C., Boston.
Rev. Charles Rogers, LL.D., F.S.A., Scotland.
Wm. C. Howells, Esq., Ohio.
Sydney Robjohns, Esq., F.R. Hist. Society, Scotland.
James Douglas, Esq., M.A., Spuyten Duyvil, N.Y.
Wm. Kirby, F.R.S.C., author of "Le Chien d'Or," Niagara.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.—*Continued.*

Dansereau, Arthur, Montreal.
Filippi, le Comte Waldémar, Paris.
Graham, Lt.-Col. U.S.A., Chicago.
Gérin, E., Trois-Rivières.
Grazillier, L'Abbé, Saintes, France.
Henderson, W., Frampton.
Jack, I. Allen, D.C.L., St. John, N.B.
Kingston, Professor G. T., University College, Toronto.
Huguet-Latour, Major, Montreal.
Lee, G. Herbert, M.A., St. John, N.B.
Lefebvre de Bellefeuille, E., Montreal.
Le Gardeur de Tilly, le Comte Hyppolite, Chantreau-près-Saintes, France.
Marchand, Hon. F. G., F.R.S.C.,M.P.P. St. John's, Quebec.
Morgan, Henry J., Ottawa.
Noble, Colonel W. H., R.A., F.R.S., F.R.A.S., England.
Provencher, Colonel N., Montreal.
Powis, Revd. H. D., London, England.
Roberts, Professor, Chas. G. D., M.A., Windsor, N.S.
Saban, Don Pedro, Secretary-General of the Royal Academy of History, Madrid.
Scott, B. Percy, M.A., Windsor, N.S.
Simmonds, Peter Lund, London, Eng.
Strange, T. Bland, Major-General, Calgary, N.W.T.
Sinding, Professor Paul C., Copenhagen.
Sulte, Benjamin, F.R.S.C., Ottawa.
Tilley, Sir S. L., K.C.M.G., C.B., Lt.-Governor of New Brunswick.
Wynne, Thomas H., Richmond, Va.

COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1889.

| | |
|---|---|
| GEORGE STEWART, JR., D.C.L., F.R.G.S., D. Litt., F.R.S.C. | *President.* |
| CYRILLE TESSIER | *Vice-Presidents.* |
| WILLIAM HOSSACK | |
| JOHN M. HARPER, Ph. D., F.E.I.S | |
| VERY REV. DEAN NORMAN, D.D., D.C.L | |
| EDWIN POPE | *Treasurer.* |
| F. C. WURTELE | *Librarian.* |
| J. ELTON PROWER | *Recording-Secretary.* |
| W. A. ASHE, F.R.A.S | *Corresponding-Secretary.* |
| A. ROBERTSON | *Council Secretary.* |
| W. CLINT | *Curator of Museum.* |
| W. C. H. WOOD | *Curator of Apparatus.* |
| HERBERT M. PRICE | *Additional Members of Council.* |
| J. M. LEMOINE | |
| A. CAMPBELL | |
| PETER JOHNSTON | |

——:o:——

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|---|---|
| W. S. BENNETT | *Auditor.* |
| S. MACDONALD | *In charge of the Rooms.* |

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS 1889.

M.D.
H.
tice.
F.R.A.S.
G.
H.
ew.
George, M.I.C.E.
H. R.
chibald.
N.

Hamilton, Robert.
Hamilton, John.
Harper, J., Ph. D., F.E.I.S.
Hemming, Henry.
Holt, John H.
Holt, Stanley H.
Horan, J.
Hossack, W.
Hutchinson, Rev. W. B.
Hunt, A. F.
Hunter, John.
Hearn, Hon. J., M. L. C.
Henchey, J. H., M.D.
Irvine, Hon. G.
Irvine, M. Bell, C. M. G. Com. Genl.
Johnston, P.
Joly de Lotbinière, Hon. H. G.
Joly de Lotbinière, E. G.
Jones, E. Allen.
Joseph, Montefiore.
Joseph, A. C.
King, Jas.
Lafrance, G. A.
Lampson, F.
Langlois, C. B.
Languedoc, W. C.
Ledroit, Theophile.
LeMoine, J. M., F.R.S.C.

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS.—*Continued.*

Ouimet, Hon. Gédéon, Q.C., L.L.D.
Paré, Edmond.
Patton, Wm.
Peters, S.
Petry, W. G.
Petry, Rev. H. J.
Pope, Edwin.
Pope, Alex.
Pope, Col. James.
Price, Hon. Evan J., M.S.C.
Price, H. M.
Porteous, J.
Prower, J. Elton.
Lord Bishop of Quebec.
Rae, Wm.
Racey, Ernest.
Renfrew, G. R.
Rexford, Rev. E. I.
Rhodes, Col., Hon. W.
Robertson, A.
Ross, Hon. D. A.
Ross, J. T.
Rowand, A., M.D.
Routhier, Justice.
Richardson, James.
Roy, J. Edmond.
Russell, Henry, M.D.
Schwartz, E.
Seaton, Wm.
Sewell, E. D.
Sewell, C., M.D.
Shaw, Wm.
Shaw, P. A.
Simons, J.
Simons, Wm.
Smith, H. Stanley.
Smith, R. H.
Stanley, Wm.
Stewart, G., D.C.L., F.R.G.S., F.R.S.C.
Stuart, Gus. G.
Stuart, Sir Andrew.
Stavely, H.
Stevenson, Jas.
Stevenson, Walter.
Smith, F. W.
St. Cyr, D. N., F.R.S.C.
Tessier, Cyrille.
Tessier, Jules, M.P.P.
Thibaudeau C.
Thomson, F. C. B.
Tims, Frank D.
Turner, R. D.
Turnbull, Lt.-Col. J. F.
Tapp, Major W. H.
Thomas, F. T.
Veldon, J. J.
Vial, Rev. W. S.
Wright, H. W.
Walcott, C. W.
Watters, Adam.
Webb, E. E.
Webster, G. M.
Welch, H. W.
Welch, John Y.
Welch, J. Lacon.
Welch, W. Wilde.
White, J. R. H.
Winfield, Jos.
Wood, W. C. H.
White, Geo. Rolt.
Wurtele, Fred. C.
Wurtele, W. G.
Young, T. Ainslie.
Young, John R.

PRIVILEGED MEMBERS.

LIFE MEMBERS OF THE LATE QUEBEC LIBRARY ASSOCIATION, VIZ:

Hon. C. Alleyn. George Colley. Robert Mitchell.

*By agreement.*

GOVERNORS OF MORRIN COLLEGE.

Rev. John Cook, D.D., LL.D., Chairman and Principal.
Andrew Thomson.
Frost W. Gray.
Dr. Rowand.
Rev. W. B. Clarke.
Archibald H. Cook.
Rev. A. T. Love, B.A.
William R. Dean.
Rev. Geo. Weir, M.A., LL.D.
J. H. Clint.

PROFESSORS.

| | |
|---|---|
| , B.A.<br>nner. | Rev. Dr. Campbell, D.D.<br>Rev. Zotique Lefebvre. |

STUDENTS FOR SESSION 1889.

| | |
|---|---|
| w.<br>on.<br>rson.<br>y.<br>. | J. St. M. McLeod.<br>Thos. G. McLeod.<br>Robt. McCulloch.<br>Geo. C. Pidgeon.<br>Russell Hale.<br>D. Anderson<br>E. Logie.<br>Jas. Webb.<br>J. Tanner.<br>Miss P. McLeod.<br>Miss E. Sloane.<br>Miss M. Brown. |

# OUR LIBRARY.

READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY, 3RD FEBRUARY, 1888,

—BY—

FREDERICK C. WÜRTELE,

LIBRARIAN.

In this paper I propose giving the history of our Library, rendered doubly interesting from its having absorbed two other libraries, whose vicissitudes I will also notice.

The Literary and Historical Society of Quebec was founded January 6th, 1824, by the influence and generous liberality of the Earl of Dalhousie, Governor General of British North America.

The purposes of the Society were thus declared in a circular to the public of Quebec: "To discover and rescue from the unsparing hand of time the records which yet remain of the earliest history of Canada. To preserve while in our power, such documents as may be found amid the dust of yet unexplored depositaries, and which may prove important to general history and to the particular history of this province." The numerous historical records published by the Society prove that the purposes above set forth have always been the chief aim of each successive Council.

In 1827 a similar society, called the "Society for promoting literature, science, arts and historical researches in Canada," was formed chiefly by French-Canadian gentlemen; but under the auspices of Sir James Kempt, the Governor General, who was patron of both societies, a union was brought about on June 4th, 1829, and the name

er society was retained. This increase of memb
unds, together with a liberal grant of £250 fr
ncial Government in 1830, enabled the Library
, as well as the Museum, and a set of philosophi
was purchased. The Society was incorporat
Parliament, dated October 5th, 1831.

etings, at which papers were read, were, by in
he Governor General, held at the Castle St. Lew
probable that the Society had rooms in the C
ill they were required by His Excellency aft
was destroyed by fire January 23rd, 1834; wh
ssion of the Government, apartments for the
w consisting of 360 volumes, were granted
Hotel, at the corner of Fort Street, built in 18
used for Government offices. This building, su
called St. George's Hotel, is now occupied a
Mr. D. Morgan. The corner stone was laid wi
mony August 14th, 1805.

The Government came to the Society's assistance with a grant of £250, which enabled the Library to make a fresh start. As these rooms were not very suitable they were vacated and the Society, in April, 1858, removed the 2,500 volumes it possessed to others in the Union or St. George's Hotel, and occupied them for one year; when, the Government requiring them, new quarters had to be found.

In June, 1859, the removal was made to the upper flat of the "Banque d'Épargne" buildings in St. John street. The Society remained there until 1862, when more eligible rooms were found in the Masonic Hall, St. Lewis street, but, while it was under discussion, the removal was decided for them in an abrupt and disastrous manner, for, at 10 o'clock, p.m., of October 25th, 1862, the buildings were burnt, and out of 4,000 volumes only 700 were saved, along with the manuscripts, but the Museum was totally destroyed.

An agreement, dated November 1st, was entered into with Morrin College, which occupied the Masonic Hall, and the remnants of the Society's belongings were gathered together and placed in rooms in that building. The agreement was for three years, subject to renewal at its expiration, by which the Society got free accommodation for its Library, Museum and Assistant-Secretary, but had to lay out annually the sum of £30 in books to be selected by the Governors of the College, said books to become the property of the College should the agreement not be renewed; also that their Governors, Professors and students would have free use of the Library and Museum, subject to rules made by a Joint Committee. Separate catalogues of the books and specimens belonging to each institution were to be kept.

In 1864 a printed catalogue of the Library was issued and the number of volumes therein were 1,115.

In 1865 the agreement expired, but as the College au-

d only renewed their lease for one year, thing
*statu quo.* In 1866 the College purchased the ol
of St. Anne street and Stanislaus Hill, and fitte
June, 1868, the Society removed to the fine room
ccupy in that building, when a new agreemen
d into on March 5th, 1868, for 10 years, to dat
ay, for the annual rental of $120 with the fol
ditions:—"Should the Society receive at an
g the lease, a grant from the Legislature of no
400 per annum, the annual rent would then b
d of the former sum during the continuation o
Also, that the Governors, Professors aud stu
orrin College would have free use of the Library
m, the same as the associate members of th
In 1866 a considerable accession was made to th
the purchase of the whole of the books belong
Quebec Library Association for the sum of $500
eased the number of volumes to 8,500.

"Messrs. Gravé, Mabane, Baby, Fargues and Monk hav-
"ing, at the meeting of the subscribers for the publick
"library, which was holden at the Bishop's Palace (pur-
"suant to the notice in the *Quebec Gazette*, for that purpose
"given) on the 15th instant, been elected by ballot Trustees
"for two years,—Messrs. Robert Lester and Arthur David-
"son appointed Treasurer and Secretary; and several gen-
"tlemen of the District of Montreal having expressed their
"wishes that the plan should be extended to the Province
"at large: The public is hereby acquainted, that a sub-
"scription is now opened at the office of Edward William
"Gray, Esquire, at Montreal, on the following terms, viz:
"£5 on subscribing and the annual sum of £2 afterwards.
"The books will be lent out to the subscribers according to
"regulations which are forming by the Trustees; and the
"public may be assured that particular attention will be
"given that no books contrary to religion or good morals,
"will be permitted. Those who have any books, for which
"they have no immediate use, are requested to send a cata-
"logue thereof, with the prices, edition and condition of
"them to Mr. Davidson, at the Secretary's Office, at Que-
"bec; that is (if approved) the Trustees may inspect and
"purchase them for the use of the Library. The sub-
"scribers in the District of Montreal are requested to pay
"their subscription money to Mr. Gray, and those in the
"District of Quebec to Mr. Lester, the Treasurer; both
"which gentlemen are likewise authorized to receive dona-
"tions from such persons as are desirous of encouraging so
"useful an institution.

"By order of the Trustees,

"A. DAVIDSON,

"Secretary."

As short sketches of the several gentlemen from time to time mentioned in this paper may be interesting, they will be given as they occur.

op at whose palace these meetings were held wa
Bishop of Quebec, Mgr. Jean Olivier Briand,
e parish of Plerin, in the diocese of St. Brieu
France. He arrived at Quebec 17th Augus
cretary to Mgr de Pontbriand, at whose death h
to be bishop of Quebec, 11th September, 176
at year to England, to obtain the sanction of th
subsequently received his appointment by bu
ément XIII, dated 21st January, 1766, and wa
16th March, at Paris, in the Chapel of St
Mercy, in the parish of Surenne, by Mgr Charle
mry de Termont, Bishop of Blois, who was au
y Mgr Christophe de Beaumont, Archbishop o
erform the ceremony. He returned to England
for Quebec arrived there 28th June that yea
himself in his seat in the Seminary Chapel, tem
ed as Cathedral. In September, 1770, he chos
tor Rev. Louis Philippe Mariancheau D'Esgli

so on reaching London he applied for military employment. It was suggested that he should join General Amherst's Army in America, and he set out for New York, when finding that Lord Elibank had written on his behalf, to his son, Sir James Murray, at Quebec, he proceeded there and established a successful practice. Dr. Mabane, from his gentle manners and readiness to assist all classes of persons, was much esteemed by all with whom he came in contact. Besides medicine, he was an ardent student of history and literature, and from his extensive knowledge and aptitude was named Judge by the Governor Sir James Murray, in 1764, when the Régime Militaire in Canada was drawing to a close; this office he most reluctantly accepted, and presided over the first civil Court held in Quebec. He understood the interpretation of the treaty and being familiar with both French and English law, he, from a sense of justice, essayed to sustain the rights of the people as well as the rights of the Crown; this gave offence to some of those in power who thought he took the part of the French inhabitants too openly. Being a member of the Council he had continual disagreements with the Governor Guy Carleton, who at last dismissed him from the Council and annulled his judgeship. While filling so prominent a position in the Council, Judge Mabane did not abandon his profession, for we find him in 1766 Surgeon of the Garrison of Quebec. In 1769 he purchased the country seat called Samos, and changed its name to Woodfield, and resided there. It is now Woodfield Cemetery. One day, in December, 1791, he started as usual for town, in the face of a violent snow storm, and taking a path across the Plains of Abraham, he lost his way and after wandering about for a long time was found and taken home, almost speechless and chilled through. Inflammation of the lungs set in and he died 3rd January, 1792, at the age of 58.

ng been in opposition to Governor Carleton, er him in the estimation of his successors, for he nal friend of Governor Haldimand, who often him on divers missions. He also was most ith General Reidesel, the Commandant of the Legion, then serving in Canada.

Baby was a Legislative Councillor, and in 1808 nant Colonel of the Militia and held the position General.

rgues was an eminent Quebec merchant and h January, 1780.

onk was Chief Justice and member of the Legis- cil. At the death of the Duke of Richmond, in ior Councillor, he assumed the Governorship till Sir Peregrine Maitland, the Lieutenant Governor anada.

ester was a Quebec merchant, and represented Town in the first Provincial Parliament, in 1792

" resources here, and the reason I have every day for per-
" ceiving that the ignorance of the people is one of the
" greatest obstacles that must be conquered to make them
" acquainted with their duties and their own interests, have
" given me the idea of establishing a public Library. I
" have led the Bishop and the Superior of the Seminary to
" see the advantage which would result from it. They
" have entered into my ideas and I have had a subscription
" opened, which they have signed with me, as have several
" priests, almost all the British merchants and several Can-
" adians, and not to allow the zeal of these gentlemen to
" cool I have charged the directors of the Library to form
" a catalogue, which I send by this opportunity to Mr. Cum-
" berland, of the Board of Trade, agent for this Province,
" with a credit of £500 sterling, and if he takes any trouble
" we may hope to receive the books for next winter. I am
" convinced of the advantage which will follow such an
" establishment, and it is desirable that it should be pro-
" tected." *

Letter to Richard Cumberland, 2nd March. ‡

SIR,—" The ignorance of the natives of this colony hav-
" ing been, in my apprehension, the principal cause of their
" misbehaviour and attachment to interests evidently injur-
" ious to themselves, I have sought to encourage a subscrip-
" tion for a public library, which more are come into than
" could have been at first expected ; a pretty good sum has
" already been raised and when the scheme is sufficiently
" matured by experience, I hope it will greatly tend to
" promote a more perfect coalition of sentiments and union
" of interests between the old and new subjects of the
" Crown than has hitherto subsisted. The gentlemen chosen
" by the majority of subscribers to be directors of this

* This letter was in French and translated. Canadian Archives, series B, vol. 66, p. 105.

‡ Canadian Archives, series B, vol. 66, p. 107.

ablishment, well knowing your taste for letters,
to take the trouble of purchasing the books they
of recommending such as you think will tend to
e benefits expected from the Institution, and in
ssist them with your advice and support in the
ent of this business. Though the intention of
this Library is, I am persuaded, without any
dation from me, very sufficient to recommend
lishment as well as the Directors of it to your
ould not refuse them the satisfaction of adding
st to theirs of assuring you I shall consider any
nferred upon it as done to myself, and on all
endeavour to convince you of the great regard
n with which, &c., &c.,"

I am, &c.,

FREDERICK HALDIMAND.

November 29th, 1788.

" The gentlemen subscribers proprietors of the Quebec " Library, are requested to meet the Trustees at the Bishop's " Palace, on Tuesday next, the 2nd December, at eleven " o'clock A. M., to deliberate on measures that may promote " the usefulness of the Institution." * The meeting took place and is reported as follows :—

" The subscribers of the Quebec Library, at a meeting " held the 2nd December, observed with regret, that the " the Library is in debt, and that some gentlemen have " neglected the advantages of its institution, by yet with- " holding their promised support, although necessarily and " frequently required to pay the arrears due, to sustain and " promote the advantage of its institution. It was therefore " resolved that Mr. Robert Lester, Treasurer, should send " accounts to those who are yet in arrears to the Library, " with request of payment, and that receipts should accom- " pany the accounts when presented. And it is requested " that those persons who do not pay such accounts should " bring the amount of their respective dues to the Library " at the annual meeting; failing which, it will be necessary " to pass such resolution as may support a collection of " the sums outstanding. The subscribers are required to " attend the annual meeting, on Saturday, the 20th instant, " at 11 o'clock A.M., to examine the general account, elect " Trustees and make such regulations as may be found " beneficial and necessary."

" Quebec Herald " of 29th December, 1788, viz :—

" At a meeing, on Saturday, 20th instant, after the elec- " tion of Trustees and Treasurer, viz : James Monk, Hugh " Findlay, Wiliam Grant, Peter Panet, J. A. Panet, Esqs. " Mr. Robert Lester, Treasurer. It was proposed and resolved

* It may be here sated that the Library occupied rooms in the Bishop's palace or south wing of theedifice used as Parliament Buildings, at the head of Mountain Hill.

ture the proprietors of the Library should pay
the sum of twenty shillings, and other persons
ome annual subscribers and have the use of the
he Library (without a vote or direction in the
on paying thirty shillings at entrance for one
at the annual subscribers should be approved
ustees of the Library before issuing the books,
d conform to the rules of the Society, one of
hat some one of the proprietors shall recommend
l subscriber, and be answerable for his conform-
rules made for the preservation and free use of
"

r of the *Herald* supplemented these resolutions
editorial, as follows:—" A Society of gentlemen
o promote science and afford amusement and
n, by the general use and benefit of an extensive
of useful and entertaining books in the English
ch languages have by voluntary subscription

thus notices the Library, from which it seems that from want of energy in the management, the Library was not as useful to the citizens at large nor as successful as it should have been. No doubt new books were then both costly and difficult to obtain.—"The only public Library in "Canada is kept at Quebec, in one of the apartments at the "Bishop's palace. It is small and very indifferently supplied "with new publications. The books circulate only in that "city among those inhabitants who subscribe."

Hugh Findlay served under Benjamin Franklin, the first English Deputy Postmaster General for the then British American provinces, from 1750 to 1774, when he resigned. Findlay was then appointed Deputy Postmaster General for Canada, from 1774 to 1800, and was a member of the Legislative Council.

William Grant, of St. Rochs, after whom Grant street was named, was Receiver General of the Province, in 1770, and afterwards was member for the Upper Town of Quebec, during the first two Parliaments, from 1792 to his death, in 1805.

Jean Antoine Panet was a member of the first Parliament, in 1792, and chosen Speaker of the House, which position he held for 22 years. In 1814 he was called to the Upper House, and just before the close of the Session, in 1815, a notice of motion was given, resolving that at the next session it would take into consideration the granting of a pecuniary compensation to him for his long and meritorious services as Speaker of the House. Panet died before this good resolution was carried out, but on 11th March, 1817, his widow was granted an annuity of £300.

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The Library had been removed from the Bishop's palace, and in 1822 it occupied rooms in the new building of the Quebec Fire Assurance Company, in St. Peter street, in the Lower Town. In that year there were 4000 volumes on the shelves.

brary had continued in the even tenor of its ways
rs, when the Trustees found that it required more
n was possessed to enforce the payment of sub-
Therefore an act of incorporation was applied
tained by special Council at Government House
al, on June 26th, 1840. This Act was intituled an
ce to incorporate the Quebec Library, 4th Victoria,
viz :—" Whereas it hath been represented to His
cy the Governor General of this Province, by the
d Daniel Wilkie, Doctor of Laws, William Walker,
essop, William Bristow, and Robert Hunter Gaird-
uires, Trustees of the Quebec Library and others,
shares as proprietors therein, that the said Library
blished at the City of Quebec, in the year 1779,
been in active operation ever since, that the
nent thereof is vested in Trustees appointed
by a majority of votes, but that from the want

" Which corporation shall, until the first Tuesday of the
" month of April, in the year 1841, consist of the Trustees
" hereinbefore mentioned, and shall thereafter consist of
" five of the proprietors of the said Library, to be elected
" annually, on the first Tuesday in April of each and every
" year, by a majority of votes of proprietors of said Library,
" not in arrears of subscription, present at the meeting to
" be called by the Trustees for the time being, for the pur-
" pose of such election, by an advertisement inserted during
" two weeks in some newspaper published in the said City
" of Quebec, specifying the day, hour, place and object of
" each meeting, and such corporation shall have perpetual
" succession. It shall in law be capable of suing and being
" sued, &c., &c., of purchasing, holding and conveying any
" estate, real or personal, for the use of said Library, pro-
" vided such real or personal estate at any one time held
" by said corporation shall not together exceed the value of
" £3,000. Shall have a common seal, &c., &c. May
" establish rules and regulations, and impose fines and
" penalties. The Library is vested in the Corporation. The
" shares of the proprietors neglecting to pay their subscrip-
" tions for three years and upwards to be sold by auction,
" &c., &c.
" This ordinance to be a public one and made permanent."

Henry Jessop was appointed first Collector of Customs, at Montreal, in 1831, when it was created a port of entry. In 1832, he was named comptroller, which office was abolished the following year. In February, 1833, Mr. Ferrier, the Collector at Quebec, died and Mr. Jessop was promoted to the vacancy, which position he held till the Customs were transferred to the Canadian Government, when he retired and returned to England. He was a prominent member of the English Cathedral, where for many years he held the position of Church Warden. He was greatly esteemed in the community, and the following incident on

g Quebec, speaks for itself. On Thursday morning, 1851, Mr. Jessop attended by invitation at the esidence, to meet certain members of the Congre- on. W. Walker, H. Lemesurier, R. Wainwright, J. h, Revs. Dr. Mackie and A. W. Mountain, who e Committee for procuring a testimonial to show l and respect for him on his departure from the His Lordship, in a short address, explained that timonial could not arrive in time from London s departure, it would be ready for him on his ere, in the meantime he handed him an engraving was an elaborate silver inkstand with the follow- ption on it :—" Presented to Henry Jessop, late r of H. M. Customs at Quebec, upon his leaving by a number of friends who desire by this part- en, as well to testify their general esteem of his er, as, in particular to manifest their sense of his and efficient services as Church Warden for a

Findlay's death, had the management of the business for two years. He took great interest in politics and began his connection with Canadian journalism in 1836, by contributing to a paper called the *Union*. In 1841 he contributed a series of letters to the *Gazette*, on Responsible Government. When the Free Trade Association of Montreal established the *Economist*, in 1846, he was one of its leading contributors. In 1849, when the public mind was excited over the Rebellion Losses Bill and the Parliament Buildings at Montreal were burnt, Mr. Bristow was invited to take the editorial chair of the *Pilot*, from which Mr. Hincks had retired, and was connected with it at different intervals till its extinction, in 1854. Shortly after the general election of 1854, in which he unsuccessfully sought to represent Montreal, he established the *Argus*, which only lived four years, after which he for two years was editor of the *Transcript*, this closed his connection with the press of Canada. He delivered two lectures, one on a free trade subject, and the other, during the annexation furore in 1849, and from the able manner in which he handled that subject, annexation, was strongly eulogized by the London *Times* and other British periodicals. He occupied various positions of trust and importance in the province; in 1837 was Secretary of the Constitutional Association at Quebec. In 1848 he was a member of a Committee to inquire into the conduct and management of the Provincial Penitentiary, and in 1862 was a member of the Financial and Departmental Commission. He was chairman of the Classes of Arts of the Q. and L. Hist. Society in 1838, and Recording Secretary from 1839 to 1843.

Robert Hunter Gairdner, nephew of William Findlay, was a Quebec lawyer, at one time partner of Sir Andrew Stuart. Mr. Gairdner was a member of this society and held the office of Recording Secretary in 1834-35. He was appointed judge of Insolvency at Quebec, subsequently

the District of St. Francis, and resided at S
here he died.

William Walker came to Canada in 1816, and
ed merchant of Montreal and subsequentl
nd was a member of the Legislative Council.
18th May, 1863, at age of 73.

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h for the old Quebec Library ; but another i
se ; evidently the public were not satisfied
gement or perhaps may have desired to assist
y in some manner, for a public meeting was ca
at Payne's hotel, St. Ursule street, now the re
Dr. Lemieux, on Tuesday, December 12th, 1
ew up a prospectus for a Library in the Eng
ch languages, to be called the Quebec Library

The new Library succeeded, books were
nd a number of the proprietors of the Que

tute, Library Association, La Société des études scientifiques et littéraires ; the Quebec Garrison Library was also invited.

On June 17th, 1847, a petition by Archibald Campbell and the proprietors of the Quebec Library was presented to Parliament, praying for the repeal of the Ordinance 4 Victoria, chapter 20, incorporating the Trustees of said Library, which was passed on July 23rd. 1847, and the old Quebec Library passed out of existence.

Archibald Campbell was a native of Quebec, to which his parents removed soon after the American revolution. He studied his profession under the late Jacques Voyer, and was admitted notary public for the province, 6th June, 1812. Mr. Campbell was appointed His Majesty's Notary. This office was conferred by special commission 18th May, 1821, during the governorship of Lord Dalhousie, in acknowledgment of valuable services rendered to the Imperial authorities. He was also doyen of the Board of Notaries of Quebec, and was held in the greatest esteem by his professional confrères. But it was in his capacity of Commissioner for wrecked and destitute seamen that the generous qualities of his heart were most prominent. In him the shipmaster could rely on a considerate friend and councillor. He was for many years President of the Harmonic Society, and it was through his exertions that the Music Hall was built. Mr. Campbell was Treasurer of the Quebec Literary and Historical Society in 1830 and 1831, and one of its Vice-Presidents in 1842 and also in 1850 to 1853. He died at his seigniory of Bic 16th July, 1862, aged 72, and rests at Mount Hermon.

On February 12th, 1854, the Parliament Buildings were destroyed by fire and a good portion of the books of the Quebec Library Association were burnt. The remnants were placed in rooms at 42 St. Ann street, and subsequently at 21 Famille street, which they occupied in 1864. The Association then moved to 13 St. John street, where the

as carried on till 1866. Through bad manager
iation was not financially a success; howev
was made by J. Thompson Harrower, Esq.,
1865 by subscription. It contained 6990 volu
as follows :—4326 volumes of biography, tra
novels and 1447 volumes of French Literat
ng room was kept well supplied with all the c
as well as a good number of English and fore
rs. Also all the leading magazines and revi
d on the table.

, the Association sold the Library for $500 to
iterary and Historical Society, and on March
Association dissolved, and after paying their de
t they possessed a balance of £12. 2s. 2d. wh
ly divided between Robert Rogers, the Super
nd Miss Meiklejohn, the Librarian.

recorded the decease and interment of the
ibrary and the Quebec Library Association

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Geography and Travels | 819 | volumes. |
| History | 375 | " |
| Modern History | 1311 | " |
| American History and Antiquities | 118 | " |
| Canadian History | 602 | " |
| Biography | 657 | " |
| Political Economy and Social Science | 371 | " |
| Language | 176 | " |
| Greek and Roman Literature | 115 | " |
| Modern Literature | 1376 | " |
| Catalogues of Books | 24 | " |
| Moral Philosophy and Metaphysics | 315 | " |
| Theology | 349 | " |
| Polygraphy | 399 | " |

The estimated number of volumes at present (in 1888) is about 15,000 and some 6,000 pamphlets. As the Society had always received a grant of $750 from the Government, a good many valuable works were annually added to the Library, but in 1883 the Government taking an extremely economical turn, cut down the grant 20 per cent. thus making it $562.50 and in the following year abolished it altogether. This Society was not the only one thus treated. This loss has stopped all extensive purchases of new books, but by careful management the Society will gradually recuperate and the Library improve by new accessions

A kindred institution was founded in London in 1831, named the Royal United Service Institution and one of the first measures passed at its second anniversary meeting was that :—

"In order to guarantee as far as possible the permar
" existence of the Institution, it is resolved to inve
" public securities all life subscriptions and any su
" above the necessary expenses of the establishment."

The result is that at present that Institution has £20,000 stg. invested. I do not for a moment con

tions, but simply quote this to show with wh
ght our Society was begun; had such a resol
made and acted upon in years gone by, th
uld now have been independent and not cri
abolishing of the annual Government grant.
s the Society was firmly established in 1829
ishing the Transactions and Historical Doc
h I will now describe. The first three volum
ions were issued in the years 1829, 1831 an
tively. In 1838 the first part of first series
Documents appeared, called "Mémoires sur
epuis 1749 jusqu'à 1760." This manuscript w
ted to the Society by Colonel Christie, the a
upposed to have been M. de Vauclain, a nav
e French service in 1759. The following
ircumstance concerning a copy of it, is thus
ancis Parkman, the historian:* "The remar
ymous work printed by the Historical Socie

" dian affairs of the time, and though often caustic, is gen-
" erally trustworthy."

It was reprinted by the Society in 1876.

In 1840 the second part of this series was published, called "Collection de mémoires et de relations sur l'his-
" toire ancienne de Canada d'après des manuscrits récem-
" ment obtenus des archives et bureaux publics en France." (Huit mémoires reliés en 1 vol. in 8-vo) viz.:—

1. "Mémoire sur l'état présent du Canada, attribué à M. Talon," 7 p.

2. "Mémoire sur le Canada (1736), attribué à M. Hocquart," 14 p.

3. "Considérations sur l'état présent du Canada (1758)," 29 p.

4. "Histoire du Canada par M. l'abbé de Belmont," 36 p.

5. "Relation du siége de Québec en 1759 par une religieuse de l'Hôpital Général de Québec," 24 p.

6. "Jugement impartial sur les opérations militaires de la Campagne en Canada en 1759," 8 p.

7. "Réflexions sommaires sur le commerce qui s'est fait en Canada," 8 p.

8. "Histoire de l'eau de vie en Canada," 29 p.

The first three memoires are from manuscripts obtained from the archives of the Bureau de la Marine à Paris by Lord Durham in 1838, just before he left Europe to take charge of the Government of Canada, and shortly after his arrival at Quebec presented them to the Society, along with two others, leaving their publication to the discretion of the Council.

The other five were from manuscripts presented to the Society by one of its members, Revd. John Holmes, Professor of Physics at the Quebec Seminary. He obtained them from the Royal Library and other public institutions in Paris, while there on a visit, and the Society chose these from his series.

bé John Holmes was born 7th May, 1799, at
Vermont. He became a convert to the Roman
hurch, studied theology, and was ordained 5th
823, and subsequently appointed Vicaire of Ber-
Montreal, and then missionary at Drummond-
1827 he was attached to the Seminary at Quebec
l one of the directors of that institution. Among
es, his great partiality for geography induced
32, to compile a French treatise on that subject
of schools, which went through five editions.
e Provincial Government sent him to Europe to
chers for the Normal School, at that time being
in Montreal. Mr. Holmes was considered by
of science with whom he became acquainted
his mission, as a person of superior ability and
s, and was everywhere treated with the highest
e was one of the most active members of this

The fourth volume of Transactions came out in 1855, followed in 1862 by the fifth, which consisted of only the first part. In 1863 the new series was commenced by part one and continued to 1886, when part 18 was issued. At present the first three volumes are out of print and very rare. Three parts of the fourth volume are still in print, but the fourth part and appendix are unobtainable. The fifth volume and all of the new series are in print, except number five, of which not one copy remains.

The fourth part of first series Historical Documents was published in 1861, having been obtained by G. B. Faribault, Esq., from the archives in the office of Marine in Paris in 1852 and presented to the Society; it is called "Mémoirés du Sieur de Ramsay, Commandant à Québec, "au sujet de la reddition de cette ville, le 18 septembre "1759."

The second series was published in 1866 and 1867 in separate brochures, as follows:—

1. "Extract from a manuscript journal relating to the siege of Quebec in 1759, kept by Colonel Malcolm Fraser."

Col. Fraser died in 1815, aged 82. The original of this manuscript is in the possession of the family of the Hon. J. M. Fraser, who kindly allowed this copy to be made by the Society.

2. "Campaign of Louisbourg, 1750 to 1758."

3. "Dialogue in Hades, between Generals Wolfe and Montcalm, a parallel of military errors, of which the French and English armies were guilty during the campaign of 1759."

4. "The Campaign of 1760 in Canada."

These three documents are attributed to Chevalier Johnstone, a Jacobite who fled to France after the battle of Culloden, joined the French army, and was present in Canada as Aide-de-Camp to Chevalier de Lévis. The originals are in the French war archives in Paris, and copies were made

Morin, Esq., draughtsman to the Canadian Crown
partment in 1855, and deposited in the library of
it, whence the Society obtained these copies.
invasion of Canada in 1775." This is a letter
to be to General Murray from Col. Caldwell, who
tant-Quartermaster General under Wolfe.
rnal of an expedition up the River St. Lawrence
This narrative appeared for the first time in the
*Mercury* of 31st December, 1759, and was re-
by the Society.
rd series was published in 1871 in one volume
nposed of the following narratives :—
toire de Montréal, 1640 to 1672." This manu-
n Paris, a copy having been brought to Montreal
ber, 1845, by Hon. L. J. Papineau. The author
d to be François Dollier de Casson, priest of St.
Paris.
cueil de ce qui s'est passé en Canada au sujet de

2. " General orders in Wolfe's army during the expedition up the river St. Lawrence, 1759."

The originals of these two documents are in possession of J. M. LeMoine, Esq., given to him by Charles Aylwin, brother of the late Judge T. C. Aylwin. They were found amongst the papers of the Allsopp family, with whom Mr. Aylwin was connected by marriage and were originally the property of the late Hon. George Allsopp, their ancestor, who at one time had been private secretary to Col. Guy Carleton, who was Quarter-Master General to General Wolfe.

3. " Journal du siège de Québec en 1759, par Jean Claude Panet." The author of this journal was the father of Hon. J. A. Panet, president of the Legislative Assembly of Lower Canada.

4. " Journal of the siege and blockade of Quebec by the American rebels, in autumn 1775 and winter 1776, attributed to Hugh Findlay." The manuscript was in the possession of the late Hon. J. M. Fraser, who kindly allowed it to be copied by the society.*

The fifth series was published in 1877 and contains documents relating to the war of 1812.

The last manuscript printed is a detailed account of the vessels arrived at Quebec in the year 1793. It was extracted from the register of the Quebec Exchange and contributed for publication in the Archives of the Literary and Historical Society by MacPherson LeMoyne, Seigneur of Crane Island, County of Montmagny, P. Q. And it was found among the papers of the late Chief Justice Sewell, and presented to the Exchange in 1863 by his son, Rev. E. W. Sewell.

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* A curious circumstance connected with it is that the New York Historical Society have published in their collection for 1880 a similar diary called: " Journal of the most remarkable occurrences in Quebec, from 14th November, 1775, to 7th May, 1776, by an officer of the Garrison." It agrees exactly with that published by our society, only it is more detailed in many events.

Besides these published documents the Society possesses a number of manuscripts both original and copies; among which are a number of memoires, letters, diaries, &c., ranging from 1758 to 1830, by the late James Thomson, Sr., a volunteer under General Wolfe, and afterwards overseer of Public Works.

" Perrault L'Ainé's Correspondence, 1775 to 1772."

" Histoire de l'Eglise Paroissiale de Québec et procès-verbaux, 1771."

" Warrants of Lands, &c., 1764 to 1767."

" Mémoire sur le Canada, 1760 to 1764."

" Minutes of the Agricultural Society of Quebec, 1789."

" Memoirs and letters presented by J. M. LeMoine, Esq., in 1882, being manuscripts, letters, essays, &c., by J. C. Fisher, Esq., LL.D., who was president of the society in 1846, and presented by his daughter, Mrs. E. Burstall.

* 6 vols. original manuscript of Procédure Judiciaire, 1665 to 1759.

* 1 vol. original manuscript of Matière de police et Voierie, 1683-1756.

* 1 vol. original manuscript of Matière de police, 1695 to 1755.

* 2 vols. original manuscript of Matière civile, 1682 to 1746.

* 1 vol. manuscript copy of Cahier d'intendance, 1647 to 1725.

* 1 vol. manuscript copy Registres des insinuations des cahiers d'intendance.

* 1 vol. manuscript copy Table des ordonnances, &c., 1764 to 1775.

* 17 vols. manuscript copy from the Archives of Paris, 1631 to 1763

* 6 vols. manuscript copy from the Archives of London 1613 to 1779.

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* See Appendix.

* 2 vols. manuscript copy of Relations sur le Canada, 1682 to 1712.

* 1 vol. manuscript copy of Voyages au Mississippi, 1698 to 1699.

* 1 vol. manuscript copy of Histoire de Montréal, 1640 to 1672.

* 1 vol. manuscript copy of Sieges of Quebec, 1759 and 1776.

1 vol. Ship registers, Quebec, 1779.

2 vols. miscellaneous notes, &c., &c., by J. Jamieson.

All these contain material for more historical documents, should the society see fit to publish them.

The library also contains many rare and valuable works such as Baron Masères collections. The original copies of the *Moniteur de Paris*, 1791 to 1803. Almost a complete set of the *Quebec Gazette*, 1764 to 1873. Also nearly a complete set of *Quebec Mercury*, 1805 to 1863. *Quebec Herald*, 1788 to 1790. *Canadien*, 1806 to 1810. *Berean*, 1844 to 1849. *Quebec Chronicle*, 1848 to date.

Exchanges are made with the chief societies of Great Britain, India, New Zealand, Spain, Norway and United States, whose transactions, proceedings and collections contain much valuable information, both historical, geographical, biographical, geological and scientific. The Dominion Government sends regularly all the Blue Books and Sessional Papers, as also do the several Provincial Governments. The Society likewise has a complete set of the Canadian Geological survey reports and maps. Also the Dominion Archives reports.

The following magazines, reviews and newspapers are found on the tables, the greater part of which are afterwards bound up and placed on the shelves, viz :—

Blackwood's Magazine,
19th Century,
Scientific American Supplement,
Revue Canadienne,

* See Appendix.

Fortnightly,
Contemporary,
Edinburgh Review,
Westminster,
London Quarterly,
Cornhill Magazine,
MacMillan's Magazine,
All the Year Round,
Chambers' Journal,
Revue des Deux Mondes,
Notes and Queries,
Pennsylvania Magazine of History,
Bizarre Notes and Queries,
Punch,
Grip,
Harper's Monthly,
Century,
Atlantic,
North American Review,
Magazine of American History,
Scientific American,
Medical & Surgical Journal, C
Canadian Antiquarian,
Musical Times, London,
Quebec Morning Chronicle,
Auk,
Illustrated London News,
London Graphic,
Athenæum,
Saturday Review,
Spectator,
London Mail,
Public Opinion,
Pall Mall Gazette,
Popular Science Monthly,
Art Journal, London,
Week,
Whitaker's Almanac,
Statesman's Year Book,
Canada Official Gazette,
Quebec Official Gazette.

JOURNALS AND PUBLICATIONS OF SOCIETIES.

Royal Society, Canada,
N. Scotia Institute Natural Science,
New Brunswick Natural History Society,
Natural History Society, Montreal,
Institut Canadien, Quebec,
New Zealand Institute,
New England Historical and Genealogical Society,
Franklyn Institute,
Boston Society Natural History,
Smithsonian Institute,
Wisconsin State Historical Society,
Essex Institute,
Archæological Survey of India,
Royal Historical Society, London,
Royal Irish Academy,
Royal Society, Edinburgh,
Royal United Service Instiute,
Royal Artillery Institute,
Royal Colonial Institute,
Real Academia de La Historia, drid,
American Geographical Society,
Academy of Arts and Sciences, York,
Wyoming Historical and Gene cal Society,
Geological Survey of Canada,
Geological Survey of United Sta
Geological Survey of India,
Dominion and Provincial Parlian ary Reports, &c.

The Librarian being a member of the council is ele annually and the office an honorary one, it may be in

esting to record the names of the librarians and say a few words about those who joined the great majority, and of some who have left the city.

The first Librarian on record is Dr. John Whitelaw, in 1830. He was born at Bothwell, in Scotland, in 1774, and came to Quebec to be assistant in the grammar school of Revd. Dr. Wilkie; he studied medicine in the city and subsequently completed his studies in Edinburgh. At one time he attended Dr. James Douglass through a severe illness, watching by him night and day, who in gratitude took him into partnership in his extensive practice. Although Dr. Whitelaw was much liked in Quebec, he always had a desire to settle in Western Canada, whither he went and established himself for sometime in Brockville, Kingston and also Toronto, but hearing that the Upper Canada grammar school was to be opened at Niagara, he applied for and obtained the position of head master. Although a successful physician his chief study was chemistry.

He married Miss Francis Thomson, daughter of the late Mr. James Thomson, overseer of works for the city of Quebec, in the department of Royal Engineers. He died at Niagara, and was buried there 31st January, 1853.

1831. Joseph Morrin, M D. Dr. Morrin was a native of Dumfrieshire, in Scotland, and came to Canada with his parents at an early age, was educated at the school of Rev. Dr. Wilkie. He studied medicine, and after completing his studies at London and Edinburgh, when scarcely of age, began to practise in Quebec, where he gradually rose to the highest eminence in the profession. He, with two of his confreres, Drs. Douglass and Fremont, had the honor of establishing the Beauport Lunatic Asylum. He took a lively interest in public affairs, was appointed magistrate, and elected to the city council. Twice he presided over this city as mayor, to the universal satisfaction of the citizens. A short time previous to his death, which occurred 29th August, 1861, he placed in the hands of Rev. Dr. Cook and

other trustees a large sum of money for the erection of a Protestant college in Quebec, under the charge of St. Andrews Church, of which he was a member. The trustees purchased the old jail and transformed it into this commodious and useful building. Morrin College has flourished and takes a good position among the collegiate institutions of Canada.

In 1832 the office was held by Rev. Daniel Wilkie, LL.D. He was born at Tolcross, in Scotland, in 1777. In 1794 he attended the University of Glasgow, and as it was his intention to become a minister of the Church of Scotland, he entered Divinity Hall in 1797, where in 1803 he won honors taking 1st prize, a silver medal, for an essay on Socinian Controversy. Emigrating to Canada in 1803, he was, the following year, licensed by the presbytery of Montreal to preach. He chose Quebec as his residence, and for forty years conducted most successfully the best school in the city. Taking an active part in every association for the advancement of literature, science and art, he joined this society and presided over its destinies in 1836. The society is indebted to him for several papers. The following are to be found in the transactions: "Length and space," and one "On the theory of parallel lines, being an attempt to demonstrate the 12th "Axiom of Euclid." Also, "A few observations on the importance of aiming at the establishment of some general system of education in Canada." Part of a paper on "Comparative view of the more striking qualities of the French and English languages," was printed but not completed; perhaps something happened to the manuscript. He was editor of the *Quebec Star*, newspaper, during the three years of its existence. At the foundation of the Quebec High School, in 1843, he was appointed Rector, but advancing age compelled him to retire from active life before the end of the year. The remainder of his life was spent in retirement and he died 10th May, 1851.

1833. Henry Black. Hon. Henry Black, C. B., was born

in Quebec, and was a pupil of Dr. Wilkie. He studied for the bar, and on the suspension of the constitution of Lower Canada was named Special Counsel, and upon the Union of the Provinces he represented the city in the first Parliament. Mr. Black was subsequently appointed Judge Surrogate of the Court of Vice Admiralty, and as a reward for his valuable public services was created, by Her Majesty, Companion of the Bath. He was made a Doctor of Law by Harvard University, and was also one of our Vice Presidents in 1840. He died 16th August, 1873, aged 73.

1834. George Okill Stuart. Mr. Stuart was born at Toronto, 12th October, 1807, and was the son of the late Dr. Stuart, who was for many years Archdeacon at Kingston. He was educated at Kingston and Quebec, and studied law with his uncle, Mr. James Stuart, and was called to the bar in 1830; four years later he entered into partnership with his uncle, which lasted till Sir James was made Chief Justice, in 1838. Mr. Stuart was elected Mayor of Quebec in 1846 and was mainly instrumental in obtaining the water supply from Lake St. Charles. On his retiring from office in 1850, the citizens presented him with a testimonial showing their appreciation of his services. In 1852, he represented the city in Parliament, and also in 1857.

The two volumes of Admiralty reports published by him in 1858 and 1875, as far as maritime law in regard to the trade and navigation of the river St. Lawrence was concerned, were pronounced in Europe and the United States as undisputable authority.

At the death of Judge Black, Mr. Stuart was appointed Judge of the Admiralty Court, 27th October, 1873, which position he held till his death, which occurred 5th March, 1884.

1835. Revd. D. Wilkie.

In 1836, G. B. Faribault. George Barthelemy Faribault was born at Quebec 3rd December, 1789. He attended the school of a Scotch professor, John Fraser, an ancient veteran

of General Wolfe's Army, and subsequently studied law under the Hon. J. A. Panet, and was admitted to the bar in 1811. In the war of 1812 he served his country as Lieutenant in the Light Company of the 6th Batt. Canadian Militia. In 1822 was appointed French translator to the Legislature, and at the Union of the provinces, in 1841, was named assistant secretary to the Legislative Assembly, which position he filled till 1855. He was a great historical and archæological student and had gathered a collection of some 1,600 volumes and documents relating to the history of Canada ; these were unfortunately destroyed in the burning of the Parliament buildings, at Montreal, in 1849. In no way discouraged by this calamity he recommenced a second collection and the Legislature sent him to Europe in 1851, to collect manuscripts and historical records for the parliamentary library. On his return he was voted £250 for the able manner in which he accomplished his mission. He resigned his office in 1855 and the Government gave him a retiring pension of £400. Mr. Faribault was chiefly instrumental in procuring the large marble slab to the memory of Montcalm and placing it in the Ursuline Chapel, on the centennary of the French General's death. Mr. Faribault was one of the founders of this society, in which he took the greatest interest, and was seven times elected president, first in 1844, then from 1851 to 54, and also in 1858 and 59. The society is deeply indebted to his kindness for several of its important documents, and as a souvenir his portrait adorns our room. Students of American history are indebted to him for the " Catalogue raisonné d'ouvrages sur l'histoire de l'Amérique," published in 1837. He died 21st December, 1866, and bequeathed his large and valuable collection of historical works and manuscripts to the Laval University.

1837 and 1838. Revd. D. Wilkie.

1839. Hon. F. W. Primrose. He was second son of Neil, Earl of Roseberry, and sat with honor in the British House of Parliament, where he was a consistent supporter

of Liberal opinions. He was one of the junior counsel of the unfortunate Queen Caroline, and was an intimate friend of Lord Brougham, when Brougham a rising barrister was struggling at the Bar, without his noble friend's advantages of birth and station. In Canada he wore the robe of Queen's Counsel with dignity, and conducted the Crown business impartially and well, and was an advocate of the first rank. He died in Quebec 26th May, 1860, at the age of 76.

1840. Augustus Sewell. Mr. Sewell came from England, and at one time owned a mill in the Parish of Beauport. He was an active member of the Society. and was Recording Secretary in 1836. His paper on the Massasagua, a species of rattle-snake, was read at the meeting of 8th November, 1837, and is found in the 4th volume of Transactions. It seems that he was not a relative of the Chief Justice.

1841 to 1843. Daniel Wilkie, M. A. Daniel Wilkie came when a boy from Scotland to Quebec in 1826, and after spending a year or two in a merchant's office, entered his uncle's (Revd. D. Wilkie) school as one of the assistant masters. When the Quebec High School was established, in 1843, he took the position of Senior English Master and entered upon what proved to be the labor of his life. Subsequently he was appointed Rector, which position he held till his death. Mr. Wilkie taught in the school for the last time in November, 1875. For some time past his health was evidently giving away, and with the hope of re-establishing it, spent the summer vacation in Scotland; on his return he seemed somewhat better, but the improvement was only temporary, and after a painful illness he died on 10th April, 1876, aged 61 years. As no new appointment had been made, it may be said he died at his post. His heart was in his work, and therefore that work was done well. The success of his scholars, who have risen in the various paths of life to wealth and position in our midst,

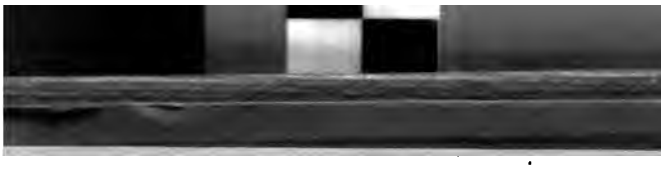
o the inestimable advantages of his able tuition, e precepts and beneficial example.

o 1845. George Futvoye, Ph. D. and Q. C. He nanent Clerk of the Crown Law Department in e held various positions of trust and importance ovince, and for some years was clerk to the Que- Corporation. He was the author of five medical d also of a "New brief mode of learning the f latin nouns." He published the Lower Canada anac in 1859 and continued it for several years. eded to Ottawa when the Government was re ere.

1848. Louis Sleeper. Mr. Sleeper was one of rs in Dr. Wilkie's school, and also in the Quebec ool.

s no record to be found of the list of officers of

1851. Daniel Wilkie.





son at Victoria, in British Columbia, enjoying good health, and from the tenor of his letters does not forget the old Society of which he is an honorary member.

1856 to 1859. Daniel Wilkie, M.A.

1860. G. Futvoye.

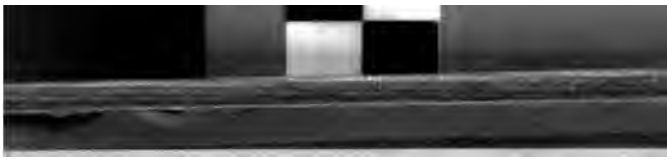
1861 to 1862. Samuel Sturton.

The ancestors of Mr. Sturton were Huguenot silk weavers, at Narbonne, a town in the south of France, on the Gulf of Lyons, whence they emigrated in 1686, because of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and settled in Leicestershire, England, where they amassed considerable property. Their factories and machinery were completely destroyed by the Chartists during the riots, and their crops were ruined by the Cavalry, who for three months camped on their farm. Nothing was saved from the wreck. The family then moved to Lincolnshire and ultimately to Cambridgeshire. Samuel Sturton was born in 1812, and practised as a chemist and druggist at Ely; he was at that time a powerful public speaker, and during the elections he succeeded in controlling a large and turbulent political meeting, and was thereby instrumental in securing the return to Parliament of Lord John Manners, a supporter of the repeal of the corn laws. The consequence was that all the farmers withdrew their custom from him, so ruining his trade that in 1856 he emigrated with his family to Quebec, where he carried on the business of chemist and druggist until 1863. He went to Manitoba in 1878, and died there on 6th July, 1881.

At the annual meeting of 12th January, 1857, Mr. Sturton was elected a member of this society and was one of its most zealous supporters. Every year he read several interesting papers at its meetings, three of which were printed in the Transactions, viz :—" Wild flowers of Quebec," on 19th December, 1860; as Mr. Sturton was a thorough botanist, this paper is a most reliable hand book on this

nd is much sought for. On 2nd January,
thoughts on the botanical geography of Ca
on "The danger arising from substitution o
urpentine," was read 6th of May that year
was also a geologist and a personal friend o
t in Canada he was best known as a botani
our citizens will remember often meeting t
n returning from his botanical excursions w
case on his back, and bunches of his favorit
hands.

nd 64. Revd. James Douglass, eldest son
ouglass. He attended the school of Revd. C
both at Christieville, opposite St. John's, P.
ty; subsequently he studied for the Churc
and often filled the pulpit of St. Andrew'
member of the Society in 1861 and worke
erest both as Librarian and afterwards as
which position he was thrice chosen, in 18





quent visits to Quebec never fails to visit these rooms.

1865. J. M. LeMoine.

1866. John Wilson Cook. Mr. Cook was eldest son of Revd. Dr. Cook. He studied law as a profession and occupied a high position at the Bar, and was especially esteemed among his friends for his breadth of thought, superior intelligence and general warmheartedness. He was an active member of the Society, and at the meeting of 21st February, 1866, read an interesting paper on the History of Canada. The products of his pen were ever marked by sound sense and clearness of expression. His health had not been good for sometime, and with the view of re-establishing it, spent the winter of 1871-72 in the south of France, returning to this country apparently much stronger, but the improvement was not lasting, and he died on 29th January, 1873, at the early age of 36, deeply regretted by all who knew him.

1867 and 1868. Revd. J. Douglass.

1869 and 1870. N. Faucher de St. Maurice.

1871. Revd. J. Douglass.

1872. N. Faucher de St. Maurice.

1873. Rev. J. Douglass.

1874. Major W. A. Holwell. Major Holwell was an officer of the British army attached to the Stores Department, and for many years a member of the Society, and one of the Vice-Presidents in 1852. He retired from Her Majesty's service with the rank of Major, and now resides at Bermuda.

1875 to 1881. Roderick McLeod. Since this paper has been read, the sad news was received of the death of Mr. McLeod, which occurred on 1st May, 1888, at New York, while on his way home from the Southern States, where during these latter years his failing health compelled him to pass the winter. Mr. McLeod was a useful and good citizen, and will be much missed in our community, where

he was loved and respected by a wide circle of friends and acquaintances. He took an active interest in many of our institutions, for years held an important position in the Council of this Society, of which for nineteen years he was a member.

1882 to 1888. Frederick C. Wurtele.

Before closing this paper let us see what is being done around us in furnishing literature to the people of Canada through the medium of public libraries. By public libraries I mean those accessible to the public whether by subscription or fee, also college libraries, and not those of private individuals, of which there are also a great many most extensive and valuable collections. The Dominion may well look across the line 45° and see what the United States contains. Almost every village, to say nothing of towns and cities, has its public library. This cannot be said of Canada, but it is gratifying to know that public libraries are getting more numerous especially in Ontario, whose Government is most liberal with monetary grants to encourage and aid such institutions. The Government of the Province of Quebec might take a lesson in this matter.

The following statistics will prove interesting and are taken from the "Library List," published in 1887 in the United States, which is compiled from the report of the Commission of Education at Washington, and also from records in the office of the "Library Journal." This book also contains the Canadian list compiled by James Bain, jr., Chief Librarian of the Toronto Public Library, and is correct as far as could be attained, but this year's list promises to be more comprehensive.

There are 5,393 public libraries in the United States containing 20,794,678 volumes, and taking the census of 1880 at 50,155,783 inhabitants, gives an average of about one book to every two persons. The largest library is that of Congress containing 565,000 volumes. The public lib-

rary of Boston comes next with 435,000, then Harvard University with 233,000, the total average being about 3,862 volumes per library.

Let us now look at home, in Canada there are 165 public Libraries on whose shelves are to be found 1,189,909 volumes all told, distributed as follows:—

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ontario has..... | 110 | libraries | with | 562,454 | vols. |
| Quebec..... | 29 | " | " | 477,129 | " |
| Nova Scotia..... | 8 | " | " | 84,930 | " |
| Manitoba, including the Government Library at Regina | 7 | " | " | 30,580 | " |
| New Brunswick..... | 6 | " | " | 25,691 | " |
| British Columbia..... | 3 | " | " | 3,525 | " |
| Prince Edward Island..... | 2 | " | " | 5,600 | " |

The Parliamentary Library at Ottawa is the largest, containing 120,000 volumes, that of Laval University with 100,000 being next. The Library of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec ranks 14th on the list in size.

Mr. Bain makes the following statement in his paper on the "Libraries of Canada" read 1st September last before the American Library Association at their annual meeting, held that time at Alexandria Bay: "Having thus taken a hurried survey of our Canadian libraries, let me briefly glance at the tale told by the figures, as set forth in the Library List. Estimating the population at 4,757,288 and a total number of 1,103,000 volumes, we have an average of one book to every 4 3-10 persons throughout the Dominion. But when we look at the individual provinces, very varied results are found.

In the Province of Prince Edward Island

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| the rate is..... | 1 | book to every | 21 2-10 | persons. |
| British Columbia..... | 1 | " | 16 | " |
| New Brunswick..... | 1 | " | 10 6-10 | " |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nova Scotia..... | 1 book to | every | 5 7-10 p |
| Ontario ..... ..... | 1 | " | 4 7-10 |
| Manitoba ..... | 1 | " | 4 4-10 |
| Quebec..... | 1 | " | 4 1-10 |

"The latter alone possessing more than the gener
age of the Dominion. It is curious to notice on clo
amining the latter, however, that no less than 72 8
cent. of the whole of the books in libraries of the Pro
Quebec are contained in colleges, while in Ontario
2-10 of the books are thus placed." In making th
culations it should be noted that Mr. Bain has exclu
Parliamentary Library, that of the Archives, the Ge
Survey and the Supreme Courts, as being common
whole Dominion. This statement shows excellent
for the Dominion from a literary point of view.

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OMITTED.

Presidents:—

1833.....Hon. Wm. Sheppard.
1849.....G. B. Faribault, Esq.
1850..... " "

Librarian:—

1849..... .....Daniel Wilkie, M.A.

# APPENDIX.

According to an Act intituled 49 & 50 Vict., sect. 3, par. 8 to 10, Cap. 98, passed in 1886, by the Legislature of the Province of Quebec, these volumes* were given over to the Provincial Secretary, on November 19th, 1888. Statutes of the Province of Quebec 51 and 52 Vict., Cap. 1, page 12, Schedule B 58.

Of these there were 28 volumes of manuscript copy thus described in the catalogue of the Library of Parliament, dated 1858, and were at some time deposited with the Society. See also Report of Council of Q. L. H. S., 11th January, 1854, page 6. On page 1448 of this catalogue the following paragraphs occur :—

" La législature provinciale ayant, sur requête de la So-
" ciété Littéraire et Historique de Québec, voté une somme
" de £300 pour obtenir des documents historiques, M. Fa-
" ribault fut, en 1845, député à Albany, où il s'entendit
" avec les autorités de l'État de New York pour faire trans-
" crire une volumineuse collection de manuscrits relatifs à
" l'histoire du Canada, que le Col. Brodhead avait été
" chargé de se procurer en Europe. De cette manière il
" obtint 17 volumes de documents tirés des Archives de
" Paris, et six autres volumes du bureau colonial à Londres.

" La première série se compose des 17 volumes transcrits
" à Albany, et qui se trouvent déposés dans la bibliothèque
" de la Société Littéraire et Historique de Québec."

These are described in detail in this catalogue, on pages 1451 to 1498 inclusive. On pages 1622 to 1644 inclusive, are found the details of the 6 volumes copied from the Ar-

chives in the colonial office in London, and deposited in the library of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.

At the foot of page 1448 is the following paragraph:—

" Les quatre volumes de documents, mentionnés à la page " 1613, et qui sont déposés dans la bibliothèque de la Société " Littéraire et Historique de Québec, ont été transcrits à " Paris par les soins de l'hon. L. J. Papineau." The following is the detail of these volumes mentioned on page 1613.

I. 1682-1712.—Relation de ce qui s'est passé en Canada, au sujet de la guerre, tant les Anglais que les Iroquois, depuis l'année 1682.

II. 1695-1696.—Relation de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable en Canada, depuis le départ des vaisseaux en 1695, jusqu'au commencement de l'année 1696.

III. 1698 et 1699.—Journal d'un voyage fait au Mississippi en 1698 et 1699, par MM. Iberville et de Surgères.

IV. 1640-1672.—Histoire de Montréal, de 1640 à 1672, par M. Dollier de Casson.

V. 1759-1776.—An account of the siege of Quebec, in 1759 and 1775-76, in 1 volume.

List of documents contained in this volume:—

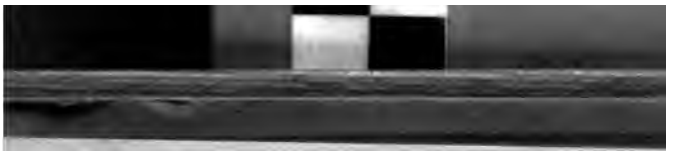
1. Manuscript Journal of the military operations before Quebec in 1759, kept by Colonel Malcolm Fraser, then a lieutenant in the 78th Regiment, or Fraser's Highlanders.

2. Journal précis de ce qui s'est passé au siège de Québec en 1759, rédigé par M. Jean Claude Panet, ancien notaire de Québec.

3. Le témoin oculaire de la guerre des Bostonnais durant les années 1775 et 1776, par M. Simon Sanguinet, avocat du barreau de Montréal.

4. Journal contenant le récit de l'invasion du Canada par les Américains en 1775-76, rédigé par M. Jean-Bte. Badeaux, ancien notaire de la ville des Trois-Rivières.

5. Journal of the siege and blockade of Quebec by the American Rebels, in the autumn of 1775 and winter of 1776, kept by Hugh Finlay, Postmaster General.





6. Journal tenu pendant le siège du fort St. Jean, en 1776, par M. Antoine Foucher, ancien notaire de Montréal.

7. Letter from Colonel Henry Caldwell, to General Murray, dated 15th June, 1776, containing an account of the siege of Quebec by the Americans, during the winter of 1775-76.

All of the above five volumes have been published by our society with the exception of Vol. II and parts 3 and 6 of Vol. V, which I believe have been published in Montreal.

Quebec, 31st Dec., 1888.

# AN ELEMENTARY DISCUSSION

OF THE

# NEBULAR HYPOTHESIS.

By W. A. ASHE, F.R.A.S.

There may have been a time when a lecturer on such a subject as I propose to bring before you this evening, felt apologetically inclined towards the lady portion of his audience. To-day, in the days of Girls' High Schools, with its increasing tendency to Universology, and the advantages which are very evidently taken of the increased opportunity, makes one also feel apologetically inclined towards an audience, but upon entirely different grounds. Why, it was but the other day that I took pity on one of your sex, who I thought might form one of my audience here to-night, and was explaining to her the fundamental principles of my subject, so that she might be in a position to grasp the conclusions which are to follow. Then I learnt, that, not only have we institutions here which teach, but that they teach in such a manner that the teaching is remembered, even when woman has settled down into that sphere which is so essentially and becomingly hers.

I propose explaining to you this evening, in a very elementary way, such of the general principles of the Nebular Hypothesis as will permit of this treatment; I cannot therefore promise a complete demonstration, even if such were possible, as to do so would require more time than we have

at our disposal, and a higher degree of mathematical reasoning and analysis, than it is likely you would be prepared for, or I, myself, prepared to give; but, at the same time, although we may thus be debarred from the full understanding of the subtle reasoning and treatment that this subject generally receives, I conceive we shall have no difficulty in attaining somewhat the same ends, in the manner I have proposed to myself. To those of you, who are more advanced than the methods I shall make use of, I have no apology to offer; this is be an *elementary* discussion, and I presume you are here to hear it,—besides, my experience has invariably been that there is something to be learnt from even the most mediocral treatment of a subject at the hands of a tyro; for although there may be no new facts presented, or valuable conclusions drawn, there is always the benefit to be had, in the view of a subject from another's standpoint, which, I take it, will always present points of interest to the student. And, whilst I hope that this is not the only grounds on which my occupying your time this evening will be excusable, I mention it here as a justification for the primitive way in which my subject will be treated, to those for whom the method will be otherwise unprofitable.

The evidence of the correctness of a theory or hypothesis, increases with the number of facts it is capable of satisfactorily explaining. It diminishes with the number of facts it does not explain, and with the number of different ways in which similar phenomena can be explained. A single fact, inconsistent with any theory or hypothesis, is sufficient to overthrow it; and it is quite remarkable, how long the time is that is required to prove a fact sufficiently inconsistent to overthrow an established theory. We all know how Gallileo, with his imperfect telescope, saw that the moon's surface was broken up into mountains and depressions; and, how the accepted theory at the time per-

sisted in its being a perfect sphere. Even when confronted with the evidence of their own eyes, they made the somewhat incongruous statements, that although it looked an even surface, this unevenness was covered over by a smooth, perfectly transparent, and therefore invisible surface, which reduced it once again to the required outline. Gallileo, with a quaint, dry humour, cautioned them, that if they did not take care, he would drive them from their last remaining assumption, by insisting upon invisible mountains upon their invisible sphere.

It will be proper for me, before entering into my subject, to assure you that but few of the conclusions which we shall arrive at, are other than those which are generally accepted as parts of the hypothesis. Where it is otherwise, I shall protect your interests and my own by due notification. This may seem a somewhat idiosyncratical and egotistical announcement to make in connection with so well known, and eminently discussed hypothesis ; yet, because of the increase of the modern tendency to transcendental analysis, with which the greater minds occupy themselves in the contemplation of all questions ; and the constantly enlarging field, to which such analysis is pertinent, the muddy waters at the bottom of our living streams, are practically left to the occupancy of the smaller fry, whilst the leviathan disports himself in the higher regions, or makes excursions in search of other feeding grounds where his equally ambitious, less able confreres can not follow him. This allegory is intended to point out, how, although it may be unlikely, it is not impossible, that evidence of the special application of a fact to a theory or hypothesis is not entirely dependent on its environment.

I remember once having come across a very common everyday design and inscription. It was placed over the door of a house of entertainment, and to the ordinary passer-by its meaning must have been very evident. It consisted

of the orthodox "American Eagle", holding a scroll beak; on one side of this scroll was inscribed "E on the other, "URANT," the two separated by abou feet as occupied by the intervening "eagle." Hap to be passing by this house with a friend, who wa ficient classical scholar, I said to him; "you are well up in this sort of thing, what does it mean?' he answered, from out a mind forever suspicious presence of a classical root, and oblivious to the ve dent signs indicative of the establishment being the sary of a root, which is quite freely described as b all evil; that it was, "possibly an idiomatical exp indifferently expressed, announcing the fact, that thing which remains, they are burnt,' but where the cation of the saying was, he could not see."

As we are about the discussion of an hypothesi will understand, that, it cannot be proved the assum velopments have taken place,—we must satisfy our for the present, with the assurance that these develop are possible, *and* probable, then patiently wait, 'till observation shews a change in some member of our sy or any other, in accordance with the tenets of our thesis, and in the required direction; which we may safely claim as the visible outcome of the hypoth forces.

It will be instructive to us, to consider the reasons v pointed to the necessity for the adoption of some sucl lief as is contained in our hypothesis, so that the ques it proposes to solve, should not be considered as the r of chance, rather than uniformity of design.

First, the motions of the members of our system are fectly uniform, in directions which are uncontrolled b laws of gravity or attraction: for example, the 250 r bers of our system revolve about their common centre sun, in the same direction. Now, the probability of

uniformity of motion being the result of accident rather than some common cause, is represented by the proportion which the number 1, or unity, bears to a quantity having 60 figures in it, say, the number 5 and fifty-nine noughts, whatever this would represent when numerated; we are therefore almost absolutely certain, that there was a common cause for this uniformity.

Then, all the planets move in orbits, or paths, which lie nearly in the same plane.

All the planets, that have secondaries, moons or satellites, have their movement about the planet, or primary, in the same direction, excepting that of the planet Uranus.

None of the paths or orbits of the planets are inclined to those of the Asteroids, or minor planets, more than an angle of 45°.

And finally, we cannot account for the undiminished heat-giving power of the sun, without some such hypothesis; nor by any other such hypothesis in such a completely satisfactory way.

The heat given out by the sun has been estimated; and of this amount, we, the earth, receive one millionth part; the remaining members of the system each about a like amount. There thus remains, of the heat given out by our sun, an enormous quantity, which, as far as we know, is not intercepted and passes off into space, to be lost, it is assumed. Yet, the supply is not getting less, as far as it is possible to determine from the records of the past, extending over historical times, which point to climatic conditions being the same to-day as then. Yet, if we consider the sun, simply as a molten radiating body, giving out its heat in this way; at its present rate of expenditure, we know that it must have cooled many thousand degrees within the time covered by this record. We must, therefore, conclude that this loss of heat in the sun is made good from some source; and there is no more satisfactory way

of so accounting for this compensation than in the manner proposed.

It is estimated that it would take twenty tons of coal a day, to each square-foot of the sun's surface to supply the energy given out in the form of heat, in the same time. Even if the sun were a solid mass of coal in the first place, it would have been entirely consumed in a few thousand years. It is not possible to imagine, any combinations of the elements that the spectroscope shews as under combustion in the sun, which would be capable of maintaining such undiminished energy in this direction, for so lengthy a time as has evidently been the case. And finally, the only other theory, which has sufficient plausibility in its favor to permit of our considering it in this connection, is the assumption that the sun's heat is maintained by the heat developed from the impact of innumerable meteors, which are drawn to the surface of the sun from their orbits about it, by its attractive energy. This supposition does not receive very general support, because of the enormous mass of such matter which would be required, or the inconceivable velocities that a smaller number must attain, to maintain the required moment of combustion. There can be no doubt that this meteoric impact is a source of heat to the sun, but it is very generally conceded that it is merely an *aid* to the greater compensating powers contained in the principles of the hypothesis we are discussing.

We are all familiar with the fact, that, if the temperature of this or any room is, say, 60 ° and the walls are brought together, so that the space within it is reduced one half whilst the amount of atmosphere it contains remains the same, although in a more condensed arrangement, that the temperature will have been increased correspondingly. It was Sir William Herschel [the elder] who adapted this knowledge to the requirements of the sun and the Nebular hypothesis, shewing how an inappreciable contraction of

its diameters would compensate for the heat given out; and it has been estimated that a contraction in these measures, of four miles a century, would make up the heat radiated in this time. And, paradoxical as it may seem when viewed in the light of our experience of cooling and necessarily contracting bodies, it is possible that a body contracting because it is giving out its heat, should in its contracted form be at a higher temperature than when in its first condition. This corollary is an essential part of the endeavor to account for the conservation of the solar heat-energy, for if we merely insist that the sun has lost heat and that the diameters have correspondingly contracted, although we have our sun with reduced dimensions it is inevitable that we can have *ipso facto* no increase of heat. Yet, this certainty of the decrease in the sun's diameters has an important bearing on the initial argument in the hypothesis; for, if we admit that the sun is contracting its diameters at the rate of four miles a century, a century ago they were this much greater than to-day, two centuries ago eight miles greater, and, there being no definite limits which we may not set, for the period of time over which we assume ourselves as looking, we can conceive the possibility of the matter which forms the material of the sun, filling, if needs be, the whole of the present limits of his system; particularly when we remember the additional fact, that the present rate of contraction, is certainly less than that which existed at the beginning; so that, although it is assumed that the total period of existence for the sun, and necessarily therefore for the members themselves, as far as the possibility of their maintaining life as we now know it upon them, is concerned, is limited at about thirty millions of years, of which about fifteen millions have elapsed, this last period would suffice for the retrospective arguments just advanced, and enable us to accept, with some certainty, the fundamental assumption of this hypo-

thesis; which assumes, that all matter at present forming the members of the solar system, originally existed in space as one, almost uniform, nebulous mass; from whence, through the different stages of planetary existence, the several members of our system have been evolved.

Sir William Herschel pointed out, how, the sun being only a star, and equal in size to a so-called tenth magnitude star, we see some nebulæ in the heavens which are perfectly uniform or nebulous in appearance, which would represent the first condition of our hypothesis; others, with a bright nucleus or centre, which would represent what will later become the central or controlling body of the system, like our sun; others, with additional well defined bright points, representing a further condition of development; and, a final condition, in which we see several stars the larger members of the system (distance preventing our seeing the smaller), performing their revolutions about the central mass, the nebulous part of the system having in the meantime been absorbed.

We have thus illustrations of the several conditions assumed in our hypothesis, but they are taken from systems simultaneously existing in these several conditions; no one system showing them co-existent, because the process of change is so gradual and relatively contemporaneous, that each system must shew a condition rather than a series of conditions. Were there a system situated sufficiently near to us, it would be possible, in all probability, to distinguish small changes of condition; the enormous distances that exist in fact, prevent our witnessing any other than the radical changes which take place in their developments; and centuries must elapse, before we can point to any one system and declare, that *there* certain changes have taken place, in accordance with the requirements of our hypothesis.

Professor Newcomb has said:—"At the present time we

can only say that the nebular hypothesis is indicated by the general tendency of the laws of nature, that it has not been proved inconsistent with any fact, that it is almost a necessary consequence of the only theory by which we can account for the origin and conservation of the sun's heat, but that it rests on the assumption that this conservation is to be explained by the laws of nature as we now see them in operation. Should any one be sceptical as to the sufficiency of these laws to account for the present state of things, science can furnish no evidence strong enough to overthrow his doubts, until the sun shall be found growing smaller by actual measurement, or the nebulæ be actually seen to condense into stars and nebulæ."

It has been offered as an objection to the Nebular Hypothesis, that it is an atheistical doctrine; but, it appears to me, that this objection is founded on the atheistical assumption, that the minor developments of the hypothesis are not parts of the benificent scheme of the Almighty; rather let us conclude, that there is as much evidence of design, of the presence of an all-wise Entity in the assumptions made use of in our hypothesis, as there is in the knowledge we have of the developments that take place from the life germ to the vegetable or animal completion. Carlyle has said, and there are few who will contradict him:—"This I say and would wish all men to know and lay to heart, that he who sees nought but mechanism in the universe, has in the fatallest way missed the secret of the universe altogether."

We may place our first cause as far back in time as we like, but, no matter what our theory, we cannot dispense with it altogether. We may call this principle accident or design in original creation, but we shall have rather increased the difficulties of our position; for we shall only have substituted sentient *matter* for a sentient Being, and the difficulties as to original creation will be insurmountable.

But, why should we attribute to accident such nicety of adjustment and uniformity in law?

Is it accident that causes a law to operate in a certain direction to a certain point, where, to continue beyond would entail destruction, and there to reverse the law?

Instance the simple operation of freezing water. As the temperature decreases, each particles density increases and it sinks to the bottom. Now, if this law continued uniformly to the freezing point, all ice would form at the bottom of our rivers and lakes, and year by year would accumulate, till the earth became largely ice covered and unhabitable. Instead of this, *accident* has so arranged the process, that the increase in a particle's density ceases at a certain lowering of its temperature, beyond which the reverse of the law begins and continues; so that the coldest particles come to the surface under its influence, and permit of ice being formed there. Again, particles of matter mutually attract each other, till they are brought within a certain infinitely small distance of each other, when the law is reversed and they are repelled. In illustration; a certain amount of attraction keeps the particles forming any mass together; it is the same force that is known as "attraction," only in this connection it is generally called "cohesion"; take the particular and most exaggerated example of the substance known as India rubber; you distend it and its recovery is immediate; you compress it, and it returns to its normal condition, movements which cannot be accounted for under any other supposition than that this tendency acts in opposite directions under different conditions, and that whilst the mass is at rest the particles have no tendency one way or the other. Were this power of recovery not present in all matter, after undergoing distension or compression, existence would not be possible. Take, in illustration, the case of our lakes and rivers and our atmosphere, which would become so concentrated because of the various services that are made of them, that

eventually they would become no longer suited to their several purposes. I need not add further illustrations, as the most casual observer, if he care to do so, will find for himself the truth of this statement, that each class of matter is endowed with properties, or has acquired them at hap-hazard, which are peculiar to itself or class, and that the law governing each class is more suited to the conditions it is called upon to fill, than any we could propose. Often familiarity with phenomena prevents a proper appreciation of the same.

There are two first conditions assumed for our Nebular Hypothesis; one advanced by the elder Herschel, in which the figure or outline of the original mass is assumed to be that of a sphere; the other maintained by Laplace, in which this outline is assumed as being that of a disc. Herschel reasoned that the sphere was the natural arrangement that the particles of such a mass would conform to; Laplace argued, that as all the planets which have been developed out of this mass, occupy the same plane with their orbits, very nearly, the outline of the devolping figure must have closely co-incided with this. Both assumed that the mass had a revolution about its centre of gravity, and the centre a motion through space; for even if we do not admit an origin for these motions, it is much more difficult to imagine the existence of this matter in space, entirely without motion, than with it; either inherent or imparted. Now these two motions have descended to us, in the first place in the visible fact that our sun is travelling through space, and carrying the members of his system with him; in the second place, in the experience that all the members of this system have a motion about the central sun, in the same direction; and, although the connection may not at once be apparent, each member has a motion about its own axis, as far as known, also in the same direction, excepting, as before, the planet Uranus. It has been argued that the motion of ag-

gregation that took place amongst the particles of t
nal mass towards each centre about to develo
planetary body, is in itself sufficient to account fo
tion about their respective axis, and we shall see
fectly this assumption can be demonstrated; but t
motions are not so easily accounted for without as
first impulse given to the mass from without.
conclude that a motion was given to the mass as
to have caused our sun to be travelling through s
us about him; and if this motion was imparted t
developed mass, in any direction other than alo
passing through the centre of the mass, this imp
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for amount, on how far from the centre of gravit
whole mass, the prolongation of the direction in w
force was administered, would have passed from
tre. We have thus the grounds on which it can be
bly assumed that the original mass was progressing
space, whilst, at the same time it was rotating
centre of gravity; the last a conclusion, which i
importance to the whole theory and its developm

Before proceeding further, I must ask those of
may not be familar with the subject, to accept on f
two propositions. The first known as the "paral
of forces"; a mechanical method, employed to d
the effect of two forces acting simultaneously on t
point in a mass. The other, and more difficult to p
that if any body or planet is revolving in an orbit
certain velocity, it only requires it should be inc
little less than a half in amount, to cause the p
leave the centre controlling it, (in our case the su
fly off into space; or, conversely, to decrease this
in the same proportion, to cause the planet to fall i
same centre. Now, by means of this two proposi
think we may investigate some of the most import

velopments that are supposed to have taken place in our system, developing individual uniformity from the general mass.

We shall continually have to refer to two properties of matter ; one called the " centrifugal force ", the other the attraction of gravity, with both of which you all must be familiar.

Let us represent the first condition of our nebulous mass, as a ball or sphere in space, by a circle. It is manifestly impossible that this mass should be of uniform density throughout, as in nature elsewhere we know of no absolute uniformity strictly speaking. It is permissable then, for us to assume, that there are in our mass, centres of differing, therefore of greater, density, which we will further assume are distributed about the mass without any reference to systematic arrangement. Let us assume that the whole mass is turning about the vertical line A–J, and that our centres of greater density are situated indifferently at the points A, F, G, H, &c. In conseqnence of this rotation these centres will describe paths which we may represent by lines drawn through the several positions, at right-angles to the line A-J. Now as we have assumed any position for our centres of greater density, A, F, G, H, &c, and observation shews us that the planets which these centres have developed into by aggregation of the particles in their own neighborhood to themselves, occupy a relatively limited zone, it will be necessary to attempt the shewing of how this may have been brought about. Let us imagine ourselves as looking down on the orbits which these centres are describing about the centre of the mass, from the direction of the prolongation of the line A-J ; then the line A-J will be represented by the central point A, and the paths of the several incipient planets, by concentric circles. Now, the laws governing the centrifugal force inform us, that similar bodies revolving in unequal circles

in the same time, induce centrifugal forces corresponding to the radii of the several circles described ; so that "A", representing the position of the centre of the circles we have drawn, the distances from the centre A, to each of these, will represent the amount of the centrifugal force in each case ; from which it will be seen that the point A, having no such tendency, being on the axis A-J, will under the action of gravity alone, fall along the line A-J to the centre of the system. We have thus one position where, had a centre of aggregation existed and developed into a planet, it must have fallen towards the centre, and have been absorbed by the central mass, being unable to establish an orbit about it. Let us see what other positions would have resulted in this way, and where the limits would occur, between those planets which when developed could maintain an orbit, and those which could not.

Let us first consider the case of a centre of aggregation which is assumed as situate at the equator of our rotating nebulous mass. If the amount of rotation that the mass has obtained is sufficiently great to have developed a centrifugal force at our incipient planet's position, greater than the attraction of gravity, the nebulous mass will throw off into space all those particles which are so influenced, and with them our assumed centre of aggregation. We must therefore assumed that the motion of rotation of our nebulous mass has such a value, that at the equator gravity equals the centrifugal force or is less than it, or that being greater the particles thrown off reduce it to to this condition. Gravity being equal to the centrifugal force, the orbit developed by our planet will be circular, and there will be a constant tendency to leave the centre of the mass which will be always equalled by the tendency which draws it towards centre of the same. We have thus determined the positions in which a developed planet would have no tendency to leave the centre of the mass, falling

directly towards it; and the position where both these tendencies are equal. It might be argued from this, that at an intermediate position if a planet where being developed, it would have tendencies intermediate between these two; or, that it would describe an orbit which would enable it to pass so as to touch the central mass; and we shall find this to be true from the proposition already established, which requires that the velocity of a body in an orbit, such as is being described by our assumed equatorial planet, should be increased only a half to cause it to leave the controlling body, with its converse; and a consideration of the diagram which we have drawn shewing these orbits passing through the positions of our assumed planets as concentrict circles, will shew us, that as all our planets performed their orbits in the first place as portions of the same original mass, in the same times, that we may consider the lengths of these several circles as representing the respective velocities in the same, which are again proportional to the raddii of the several circles and vary as the *cosine* of the angular distance of their positions from the equator of the mass. So that if we assume the radius to the orbit in in the declination 45°, as being equal to unity, that at the equator of the mass will be equal to 1.414, the increase necessary to cause a planet acquiring it to travel off into space; and conversely, if we consider the equatorial velocity as being equal to unity, the velocity at 45° will be 0.849 or that with which it would be impossible to maintain an orbit. We may thus conclude, that planetary aggregation may have taken place, and indeed *must* have taken place, indifferently with regard to position in the first place, but that all developments which took place more towards the poles of the mass than 45° must have been unable to continue existence as independent members of the system, becoming absorbed by the central mass; and we may thus bring Herschel's assump-

tion into agrement with the present visible outcor
which, as already stated, none of the orbits of the m
of our system are more inclined than 45° to the equ
the same. In the first place our undeveloped but dev
planets were revolving as an integral part of the
mass, and in consequence were revolving in an orbi
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by an amount equal to the *sine* of its declination, or a
distance from the plane of the equator. To day,
members of our system have orbits about the centre
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tendency has been a force which will ultimately bri
planet very nearly into the plane of the equator
mass ; but it will have brought with it into this po
certain characteristics, which, although they may not
been entirely unaltered during the progress of the
into its final position, yet will be sufficiently so to
us with certainty to say, whether the present posit
the planet, is that of its development or not. The
that were effective in transferring our aggregation to
the equator, being small, occupied a very long time i
object ; we are therefore very certain that each pla
centre had practically completed aggregation before
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the mass ; we cannot assume any *one* position, theref
which this aggregation could be assumed as being er
performed in, but we may assume a *mean* positi
which we may infer all the developments of the

from the mass to have taken place. In this mean position our planet will have acquired a characteristic motion about its axis, (the present diurnal-motion,) which, from the fact of aggregation having taken place equally from every direction, within sensible limits, will have been established at right angles to the line joining the mean-position with the centre of the system or mass ; and, as there has been no force effective to disturb the direction of this axis on the planet's way towards the plane of the equator of the mass, it should have reached its final position with this characteristic intact. The converse of the argument should enable us, by means of the present inclination of the axis of the planets with reference to the plane of the ecliptic, (the former equator of the original mass), to determine the position of the origin of the planet ; for there are but two positions in the meridians of the original mass' sphere, where this diurnal axis will be tangent to it and so determine the position where it originated,—one in either hemisphere, in opposite latitudes or declinations ; and it is important to remember that the conclusion deduced, to the effect that no developing planet could have maintained an orbit in a greater declination than that of 45°, is fully borne out by the conclusion here drawn as to the positions that may be deduced as above for the conception of a planet.

We shall now attempt an explanation of the action of the forces which have given each member of our system their diurnal motion, or that motion which produced the effect of "day" and "night".

Let us draw a straight line and mark its middle point "A", to represent the position occupied by a centre of aggregation ; one extremity, "C", to mark the centre of the nebulous mass about which the whole of its particles, and with it of course our point "A", are revolving ; and the

mity "B", which we will assume as equally
h "C" from the point "A". Now, if we further
t the limits from which the centre "A", can
self particles of matter, is, in the one direction
l be sufficient for our purpose to assume that
e limit is "B". A particle at "C" will have
, as it is at the centre of the system ; so that on
n towards "A", which is travelling about "C"
otion of the whole mass, it will act as a retard-
ce on that side of it which is towards the centre
reas, a particle coming from "B", having had
city as a portion of the whole mass, greater than
ing to the position occupied by "A", it will
urface of our incipient planet, and act as an ac-
o it on that side which is towards the direction
it came. It will be very evident then, that,
f this acceleration on one side, and retardation
r of our developing planet, will be a motion of

tions, (that is, making the same angle with the plane passing through the centres of the system and the planet, but on opposite sides of it), to counteract the tendency that each has produced to alteration in the direction of the axis of the diurnal-motion to a motion at right-angles to its approach; so that the diurnal-motion will be developed about an axis at right-angles to the plane passing through the centres of the planet and system, as previously mentioned.

I have thus shewn the origin of the diurnal-motions from the manner in which they have aggregated to themselves the particles of matter from the original mass which form the present components of their several masses; but, this aggregation has produced, or converted another motion as well. Let us again consider the case of two particles of matter reaching the developing planet "A", from opposite and equal distances "C", towards the centre of the original mass, and "B" from beyond the planet. If there were no other forces at work, further than the attraction of the planetary centre "A", these particles would reach it with equal velocities, having travelled over equal distances in equal times; but, instead of this being the case, we have the centre of the original mass, to which in the first place every particle forming it has a tendency, modifying the motions of approach of the particles "B" and "C", towards "A", so that that which approaches from "B" has its motion accelerated over and above the amount depending on the attraction of the planetary centre, by the amount attributable to the influence of the centre of the original mass; whilst, on the other hand, that approaching from "C", towards the centre of the mass, has it motion retarded by the amount attributable to the same influence. The result of this difference in the motions, or the impacts which each particle delivers to our developing centre, will have been equivalent to a thrust, or more properly speaking a series of thrusts, on our planet towards the centre of the mass,

mount to the difference between the final veloci-
which these particles reach the surface of the
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, is constantly altering the position of the aphe-
direction of the planets motion, we should have

have very largely influenced the effect, in this way ; supposing two centres of aggregation, one situated relatively near to the centre of the system, the other correspondingly far from it, and both controlling equal areas by their attractions ; then, gravity proceeding from the mass as a whole varying inversely as the square of the distance, the difference between the effects of the particles arriving at our two centres, will be sensibly greater in the first than in the last case we have supposed ; and, as this difference in the velocities of approach of these particles, is assumed as being a factor in determining the ellipticity of the orbits of the several planets, the truth of the assumption will be evident from the fact that the ellipticities of the planetary orbits decrease with their distance from the centre of the system, with sufficient uniformity to permit of our accepting the general truth of our theory. The varying eccentricities and ellipticities of the planetary orbits, are not entirely deducible from this cause ; it is advanced as *a* cause, and an important one. If we assume, that the system of Uranus, for instance, was developing whilst revolving about the central sun, in a circular orbit ; then, the systems, situate nearer the centre of the system, must have been revolving with velocities much less than that required to maintain themselves in circular orbits, and the amount of this deficiency being greater in proportion to the nearness of the planetary centre to the centre of the system, the larger the amount of ellipiticity necessary to the stability of the orbit ; for, it is evident that, the greater the deficiency between the velocity necessary to the maintainence of a circular orbit and the velocity which our planet has, the closer will it pass to the sun and the greater the difference between its final orbit and a circular one. Many of you are probably familiar with the law which connects the distances of the planets from the sun, with the times in which they complete their orbits about the same. This is a law

ariable, shewing small departures from absolute
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tres, the material affording support in the direction of the centre of the mass, having been withdrawn, what was perforce a circular orbit, is either entirely destroyed by ending in the sun or centre of the system, or approaches much nearer to it, in the form of an elliptical orbit, than when in its circular condition. In one case its motion will have been constantly at right-angles to the action of gravity, in the other it will be more or less inclined towards it ; in the extreme case, in which we suppose it as passing just clear of the sun, it will perform one quarter of its orbit, in very nearly the same time that a body would fall to the centre from the same point, a period very much less than that required for it to complete the same proportion of its orbit at the uniform rate with which our imaginary particle *started* towards the centre, with a velocity increasing according to the laws of falling bodies, and along a sensibly shorter course (nearly the radius) than the quadrant ; the remaining three parts of both orbits will be performed under the same conditions, within limits that it is not necessary for us to follow here, so that we can readily understand, why a conversion of an orbit from a circular into an elliptical one, shortens the period, and the converse.

They who are un-familiar with the subject, generally have no difficulty in understanding how the first half of an elliptical orbit is described, under the influences of gravity and the centrifugal-force ; a difficulty is generally presented, to the understanding, when a diagram shews a planet as having reached that part of its orbit where the tendency towards the centre is greatest, on account of the planet having approached to its nearest in this direction, and then, under a diminishing centrifugal-force, as able to withdraw itself from destruction, and complete the rest of its orbit in the reverse order of the first part. As usually demonstrated, the evident fact would be an impossibility, for it will be readily seen, that, if a planet revolving in a particular

part of its orbit, in response to the full effects of the forces acting at the instant, has arrived at a position, where the increase in the action of gravity is equalled by the centrifugal-force occasioned by the augmentation in the velocity that has resulted ; our planet must continue to revolve, under such a supposition, in a circular orbit. The full explanation of the difficulty lies in the fact that, owing to the inertia of the planetary mass, the velocity corresponding to the influences of these two forces, cannot be developed till *some* time after the point where they were administered is passed. It thus happens that our planet's position and movements are always less advanced than the forces which are acting upon it in the first part of its orbit from aphelion, and less advanced in the remaining half. It thus happens that, at perihelion, although a maximum force has been administered the maximum velocity is not developed in the orbit till *some* distance beyond; how little this may be, or how much, it is not necessary to determine ; it is sufficient for us to the full understanding of the question, to know that perihelion passed there will be a velocity developed, which will be greater than that corresponding to the planet's position, and that, on *this* account, it will be enable to withdraw itself, temporarily, from the supercontrol of the central system.

Many of the members of our system have secondaries, moons or satellites, accompanying them in their orbits; these, with the exception of the satellite of Uranus, revolve about their primaries in the same direction as these primary planets do about the central sun, and on their axes. It is assumed that these secondary centres could not have formed by independent aggregation, in such close proximity to the larger attraction of their primaries. It is concluded, therefore, that they must have formed part of the planetary mass before radiation and consequent contraction reduced these bodies into their present solid forms, and that

in this act of contracting they were left behind as a "ring" or rings, such as is visible about Saturn today; and that further contraction of these rings resulted in their being rent asunder, whereupon the particles of matter re-arranged themselves about a common centre or centres, would thus become one or more satellites. There are one or two points about this part of our hypothesis, which do not appear to me to be fully accounted for : first, if contraction is taking place, because of the mass radiating its heat into space, the surface of our mass should be at a lower temperature than its centre, (the opposite conclusion, I am aware, has been advanced by a French writer, but does not seem to have been seriously entertained by those capable of forming an opinion,) and as such, should be in a more contracted condition than the surface beneath it, so that how, exactly, it is going to be *left behind*, by a smaller amount of contraction of the particles beneath it, seems to me an insurmountable difficulty. Then, contraction being equal along every diameter of our supposed planet, or, if we must supposed a difference, contraction being greater at its polar regions, and this the assumed cause of our " rings " being left behind, either a complete shell or envelope should be given off, or under unequal contraction, this ring should be given off from the position of greatest contraction, the poles ; and, in consequence, we might expect greater want of uniformity in the planes of each satellite's orbits, than we find to be the case, although, it is certain that eventually they would be brought into very nearly the same plane as the planet's equator. Again, this contraction having been a feature common to all the members of our system, why should not each and every member of the system have satellites, and why should there not be satellite's satellites, and so on?

As far as it has been possible to observe the fact, a satellite in revolving about its primary turns once on its own

axis. This is very readily seen in the case of our satellite the moon; for it is by means of this motion that she invariably keeps the same side towards us at all times. The same fact has been observed in the case of the larger satellites of Jupiter and Saturn; it has therefore been concluded, perhaps hastily, that all satellites are in agreement in this respect.

If we assume all satellites to have been thrown off or left behind by their primaries, it should not be difficult to prove that they must have had periods of rotation on their axes and about their primaries, which were in close agreement in the first place, and later were reduced to exact agreement. It would be nearly as certain as a corollary, to state that, if a satellite revolves about its primary with a period differing largely from the time occupied in rotating about its own axis, this satellite cannot have been thrown off by the primary, and must have, therefore been developed as an independent centre of aggregation, of been abstracted from some other system. It should follow then, that, all the planets (which are satellites to the sun, just as truly as our moon is ours), having periods of rotation which differ radically with their orbital periods, must have formed as independent centres of aggregation, and cannot have been thrown off by the sun, as is sometimes maintained.

After the formation of our sun and the several members of our system with their orbital and diurnal motions as pointed out, there has been a constant tendency, developed by the contractions of the several masses, which is effective, even at the present time, in increasing the diurnal motions. In the first place, when the masses were in a gaseous condition, this contraction was large in amount in comparison to what is taking place in the present, so that it is not impossible to imagine that this increase in rotation, so correspondingly increased the contrifugal-force that first it equalled

then exceeded the values of gravity at the surface of the several planets. In this last case, a result must have been the liberating of portions of their surface and their distribution in orbits about their equators, and if the increase in the diurnal-motion still continued, possibly the freeing of a continuous strip from off the equatorial regions, where this motion would have its greatest effect. In the first case we should have accounted for the formation of satellites, in the latter for " rings " such as we see about Saturn.

There are many points of interest, in the consideration of the general possibility of the contraction of a planet's diameters being sufficient to enable it to throw off its satellites, which the limited time at my disposal will prevent entering into. So that I shall start with the assumption that the diameters of all the planets *have* contracted owing to radiation, and endeavor to explain the contents of the accompanying " table ", which is intended to shew this effect in the individual cases of the members of our system.

It occurred to me, as it must have to most of us who have approached this subject, that if the planets of our system were developed by laws acting uniformly on the whole mass and each planet after formation, that all the motions common to each, should follow some general law, however intricate or at present disguised. Kepler found that the times in which each planet describes its orbit about the sun, followed a general law depending on their distance from that body. Newton found that the laws that had been known for centuries previously, as applicable to the effects of gravity at the surface of the earth, had a much more extended application, and governed the motions of all bodies no matter what their distance from the earth ; in other words, he proved from a particular application, the general truth of these laws, and how they controlled all matter in the universe. So, in the same way, it may be possible to identify the workings of common forces in the

present diurnal-motions of the members of our system; and, I may be excused for any shortcomings in my attempt to solve so extensive a question, when I assure you that, having attempted the investigation for my own information the satisfactory agreement in the results obtained, has tempted me to give them a more extended field, so that criticism, if you or others so will, may shew me in what particulars the reasoning employed has been faulty.

I do not propose treating this part of my subject in the same elementary way that I have done in the first case, as the time will not permit of it, but I shall give such explanations, as will make the arguments contained at the head of each column of the "table" amply sufficient for its full understanding.

As the diurnal-motions are the result of the difference in motion of the particles aggregated, as already explained, centres aggregating particles from equal areas, irrespective of the situation of these centres from the centre of the mass, will obtain equal diurnal motions; and a very simple extension of this principle will shew, that if the limits of aggregation were twice as great, the diurnal-motion would be twice that of the first case, and so for any other limits we may set for this aggregation. At present we know what the volume of the several planets are, and very nearly their densities; and on the assumption, that having been produced from out the same original mass, they are each made up of the same material, we can determine the relative number of particles in each; and assuming that these particles were comparatively evenly distributed about the original mass, (if this should not have been the approximate arrangement, they who are familiar with the operations which are to follow will know that complete discordance must result, and that the opposite being the case, the assumption is fairly upheld), their densities varied inversely as their distance from the centres of the mass, we

can determine the relative areas over which each planetary centre aggregated its particles from ; hence, the amount of their initial diurnal-motions.

Then the number of particles that each centre contains, assuming all to have existed as parts of the original mass at nearly the same temperature, will give us the means of determining the rate at which these several centres radiated their heat, for this will have been directly proportionate to the mass, or number of particles in each ; and, assuming the cooling of a particular planet as being equal to unity, by means of this proportion, determine what this amount must have been in particular instances, and consequently, what increase in their diurnal-motions has resulted, and what, therefore, these motions should be to-day. This is the line of argument that I have followed, and it seems to me to be consequetive and substantial ; to those of you who may not be able or willing to follow me, I submit the fact, that this line of argument produces wonderfully close agreement in the results, or where there is disagreement, it is in a direction which is evidently so from the uncertainty that exists, either in the present accepted values of the diurnal-motion itself, in the quantities that have to be used in obtaining this theoretical value or can be accounted for from the fact of no allowance having been made for the disturbing influences of the satellites on their primaries, for it is in these cases only that this discrepancy exists, and that always in the direction required by these disturbing influences. And I submit to your investigation, any other line of reasoning that will result in such agreement, that you may either deduce for yourselves, or adopt at haphazard ; or follow the reasoning I have laid down, slightly altering any one of the steps, and decide for yourselves, whether the agreements that are obtained (six perfect ; one doubtful, and two *unknown*, out of a total of nine instances), are not in themselves, some proof of the accuracy or the truth in the formulæ made us of.

The first four columns of my "table", are quantities which are directly obtained from any text-book, so also are the columns "L" and "G": the following explanations will make the remainder easily intelligible :—

"E", would be simply C x D, were the particles of the original mass not arranged in the order of the densities of the particles, in which the heaviest are assumed to be nearest the centre of the mass, and the lightest furthest from it, varying, as our atmosphere does, inversely as the distance from the centre; so that although two planets having the same mass or weight, have been developed at different distances from the centre of the mass, they must have a very different number of particles contained within them; so that this column "E" is deduced by the continued product of C, x D, divided by A, or $\frac{C \times D}{A}$.

Column "F", the ratio of cooling (or the relative amount of heat radiated by any of the planets, in any assumed time), depending on the number of particles that each contains, irrespective of what may or may not have been the temperature of these particles at the time of aggregation, will be represented by the reciprocal of the quantities contained in column "E", or be $\frac{1}{E}$.

Column "H", the ratio that the original diameters of the planets bore to each other, would be equal to the cube of their present diameters, had no radiation and consequent cooling, taken place; there having been a certain proportionate cooling, "C", the ratio of the original diameters, is multiplied by "F", the ratio of cooling. I may as well admit here, for you will be sure to find it out for yourselves, that this ratio of cooling, is a weak point in my arguments, not because it is impossible to imagine it as fulfilling the conditions required, but because it is impossible to demonstrate its truth; for you will understand, that we are discussing a first condition of matter with which we have no experience, both because matter then existed at

temperatures and in a condition of tenuity from which the conditions of the present allow of no experimental deductions. We can see for example, that a column of mercury loses appreciably a constant proportion of its volume for equal decrements of heat given out, and we are satisfied that although this may be very nearly the law up to the point where a change of its condition will take place, either on being vaporized or on freezing, yet we know that in either of these two altered conditions the law will necessarily require a change ; and, although we may be able to follow this change short distances in the required directions, we are not capable of asserting that any such law established will hold good for temperatures extremely beyond. Then, although we might not be far astray in the conclusions we might adopt in the case of a particular element, it is quite certain that we can form no estimate of the values to be given to the co-efficients of expansion or contraction where many elements are in combination, as in the case of the first conditions of our incipient planets. We should be quite certain however, that a planet does *not* lose equal units of its diameters for constant decrements of heat, but that the decrease in volume must have been a constantly diminishing quantity, such that the contractions in its first condition as a gaseous mass, were greater than when in its liquid or solid condition ; we must therefore adopt some such law as will contain this requirement ; and although we may not have determined the exact ratio of decrease, we shall certainly be somewhere near the true law ; how near, the amount of agreement in our results, will give us a fair means of determining. The ratio of cooling that I have adopted, assumes that the planatary bodies have lost for constant decrements of heat equal portions of the diameters then existing, so that if a planet in the first place lost one unit by contraction, it would lose at any later stage the same proportion of this unit that the then diameters were of the original diameters.

The remaining columns of my "table" contain sufficiently full information at their head, to enable any one to follow the reasoning made use of without further explanation, so that I will merely draw your attention to one or two of the conclusions, which I think are of importance, and which may escape your attention.

First, in the column "F", we have the ratios of cooling, which at the same time represent how far the existence of each planet has progressed towards the final stage, of which our moon might be cited as an example. It will be seen that as far as conditions of existence are concerned, neglecting outside influences, the sun and Jupiter are the least advanced; whilst Venus, although approaching the condition of the earth, on account of her nearness to the sun and the consequent alteration in this direction that must necessarily follow from his influences, should in reality be less advanced than the condition expressed. Mercury, although much further advanced than the earth, must have had this condition so altered by its proximity to the sun that its condition need not differ to any extent from that of the earth; and indeed, the excess of the theoretical diurnal motion over the observed value for the same, points to the same conclusion. Saturn exists to-day at a corresponding stage in its period of existence with the earth; Uranus and Neptune, have passed much beyond our condition, and may be supposed to have very nearly reached the final and practically unaltering condition of an extinct world.

The column "P" containing the theoretical probability of each of the planets having satellite-forming powers, is worthy of passing notice. The earth being assumed as having formed a satellite by the centrifugal force exceeding gravity, as the consequence of the contractions of her diameters, the same formulæ are employed iu every case, with the results seen in this column; and I take it to be one of the most important pieces of evidence in favor of the truth

of the arguments employed throughout, that in no case is there a theoretical satellite-forming power attributed to members, which do not shew the evidence of this power having been exercised in the possession of satellites to-day; excepting in the case of Mercury, whose close proximity to to the sun, has maintained an enormous retarding tidal-influence, which must have prevented the full development of the theoretical diurnal-motion, as already pointed out. Further, it will be noticed that the theoretical values deduced for this satellite-forming power, are approximately proportional to the existing number of satellites that each planet has;—the larger the satellite-forming power theoretically, the greater the number of satellites; and, in the case of Saturn, with the extreme power of 106, we find not only satellites in profusion, but rings. I have not explained why, if certain planets have so increased their rates of rotation, as to be capable of thus throwing off satellites, the motion could have been so reduced that the final outcome is a diurnal-motion much less than that necessary to do so, as it will have been evident to those at all conversant with the subject, that this liberation of satellites so acts that, immediately, the velocity of the remainder of the mass is reduced so that it is less than the required one; and then, the newly formed satellites themselves, occupying their new orbits with linear velocities corresponding to that which they had at the surface of the planet, have a motion which is retrograde in comparison to the motion of a point at that surface; and consequently act as a retarding influence upon the planet, so reducing its motion that similar developments become no longer possible.

In the case of the sun, several of the factors have to be ignored in arriving at our results, because of their insignificance proportionately to the values set for the same quantities in our planet of reference the earth; so that column

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to the columns " H ", " J ", and " X " to be neglect-
quantity contained in column " K " then becomes
value of the diurnal-motion, and is transferred to
" M ", directly, as the theoretical value of the pre-
rnal-motion ; knowing, that in so doing, we have
the acceleration, small as it should have been, that
ntable to the contraction of its diameters. Never-
we have perfect agreement, remembering the omis-
ween the theoretical and visible diurnal-motions
ase, of 4.00 and 4.23.

s and Neptune, the outlying sentinels of our system,
uated so far beyond us that the present means at the
f the investigator, are insufficiently near to deter-

if I have not convinced you of the value of my conclusions in this particular, that they have merited to some extent, the attention which you have so patiently given me this evening.

TABLE OF RESULTS, tending to prove that the DIURNAL-MOTIONS of the members of our Solar System follow a uniform law.

| — | Square of mean distance from Sun's centre. A | Diurnal-motion (miles per hour.) B | Ratio of volumes or diameters cubed. C | Ratio of densities. D | Ratio of mass, or number of particles in each. $\left(\frac{C \times D}{A}\right)$ E | Ratio of cooling. $\left(\frac{I}{E}\right)$ F | Ratio of present diameters. G | Ratio of original diameters. (F x C) H | Ratio of diameters cooled since. $\left(\frac{H}{G}\right)$ J |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mercury | 0.157 | 363 | 0.059 | 1.230 | 00.42 | 2.33 | 0.38 | 0.140 | 0.38 |
| Venus | 0.523 | 961 | 0.996 | 0.910 | 1.550 | 0.64 | 0.98 | 0.637 | 0.68 |
| Earth | 1.000 | 1039 | 1.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 1.000 | 1.00 |
| Mars | 2.323 | 488 | 0.136 | 0.972 | 0.065 | 16.37 | 0.514 | 2.226 | 4.33 |
| Jupiter | 27.071 | 26308 | 1491.0 | 0.227 | 11.250 | 0.089 | 11.30 | 132.699 | 11.74 |
| Saturn | 90.991 | 20663 | 772.0 | 0.132 | 1.00 | 1.000 | 8.712 | 772.0 | 88.64 |
| Uranus | 367.949 | unknown | 86.5 | 0.167 | 0.035 | 28.300 | 4.43 | 2447.9 | 552.6 |

TABLE OF RESULTS, tending to prove that the DIURNAL-MOTIONS of the members of our Solar System follow a uniform law.—*Continued.*

| — | Original diameters. (J + 1) X | First value for the diurnal-motions. $\left(\frac{C}{E}\right)$ K | Ratio of actual diurnal-motions. L | Theoretical values for present diurnal-motions. $\left(\frac{K \times X}{2}\right)$ M | Increase in diurnal-motion so that gravity may equal the centrifugal force in each case N | The same in terms of the earth's motion. O | Satellite-forming power assuming the earth's as unity. $\left(\frac{M}{O}\right)$ P | Retarding effects of satellite's action on diurnal-motions. Q |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mercury..... | 1.38 | 0.81 | 0.35 | 0.56 | 21.1 | 0.43 | 1.30 | |
| Venus..... | 1.68 | 1.09 | 0.92 | 0.92 | 17.5 | 0.94 | 0.80 | |
| Earth..... | 2.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 17.0 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 |
| Mars..... | 5.33 | 1.03 | 0.47 | 2.75 | 18.4 | 0.51 | 5.39 | Large unknown |
| Jupiter..... | 12.74 | 4.46 | 25.32 | 28.41 | 8.58 | 5.32 | 5.34 | 1000 |
| Saturn..... | 89 64 | 7.65 | 19.89 | 342.76 | 2.75 | 3.22 | 106.45 | approximative 53000000 |
| Uranus..... | 553.6 | 5.99 | unknown | 16580 | unknown | unknown | greater than unity | Large unknown |
| Neptune'..... | 728.3 | 2.99 | unknown | 1089 | unknown | unknown | greater than unity | Large unknown |
| Sun..... | ..... | 4.00 | 4.23 | 4.00 | 232.4 | 57.24 | 0.16 | approximative 1.50 |

# CHAMPLAIN'S TOMB.

By DR. J. M. HARPER, M.A., F.E.I.S.

In face of that political unrest which is ever and anon bringing into undue prominence the seeming heterogeneity of the confederated provinces of Canada, there are happily to be found in the current history of the Confederation several unmistakeable evidences of a developing national spirit. A nation has generally taken longer to mature than twenty years ; and if, since 1867, all the predictions of those who advocated Confederation have not been realized, there is at least a spirit abroad among the people which turns from the idea of dismemberment as from a disloyalty. If as yet no nation, Canada is at least finding her destiny in a united people from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The country, forsooth, is no longer at its beginning. Its present is assuming stereoscopic proportions on the background of its past, and the contemplation of the blending outlines of the picture is no longer valued by Canadians as a waste of time. Indeed at the present moment, more than at any other perhaps, the history of Canada is of living interest to the Canadian citizen. The illustrious dead and the unselfish activities of their lives are being illumined by the sunshine of Canada's present progressiveness ; and every day we hear of communities vieing with one another in their enthusiastic efforts to do honour to the memory of those who saw the country at its origin and had the courage to labour in its behalf. Thinking no evil of the past and of its slower movements, such communities have not failed

se in the personality of the pioneers w
ntry and established its towns and th
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nues to mature as the years go by.

nowhere in the Dominion has this e
more fully developed than in the ol
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ts history, the material on which suc
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d sought to lay the foundation lines
le of the Atlantic, there is no tradition
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memorial of energy undismayed, of hop

The trials of climate and pitiful starvation are there, hovering in the fogs that overhang the river, and in the mysteries of the enclosing forest, while the idleness of despair is to be seen lounging about with haggard face and an evil eye. In a word, famine, pestilence, treason and war seem to have been in league against the place and against the providence that alone had faith in its future. For there *was* a living providence, restlessly working for the good of the place amid all its trouble and insecurity. In face of the treachery of his followers and even of his patrons, never overwhelmed by the dismal experiences of his new life, there was to be seen a hero, in whom providence was working out its plans, walking around in the thickest of the dangers, drawing towards him and circling around him the affection and admiration of those who knew how to put faith in his courage and foresight. Such a hero was Samuel de Champlain in the early days of Quebec. To us of the present time he is a veritable knight errant, one without fear and without reproach. Fixed in his determination to succeed, steadfast in his religious faith, and conscious of the power within him to develop—

> A destiny beyond the seas where realm
> Was wilderness, a kingdom unsubdued,

he possessed that true nobility of character which ever smiles at difficulties. In face of the self-seeking that threatened for long the existence of the little hungry-eyed community at the base of Cape Diamond, he was able to stand bravely by his almost limitless principality in the days of its immaturity; and now to us of the present, he looks out from behind the curtain of the past with the heroic light, not of the seventeenth century, but of the middle ages playing around his features and his character. Armed with the shield of a strong man's faith, he spent his life in warding off the blows which French intrigues and European wars indirectly showered upon the young colony.

'Twas his to organize
The restlessness of man, and even seek
From craft alliance in the cause of peace,
'Twas his with threads of woe to weave a wreath
Of glory for the brow of France. Alas !
'Twas his to see disaster crown his toils
When foreign foe beset his forest home—
The dismal dawning of a fate severe
That since has been the halo of his fame.

hen we, in the third century of Que
s through the narrow thoroughfares of
king some memorial of this hero of Ne
er of our city, some vestige of the old
of the site on which it stood as the nucl
tal, we turn away with regret on findi
itness to the history of early days. No
ve all been destroyed or lost. Enough o
nable us to form a picture full of life an
after a careful examination of these re

On the twelfth of November, 1866, an announcement appeared in the Quebec newspapers to the effect that the antiquaries of the city had, after much patient research, found the site of Champlain's place of sepulture. The news caused not a little stir in the town ; and when it came to be known that the Abbés Casgrain and Laverdière were conjointly preparing a *brochure* in proof of the discovery, the conclusion was not far to seek that the reports in the newspapers were well-founded. According to their own statement, these gentlemen had, previous to the discovery, been making a careful study of some of the documents in the archives of Notre-Dame de Québec, thinking to put their hand upon some paper referring to the chapel in which Champlain was said to have been buried. How they came to be engaged on such a special line of research has not transpired. M. Drapeau, a contemporaneous antiquary, has sought to identify himself as having been the means of inducing such research on the part of the two Abbès. The vexed questions of Champlain's tomb had for long been of the greatest interest to him, and there is now no doubt that he had conversed, a few days previous to the announcement in the newspapers, with M. Laverdière concerning the discovery of human bones which had been made years before in Champlain Street, at the foot of Breakneck Steps. The two Abbés confess as much, when they say that, on the fifth of November (*i.e.* seven days before anything had been said of the discovery of the tomb,) M. Drapeau had told M. Laverdière that human bones had been disinterred in a street in lower town, though at the same time they take care to add that, being thoroughly convinced that Champlain's tomb could not have been situated elsewhere than in upper town, M. Laverdière did not think it worth his while to mention the matter to his colleague, M. Casgrain. The minor dispute of precedence is now of very little moment, yet it was the occasion of a

l warfare of words which has gone
e title of the *Quarrel of the Antiquarie*
oversy many bitter things were said, no
mmediate combatants as by the outs
it to take part in the fray. Among thos
o defend the Abbès was M. Cauchon,
on at the time as a kind of literary free
ready at a moment's notice to take up
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c. * Nor need it be said that the indigni
r of *Le Journal de Québec* sought to h
au detracted nothing from the success o
stigations. The distinction of locating
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to him or to us, whether his conversa
dière had or had not the effect of ind

query :—Is the Basilica the final resting-place of Champlain's remains ? If it be, we can only trace them there after they had lain in one of two other chapels, or in both, namely, the *Chapelle de Notre-Dame de la Recouvrance* or the *Chapelle du Gouverneur*. It is now established beyond conjecture that the obsequies over the dead body of Champlain were celebrated in the former, and there is as little doubt that the latter was the place in which was to be found the *sepulchre particulier* in which his remains were interred for a time at least. In the fire of 1640, however, both of these buildings were consumed ; and so the two antiquaries found themselves at the very beginning face to face with the proposition :—Was it not likely that Champlain's remains had been deposited, after such a disaster, in the vaults of the parish church for safe-keeping, and if so, was it not possible to find them there still ? The query was a simple one and apparently easy of solution. The diligent antiquaries hastened to the Basilica and made a careful search under the pavement of the church. But all in vain. They found the place beneath filled up even to the pavement, with the exception of a large hollow underneath the chapel of St. Anne. Disappointed but not defeated they returned to re-examine the registers, when all at once a strange conversion came upon them, though how it came upon them must with justice be told in their own words.

" After examining the registers, we noticed what had never struck us before that both M. Gand and Father Raymbault had been buried in the *Chapelle de Champlain* at a date subsequent to the fire of 1640. This discovery was followed by a long discussion between the two of us. In the evening we renewed the discussion, and further examined Sagard, Champlain, the *Catalogues des Bienfaiteurs*, the *Relations*, and and the Registers. And after all this, what was our conclusion ? Nothing else than that the *Chapelle de Champlain*

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d, however, that the tomb of Champla
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*le Champlain* was not, as we had at firs
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he *Abitation.* After a long examinatio
rced to conclude that it could not have
ore of the river, nor on the north-east s
f Champlain's garden, in other words
*l-de-Sac,*"—*i.e.* in the place where, as M
M. Laverdière four days before, huma
found.

the above narrative it is not difficult
he theory of the two antiquaries had
blished by a process of induction. They

that they had been examined by several persons and then laid away, he knew not where. 'I took some of them in my hand', he said, 'and measured the *femur* which was very strong and well preserved. It was nineteen inches long, and here is a sketch of it which I was curious enough to make,''' and with this Mr. O'Donnell proceeded to show the astonished Abbés the drawing he had made of all belonging to the tomb.

. . . . . .

As a matter of necessity, the investigation of Abbés Casgrain and Laverdière did not end here. However astonished they were at the results of their labours, so far, they had proved nothing. It is true that they had found a tomb, but the tomb could not have been Champlain's tomb unless there was to be found near it the foundations of a chapel, and unless it could further be proved that such a building had been known as Champlain's Chapel. It is needless to say that all researches in this direction were fruitless. Still the antiquaries did not lose faith in their theory. Through Mr. O'Donnell, they communicated with Mr. Baldwin, of Boston, who had been superintendent of the city water-works in 1854, and were informed by that gentleman that in the month of April, 1854, three human skulls had been found by workmen while they were engaged in digging at the head of Sous-le-Fort Street. The Abbés at once set to work to identify these skulls, and before long they came to the conclusion that they were part of the remains of Brother Duplessis, M. Gand and Father Raymbault, the first of whom Sagard in his history declares to have been buried in 1619, in the *Chapelle de Québec*, while the latter two are known to have been interred in the *Chapelle de Champlain*. The anxious investigators were in a quandary. They had two chapels on hand whereas they only required one. What was to be done? There was only one thing to be done, if the theory they had formed was to be maintained; and thus it was that the

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before venturing to give their theory

apitulate, for the sake of clearness, the
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—*First*, that the *Chapelle de Champlain*
*Chapelle de Québec* which had bee
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nontory from Champlain street, if it we
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d the same. *Second*, that the vault fo
is stairway was no other than the *sep*
cted for Champlain's remains, and that
scovered by Messrs. Baldwin and O'D
Champlain, Duplessis, Gand, and Fa

sought to determine the position of this chapel ; and now success has crowned their labours ; in a word, they have found for us the tomb of the founder of Quebec." Nor was it easy, in face of such assuring encomiums as the above to convince the public, who so often take things for granted, that the learned Abbés had been led astray in establishing their theory, not only by errors in logic but by errors in history. M. Drapeau ventured to raise his voice against the conclusions of his distinguished contemporaries, only to find himself however all but overwhelmed by the torrent of calumnies and *grosièretés* poured down upon him by the virulent free lance of the *Journal de Québec*, who knew so well how to take advantage of the fact that his opponent had claimed a share of the honour of discovering the tomb in lower town. If the *brochure*, explaining how the discovery had been made, had been of less distinguished parentage, the public might have been tempted to examine its contents with a more critical eye. As it was, the whole thing became for a season a matter of faith. Indeed so difficult is it to overcome the prejudices in favour of the decisions of the learned, that but for the after frankness of M. Casgrain himself, this and succeeding generations might have continued unwittingly to identify the vault at the foot of Breakneck Steps as the original resting-place of the remains of the first Governor of Quebec.

Nine years almost to a day after MM. Casgrain and Laverdière had entered upon their investigations in connection with Champlain's tomb, the former published in *L'Opinion Publique* of Montreal an article which threw a new light upon the whole question.* "The translation into English of Champlain's Works," says Abbé Casgrain with a candour which does him credit, "has attracted the attention of some of the members of the Historical Society of Boston, to the

* In the meantime M. Laverdière had died greatly regretted by all who knew him.

investigations which were made years ago for the purpose of determining the site of Champlain's tomb. These gentlemen have examined and compared the *brochures* which have been published on this question, but the proofs advanced on either side have not appeared to them to be satisfactorily conclusive, and they still express some doubts in regard to the exact spot where the remains of the founder of New France were deposited. Several of them have written to me to know if I was able to furnish further information on the subject, and I think it will be of some service to them if I publish certain documents which have formerly escaped attention. It ought to be said that these authentic records seem to combat the preconceived theory which is now so well known, and to cast a doubt upon certain statements which at one time appeared to be well established. Whatever may be the issue of the whole matter, the materials offered to day afford materials for further consideration. It is no doubt to be regretted that these documents do not tend to strengthen the general tendency of former investigations. Indeed they rather tend to unsettle convictions which had asserted themselves after a conscientious examination of authentic records already well known. However we have not hesitated to publish these new documents in the interest of historic truth. Later on, others may be able to make use of them in definitely solving this question which is perhaps one of the most intricate problems in our city's history."

Along with this statement M. Casgrain published the documents referred to in detail, with the declaration that they had been found among the original papers left by M. Faribault to the Laval University. In one of these documents, which bears the superscription: *Une place située dans la Grande Place de Québec, réservée par M. le Gouverneur*, there is a distinct reference to Champlain's Chapel, while in the other, which bears the title *Contrat de rente foncière*

*deûe par Jean Jobin à M. Ls. D'Aillebout*, 30 *juin* 1658, there are important references to the properties which were to be found at the time near the Parish Church (now the Basilica), and which thus lay contiguous to the place reserved by Gouvernor D'Aillebout. With these documents in hand, and with the candour of M. Casgrain as a guide, it is the intention of the writer of this paper to follow the footsteps of M. Drapeau and others, in order to see how far it is possible to determine the exact spot where the remains of Samuel de Champlain were originally laid in a tomb all by itself. But first of all, it is necessary to catch some authentic glimpse of Quebec as it was to be seen during the first fifty years or so of its existence, in order that the mind may not become prejudiced by the changes which have removed nearly all the landmarks of olden times.

Interesting as is the autobiographical narrative which Champlain has left behind him, it is next to impossible for us to appreciate fully the spirit which animated him as he proceeded to erect for himself a fortified dwelling place on the narrow shelving beach which lies at the foot of the great rock of Quebec. This was not the first time he had essayed to establish himself in the coasts of New France. The drawing up of plans for his *Abitation* was no new occupation for him. Three years before he had cast anchor in the St. Lawrence, he had superintended the construction of some such a building on the fatal island of St. Croix. His terrible experience there is a matter of history ; and yet such an experience, in a land further to the south where the winters might be expected to be milder than at Quebec, does not seem to have deterred him from again undertaking pioneer work. As he passed hither and thither among the workmen, busy carrying out his orders as architect and builder, no cloud seems to have arisen betwen him and his hope that his new *Abitation* on the St. Lawrence was but the

g of greater things. And now wh
nown to us than the quaint sketch
s left of the building, which was to be
r over a quarter of a century. With i
nd strong wooden walls, there is som
*mble* that tells us of the times when
for himself a castle which stood as
and his vassals. Nor was there wanti
feudal spirit of the times, the chivalr
e knight; and as we pass in imagina
osure of his moat and wall, examini
king buildings within it, climbing th
s or peering through the loop-holes of
to feel not a few of the seventeenth
floating around us. The view to
in and his fair bride from the upper
re dove-cot tower that stood apart fro
ildings, is still ours to admire; but the
s fled. A new record of liberty —of a

yard of the *Abitation* and there remain over night. During the first year no attempt was made to mark off the plateau above into the concessions which afterwards became the property of Abraham Martin, after whom the Plains of Abraham were named, of Louis Hébert and Pierre Couillard. Indeed there was hardly time to finish the *Abitation* and to make things comfortable for the approaching winter, which was to witness the death of twenty out of the twenty-eight men whom Pontgravé left with Champlain, when he set sail for France in September.

Let us now turn to the year 1615. During the interval of seven years Quebec had become a trading-station, next to Tadousac, the most important on the St. Lawrence. During the summer months the place must have borne a busy enough aspect, though there could not have been more than a hundred of people who had made it their place of permanent abode. By this time one or two families had built houses for themselves on the plateau above, while there must have been thirty or forty houses at least in lower town. This year, moreover, was memorable on account of the arrival of four Récollets missionaries whose services Champlain had secured for New France, through the direct intervention of the Pope, and it was after their arrival in the ship which brought out Champlain from France in the spring of the year that record has been made of the building of the first church in Quebec. Champlain and Father Dolbeau, we are told, having made selection of a site, a little way outside the *Abitation*, a convent was erected upon it with such expedition, that Mass was celebrated in the part of it set apart for a chapel, a month after the Recollets had arrived. This was none other than the *Chapelle de Québec*, which continued to be the parish church until Quebec was taken by the English in 1629. Where this building stood it is impossible to tell. Some have placed it on the site now occupied by the church of *Notre-Dame des Victoires*, and, as we have seen, the Abbés Cas-

d Laverdière of necessity, in their advocacy of the
which located Champlain's tomb in lower town,
site at the head of the *Cul-de-Sac*. But in conduct-
present investigation, we are more interested in as-
ng its fate than in determining its site. In other
what became of the *Chapelle de Québec* ?

can be little doubt but that it shared the fate of
ain's house when Quebec was taken by David Kirke
At least, indirect testimony in support of this is
the *Relation* of 1632, in which Father Lejeune,
e Jesuits who arrived in Canada during that year,
t on their arrival they saw at the foot of the Fort
*Abitation de Québec* burned to the ground, with
left standing save the stone foundations. It is not
at the *Chapelle de Québec*, had it been standing,
ave escaped the eye of the Jesuit, and it is much
y that he would have celebrated Mass in Widow
house as he did, had there been a chapel in the
Were there, however, in face of such evidence any

town, and since it existed at least up to 1642. It is because its position, so far within the *Cul-de-Sac*, kept it out of sight. The ruins of the *Abitation* alone were in sight, before they had doubled the promontory." Only the after candour of M. Casgrain can protect him from the reply to such logic.

In corroboration of what Father Lejeune says in the *Relation* of 1632, the following extract may be of some interest and perhaps all the more so since it is taken from the collection of manuscripts lately published under the supervision of the Provincial Secretary of the Province of Quebec. At page 104, vol. I, we read: "Le Sieur Emery de Caen had already sent from Tadousac a boat to Quebec, with an extract of the commissions and letters patent from the kings of France and England, according to which the English captain was commanded to give up the Fort in eight days. These they therefore carried to him on the morning after their arrival. The Jesuits, however, celebrated Mass in the oldest house in the country, the house of Widow Hébert who lived not far from the Fort. She has a fine family. Her daughter is married to an honest Frenchman. May God bless them all their days." *

Nor would there have been any excuse for holding the theory that Champlain's tomb and chapel were to be found in lower town, even had these facts and their corroboration been altogether overlooked, since that most careful of Canadian historians, Abbé Faillon, has summed up the whole matter in these terms :—" The first object of Champlain's solicitude for things religious (on his return in 1633) was to procure for the colonists a place where they might unitedly engage in the exercise of public worship. The English, before the return of the French, had burned

* "To them have been given," the record continues, "very beautiful children, their cattle are in very good condition, their lands produce very fine crops. It is the only French family permanently settled in Canada. They had at one time sought the means of returning to France, but on learning that the French were about to return to Quebec, they decided to remain."

rwise destroyed the chapel which had formerly
de use of by the Recollets and which had served
rish church. While waiting for the construction
y church, they prepared an altar in the Fort, and it
e that the Jesuit Fathers were accustomed to go
nister the sacraments. Champlain, a few days
arrival, attended holy Mass. But before the end
ear, he executed a pious design which he had long
lated. After the seizure of the country by the
he took a vow to build at Quebec a chapel in
of Mary, should the French ever come into posses-
Canada again, and give it the title of *Chapelle de la*
*nce*."

these conclusions set so plainly before us, there
ains nothing for us to do but to turn our attention
town in our search for the tomb of the illustrious
of our city. Quebec was once more in the hands
French. The buildings in lower town were not

a line with what is now known as Fabrique street, with its main entrance turned towards the road which led in the direction of the Fort, and looking down the rugged pathway which led up the slope from lower town. The choir of the *Chapelle de la Recouvrance* however must have coincided with the choir of the Basilica, an important point to note, for if the remains of Champlain were laid under the choir of the chapel awaiting the erection of the *sepulchre particulier*, as there is some reason to suppose they were, their first resting-place is easily found, being no other than under the present entrance to the Basilica. To understand matters clearly at this stage it is necessary to turn to a map of the city which is to be found in Abbé Faillon's "Histoire du Canada."

The said map or plan speaks to a large extent for itself and shows, at a glance, how far the arrangement of the streets radiating from the Post Office and the Place d'Armes, and with which we are most familiar, is of more modern date than the times of which we write. The probable sites of the three chapels of which mention has been so frequently made in the above narrative, can readily be distinguished by the reader, though it must be borne in mind that the *Chapelle de Québec* had disappeared with the *Abitation* in 1829, and was never rebuilt. The *Chapelle de Québec* mentioned in subsequent history was that held by the Jesuits and which they had been allowed to occupy by the Recollets.

Let us look for a moment at the streets in order to locate as near as possible the site of the *Chapelle de Champlain*, the central difficulty of our problem, seeing that l'Abbé Laverdière has set at rest all dispute about the *Chapelle de la Recouvrance* by finding its basement walls in the court of the Presbytery, immediately behind the present cathedral. The only pathways in upper town that seem to have borne a name at this time were Fort Street and Côte de la Montagne.

Buade Street probably received its name not earlier than 1672, though it must have existed as a highway in 1642, since it is mentioned in the deed which records the reservation of the piece of land near the parish church, by Governor D'Aillebout as a "roadway which runs south, south-west and north-west between the said land and the parish church." The other three streets or roadways mentioned on the map, coincide or all but coincide with Fabrique Street, St. Anne Street and St. Louis Street of the present time. The roadway leading up the mountain, had on the one side the old cemetery and on the other a vacant lot called the *Grande Place*, and then forked off into Fort Street and the street running parallel with the modern Fabrique Street, the continuation of Côte de la Montagne.

And here it may be said that a good deal has been made of the above deed of Governor D'Aillebout in an endeavour to locate the *Chapelle de Champlain* on the *Grande Place* or the site now occupied by the Post Office. The deed is explicit enough in regard to the exact position of the land reserved, describing it as being bounded by what is now called Buade Street, Fort Street, and the Place d'Armes, and further described as being an enclosure opposite the *Chapelle de Champlain*. Where then was this same chapel? On the *Grande Place*? Look down Buade Street towards the harbour any fine morning and solve the problem for yourself? If not on the *Grande Place* it must have been a little beyond the *Grande Place*, somewhere on the other side of Fort street, the only building in sight in that direction. In a word, if the *Chapelle de Champlain* was not built upon the *Grande Place* it must have been situated in a corner of the old cemetery. And where more likely to find a chapel, having within it the grave or tomb of the founder of Quebec, and built, as it would appear, to protect that grave.

Let us however make haste slowly. The words of the deed describing Fort Street are: "a roadway between the

said reserved land and the said *Chapelle de Champlain.*" There can be nothing plainer than that. Hence the chapel must have been, as one would say, " on the other side of the way," and not in the cemetery after all. Perhaps. But we are not done with the deed yet. The words *Chapelle de Champlain* have been erased by the copyist's pen running through them, and substituted by the words *Grande Place.* And here we are confronted with a new theory.

This time it is Dr. Dionne who enters the lists. He evidently has made up his mind that the chapel was on the *Grande Place* and nowhere else, and explains the erasure in this way. As the chapel occupied only a limited part of the *Grande Place*, he says in substance, the clerk who drew out the deeds, no doubt thinking that the ground occupied by the chapel was not sufficient in itself to indicate the boundary line of such a large lot erased the words " the said *Chapelle de Champlain*" and subsituted the more comprehensive term the *Grande Place.* The explanation is ingenious, and had there ever been found the remains of a *sepulchre particulier* or foundation wall on or near the site of the Post Office, it would have been almost as valid as fact. But though search has been made, no such remains have ever been found, nor is there any record to prove that this part of the *Grande Place* was built upon until later on. Besides, the erasure may have been only after all a clerical error corrected in the usual way. But, if Dr. Dionne wishes to adhere to his explanation of the erasure, let him take both of the deeds unearthed by Abbé Casgrain, and observe that the buildings adjoining the piece of land reserved are made special mention of—namely, the parish church, the fort of the savages, the houses or properties of Jacques Boissel, Louis Côté and Abraham Martin. The buildings were the landmarks, which enabled the notary or clerk, who drew out the deeds, to indicate the streets bounding the reserved land. And hence, while remembering that the *Chapelle de Champlain* was the only

prominent object that stood in sight at the time on the river side of the reserved land, Dr. Dionne will see that the fact of its being mentioned in the deed does not determine its nearness to Fort Street as being "right on the other side of the way." The deed says "we have reserved a place situated in the said enclosure *opposite* the *Chapelle de Champlain*," but the word "opposite" in itself does not mean very near, no more than the word "near" means right on the other side of the way. For example the Jesuit chronicles in speaking of the *Chapelle de la Recouvrance*,, says that it was near the Fort, whereas the distance must have been very much more than the distance between the reserved land and the graveyard. Father Lejeune, in speaking of Madame Hébert's house, says it was near the Fort whereas it was even farther away from the Fort than the *Chapelle de la Recouvrance* ; and so it was in other instances which might be cited. The word opposite does not necessarily mean "right on the other side." And thus it is that Dr. Dionne is even worse off than the Abbés Casgrain and Laverdière, all honour to them ; they really found a tomb and in theory built a chapel over it—an example which it is possible we may have to follow ; but Dr. Dionne has found neither a tomb nor a chapel : he has merely found a theory.

And now having waded through nearly all the dry-as-dust pathways, let us turn to the theory which seems to be the most reasonable of anything advanced, since the appearance of the deeds found by Abbé Casgrain which, as we now know, prove conclusively that the tomb at the foot of Breakneck Steps is not Champlain's tomb. Let us lay all the documents before us, and with M. Stanislas Drapeau to guide us, let us try to answer the following queries :

(1.) Where did Champlain die ?
(2.) Where were his obsequies celebrated ?
(3.) Where was he buried ?
(4.) Who built the *Chapelle de Champlain* ?
(5.) Where and when was the *sepulchre particulier* built?

(6.) What was the fate of the chapel ?

(7.) Was the tomb ever found ?

The categorical answers to these queries are :—

(1.) Champlain died in a room in Fort Saint-Louis.

(2.) His obsequies were celebrated in the *Chapelle de la Recouvrance.*

(3.) He was buried in the *Cimetière de la Montagne.*

(4.) The *Chapelle de Champlain* was built by Governor Montmagny, to commemorate the death of his predecessor.

(5.) It was within the chapel, and is first mentioned in the *Relation* of 1643.

(6.) It was destroyed by fire in 1640 ; was rebuilt, and finally fell into decay or was burned a second time.

(7.) A tomb has been found in the place where the chapel probably stood, and can be circumstantially identified as the *sepulchre particulier.*

And (1.) *Where did Champlain die ?* The Abitation was never rebuilt after its destruction by Sir David Kirke in 1629. The colony was restored to France by the Treaty of St. Germain in 1632 ; but Champlain, detained in Europe from various causes, did not return until the spring of the year 1633. * In the month of October 1635, while daily busied with the affairs of the colony, he was suddenly struck down with a stroke of paralysis. At first it was thought, as is usual in such cases, that he would recover, but he never rose from his bed after. On Christmas Day of the same year he passed away, with no fear for the future, with no regret for the past. Wise and noble in his thought and conduct, he was more, he was a good man, a man in whom the religious instinct was fully developed. It is said that he shed tears on his death bed, when he spoke of the colony he had founded, and prayed for the men and women and little ones whom he had brought from Europe to be " his own people in the West." " They must be pro-

* Madame Champlain, who left for France in 1624, did not return with her husband.

hey must be assisted," we think we hear him say, ust be encouraged to remain, just as they would n had I continued among them." During his two sickness he was tenderly cared for by Father Lale- e warm-hearted Jesuit who was among the first of r to open a school in the colony ; and on the day ath there stood by his couch his friend De Chateau- o had come from his post at Three Rivers to be with ernor in his last moments, and to receive from his e keeping of the affairs of New France until such nother governor should be appointed by the Crown.

*Where were Champlain's obsequies celebrated ?* They lebrated in the *Chapelle de la Recouvrance*, as is ndicated by the *Relation* of 1636. Father Lejeune, we have seen was the first to celebrate Mass after val of Champlain in 1632, in Madame Hébert's preached the funeral oration. Two years before in's death this pioneer priest had thus written of

sideration of the wealth he has been able to procure for New France, by means of which we hope that some day God will be loved and served by our French compatriots and known and adored by the uncivilized around us. It is true that he has lived a life of justice and honour, faithful to his king and the company; but in his death he has perfected his virtues, with a piety so remarkable that we cannot but be astonished." In the spirit of these words was preached the funeral oration of Samuel de Champlain in the *Chapelle de la Recouvrance*, which, as we know, was for the time being the parish church of Quebec.

(3.) *Where was Champlain buried?* There can be little doubt that he was buried in the cemetery near at hand to the parish church, the *Cimetière de la Montagne*, which was laid off on the slope of the hill near the site where till lately stood the Parliament Buildings. This cemetery is marked on all the plans and views of the city as it was to be seen between 1660 and 1695. An effort has been made to strengthen the conjecture that the remains were at first deposited in the vaults of the chapel, by urging, first, the necessity there was for such a burial, it being the depth of winter, and second, the desire there would be to do honour to the remains of one so distinguished. But the second argument is as insufficient as the first in face of the fact that subsequently Governor Mesy was buried in the public cemetery, as were the governors of other places afterwards, and that many of the more distinguished of the residents of Quebec about this period are reported as having made the request that after death their bodies were to be deposited in the graveyard common to all. Dr. Dionne has endeavoured to identify the humain remains found in 1877 in the vaults of the Basilica, in order to show that others beside Champlain, had been buried in the *Chapelle de la Recouvrance*. But he has not been very successful in connecting his investigation in this direction with the issue

at question. He has not weakened the idea that Champlain was buried in the only burial ground near at hand, the *Cimetière de la Montagne.* If the register of burials had not been burned in the fire of 1640, with the other archives of the parish church, there would have been no difficulty in solving this point ; but the very fact that Father Lejeune in chronicling the event of Champlain's obsequies does not make mention of his remains being deposited in an unusual place, is all but conclusive that he was buried in the cemetery common to all.

(4.) *Who built the Chapelle de Champlain ?* There is now no difference of opinion over this part of the controversy. It was built in the summer of 1636, by Governor de Montmagny, as a mark of respect to his predecessor, whose grave would in time disappear were it not protected in some such way as this. This is borne out by the fact that the chapel is more than once to be found on record as the *Chapelle de Monsieur le Gouverneur.*

(5.) *Where and when was the sepulchre particulier built?* It is impossible to say whether the tomb of Champlain was built before or after the chapel. We think Dr. Miles is not far wrong when he says : " Since the funeral took place in the dead of winter, it seems probable that the sepulchre or at least the exterior of the tomb was not completed until some time afterwards." The first mention that is made of either tomb or chapel in the *Relations* is not for six or seven years after the death of the first governor. In the record of 1641, it is distinctly stated that Commissary-General Gand was buried in the *Chapelle de Champlain.* In that of 1642, it is stated in the registers that Father Raymbault was buried in the same chapel on the 22nd of October; while the *Relations* of 1643, in referring to the event of the priest's death, state that at the special request of the governor his remains were " interred near the body of the late M. de Champlain, which is in a tomb all by itself,

built expressly to honour the memory of that distinguished man who has done so much for New France."

(6.) *What was the fate of this Chapelle de Champlain?* Like the other chapels mentioned in this controversy it was destroyed by fire. In the fire of 1640, which had its origin in the Presbytery of the Jesuits, these prominent buildings were destroyed—the Presbytery itself, the *Chapelle de la Recouvrance*, and the *Chapelle de Champlain.* And here we may remark, in the spirit of Victor Hugo, in describing the Battle of Waterloo, that if it could have been known in what direction the wind blew in Quebec, on the 14th of June, 1640, there would have been none of this controversy. The *Chapelle de la Recouvrance* took fire from the Presbytery, and the *Chapelle de Champlain* from the combined conflagration. " The wind so violent, the extreme heat, the oily wood of the pitch pine with which these buildings were constructed lit up a fire so quick and so violent that we could hardly save anything." So says the *Relation* describing the fire. Why didn't it go further and say in what direction the wind was blowing at the time. Had it done so we would have known almost to a certainty where the *Chapelle de Champlain* was situated.

(7.) *Has Champlain's Tomb ever been found?* There is the record of a tomb having been found in the north-western corner of the old cemetery, which from its appearance seems to have been none other than the *sepulchre particulier* mentioned in the *Relations.* The history of its discovery is not far to seek but may be found in the Quebec newspapers of the 18th of December, 1850. By looking at the plan of the city of 1660, it may be observed that there is indicated a space of ground above and adjoining the old graveyard. In 1688, this plot of ground was in the hands of Town Major Provost, at least we are told that it was purchased from him by Bishop St. Vallier, who built a residence for himself on it in 1694. In 1831, the government feued this

from Bishop Panet, and proceeded to erect on it
of the parliament buildings erected in Quebec.
ildings, now known as the first old parliament
, to distinguish them from those consumed by fire a
s ago, consisted as those who have seen them re-
of a central block with a wing on the north side,
t was left of the old bishop's palace on the south
us the edifice remained until 1850, when the gov-
decided to pull down the remains of the palace, and
e parliament building a more complete appearance
ng on the site of the old palace a second wing to
d with the other.

the workmen were engaged in removing the
ndation wall of the old palace, they came upon a
ich had evidently been, at the time of its construc-
fully built with solid masonry, and which at the
workmen exposed it contained some human re-
his tomb, in my opinion, was none other than the

as the *Chapelle de la Recouvrance* was at the time of its founder's death, it being only two years built,) Champlain had been the first to be buried, some mention would almost to a certainty have been made by Father Lejeune, of the unusual occurrence—the first governor, the first to be buried in the first chapel built after the recovery of the country—the founder of the chapel buried under its altar. The conjecture that Champlain was buried in 1635, in the *Grande Place* can hardly be entertained. Nor really has it, for those who maintain that the tomb was ever to be found there have to premise that the chapel was built before the tomb. The premise is only tenable on the suppostion that Champlain was first buried in the *Chapelle de la Recouvrance*, and yet if the deceased governor's grave was thus protected, if he was thus honoured with a resting-place in the chapel which he himself had built, what need was there for Governor Montmagny to be in such haste to protect the remains of his predecessor or even, if you will, to do honour to the memory of one on whom had been conferred the very highest honour the church can bestow short of saintship. In a word the internal evidence is against the conjecture that the chapel was built to receive the tomb. The tomb was built in whole or in part to receive the body on the 27th or 28th of December. There were masons enough about the fort to prepare the place roughly at first for the reception of the body. Governor Montmagny probably saw the *sepulchre particulier* complete or incomplete as it was, as he climbed the steep pathway and saluted the cross in the cemetery which he had to pass on his way to Mass, on the day of his arrival ; and, no doubt, hearing from those near him of the good deeds of the man whom he had succeeded in office, he took a vow to build a chapel to protect the sacred spot, just as Champlain himself had taken a vow to build a chapel should be ever return to Canada. There can be no doubt that this is the tomb we have been in search of.

Circumstantial evidence is said to be the best of evidence, but when it is supported by one substantial fact in its favour it is all but absolutely conclusive. No such substantial fact has been advanced in favour of the *Grande Place* theory. No tomb has ever been found there, no vestige of a chapel. We have found no remains of a chapel it is true in the cemetery, but a tomb has been found corresponding to the *sepulchre particulier* in nearly every respect,—in position, for it stood directly opposite the piece of land reserved by Governor D'Aillebout,—in site, for it was found as a *sepulchre particulier*, in a remote corner of the cemetery, a tomb all by itself; and in construction, since it was carefully built of solid masonary. If we have found no chapel, nor even the record of the foundation of a chapel, yet the erection and re-erection of walls and buildings can account for the complete disappearance of the foundation walls of a building that never seems to have been intended as a regular place of worship, and whose foundations on this account were probably not placed very deep in the ground. As has been said, it was built to protect and mark more prominently the *sepulchre particulier*,—built in haste as an act of piety, to disappear, most probably for the second time by fire. It disappeared, but the *sepulchre particulier* remained, and as it seems to me, we have been with those who have guided us to the interesting spot, where it was erected.

And now a word in conclusion. The work of this discovery has not been the work of one man, as its history indicates. For a man to be wrong in his conclusions does not necessarily exclude him from being thanked for his arguments. Such, as M. Cauchon, whose only argument is denunciation, can not be classed as anything but self seekers, men in whom there is no true work. In a controversy of this kind we leave such men out of count. The man to whose candour and industry in the first place is

due the inception of such an investigation as the above, is Abbé Casgrain, perhaps the most industrious antiquary of our city,—not to mention Mr. Drapeau who had to endure the *grossièretés* of an effulgent editor while uttering the truth, and Mr. J. M. LeMoine who was the first to draw my attention to this interesting subject. And for a moment we may pause to ask what good can come of such controversies as this, for the practical is ever immanent in men's minds nowadays. The answer is in the growing feeling that the founder of our city should have within its borders a monument to commemorate his life work, not an ordinary monument, for his was no ordinary life merely magnified now for us by distance effects. Let us raise to his memory something that shall really show that the enterprise which was born to us through him continues to live; something that men shall know of everywhere, and something that shall commemorate the realization of his great life dream, the pathway past Quebec that leads to China. A proposition has already been made by the wealthiest corporation in the country to build such a monument for us in part at least. The most of you have seen the character of the edifice proposed in the architect's plans. What city would not be proud to have such a monument raised on the sacred spot of its founder's grave? Is there anything in us or around us to hinder such a scheme? Is there ought to prevent us from making a public effort in behalf of the scheme? In a word, is there anything to keep the citizens of Quebec, individually and collectively, from joining with those who would largely assist us in raising a *Maison de Champlain* on the ground where the stalwart frame of our first governor had resting place?

# DOCUMENTS DISCOVERED BY ABBÉ CASGRAIN.

*Une place située dans la grande place de Québec réservée par M. le gouverneur.*

Louis Daillebout lieutenant-général du roi et gouverneur dans toute l'étendue du Grand Fleuve Saint-Laurent en la Nouvelle-France rivière et lacs y descendants et lieux qui en dépendent. En vertu du pouvoir à nous donné par Messieurs de la Compagnie de la Nouvelle-France et sous le bon plaisir d'icelle, en faisant la distribution d'une place située dans l'enclos de Québec. Nous nous sommes réservé une place située dans le dit enclos contre la *Chapelle Champlain* contenant un arpent de terre ou environ tenant du côté du nord-est à un chemin qui court sud sud-est et nord-ouest qui est entre la dite terre et les terres de l'Eglise paroissiale de ce lieu, d'autre côté au sud-ouest aux terres non concédées d'un bout au nord-ouest à un chemin piésente qui est entre la dite terre et la Grand place pour en jouir par nous du dit arpent de terre ou environ nos successeurs ou ayant cause à toujours pleinement et paisiblement aux charges qu'il plaira à Messieurs de la dite Compagnie nous ordonner, faite au fort Saint-Louis de Québec ce dixième jour de février mil six cent quarante-neuf.

DAILLEBOUT.

*Contrat de rente foncière due par Jean Jobin à M. Ls. D'Aillebout—30 juin 1658.*

Par devant Jean Baptiste Peuvret Notaire de la Nouvelle-France et témoins soussignés fut présent en sa personne messire Louis D'Aillebout chevalier seigneur de Coulonges gouverneur et lieutenant-général pour le Roi en ce pays étendu du fleuve Saint-Laurent, Lequel a reconnu et confessé avoir baillé, cédé, et transporté à titre de rente foncière de bail d'héritage annuelle et perpétuelle non rachetable du tout à toujours et promet garantir de tous troubles et empêchements généralement quelconques à Jean Jobin Mtre tailleur d'habits habitant de ce pays à ce présent preneur et acquéreur au dit titre pour lui, ses hoirs et ayants cause, une place sise en cette ville de Québec, contenant demi arpent de terre ou environ faisant moitié d'un arpent de terre au dit seigneur bailleur appartenant, Joignant d'un côté à la rue qui passe entre l'église paroissiale et la dite terre, d'autre côté à Jacques Boissel en partie et à Louis Côté, d'un bout à une rue qui passe entre le fort des sauvages et la dite terre, Et d'autre bout à la place d'Abraham Martin en partie et aux terres non concédées, au dit seigneur bailleur appartenant par concession qu'il en a prise le dixième jour de février mil six cent quarante-neuf, ratifiée et signée par Monsieur de Lauzon ci-devant gouverneur de ce pays le vingt deuxième jour d'avril mil six cent cinquante deux.

# HISTOIRE ABRÉGÉE

DE

# L'ÉGLISE PAROISSIALE DE QUÉBEC

ET DES DIFFICULTÉS QU'IL Y A EUES DEPUIS 1644 JUSQU'EN 1771.

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Quelques personnes reprochent aux marguilliers d'être les auteurs des difficultés qui règnent au sujet de l'Eglise Paroissiale ; pour parvenir à justifier leur conduite il faut les représenter tels qu'ils sont, c'est-à-dire les administrateurs des revenus de la dite Eglise et Fabrique, qui sont confiés à leurs soins ; mais pour éclaircir cette matière dans tout son jour, il est nécessaire d'avoir recours à la source et au principe de cette Eglise, en commençant par son premier établissement :—

En 1644, M. Guillaume Couillard et Guillemette Hébert, son épouse, donnèrent 80 perches de terrain en superficie, pour bâtir l'Eglise Paroissiale, à la charge par la Fabrique, qu'elle leur fournirait un banc, à perpétuité, dans la dite Eglise, pour eux et leurs successeurs, moyennant une somme de trente livres, tournois, qu'ils payeraient à la dite Fabrique par chaque mutation. Le titre est dans les coffres de la dite Fabrique.

Cette même année 1644 et 1645, cette Eglise fut édifiée par nos pères sur le dit terrain donné pour cet effet, par

tes faites dans la ville les années 1643 et 1644, et
par 1270 peaux de castor qui furent aussi données
marchands, ce qui pouvait valoir alors environ
es. Mrs. de la compagnie des Indes donnèrent aussi
ne. Depuis ce temps cette Eglise fut entretenue par
ssiens, soit de réparations, vases sacrés, linges, orne-
tc. Voila donc une Eglise édifiée et dont le droit
assurait la propriété à nos Pères et leurs succes-
La question est de savoir si qui que ce soit a pu en
sans leur consentement.

59, Monseigneur de Laval, Evêque de Pétrée, vint
da, il repassa en France peu de temps après, et
retour, en 1663, il érigea le Séminaire de Québec.
guilliers cédèrent alors, sans le consentement des
ns, à cette maison naissante, une partie du terrein
se. On verra, en 1703, ce qui se passa à ce sujet.

64, Monseigneur de Laval érigea la Paroisse de
en titre de cure, qui jusqu'alors n'avait point de

les revenus de la Fabrique pour servir de manse Capitulaire au chapitre futur.

Mais si le Pape ne commet aucun Juge, s'il unit par lui-même par sa Bulle, il n'est pas possible de rectifier ce deffaut essentiel, n'ayant personne *in partibus* à qui l'on puisse présenter requête pour faire les procédures nécessaires (Recueuil de la Jurisprudence Canonique, page 288, colonne seconde, au sujet des unions).

Ce deffaut seul qui est le principe de toutes les formalités nécessaires, en pareilles occasions, rend la Bulle nulle et de nul effet ; formalité si essentielle qu'on ne peut jamais rectifier, comme il est expliqué dans le droit canonique, à moins qu'on n'en vienne à une nouvelle bulle et ne pas omettre les formalités ordinaires.

Cette Bulle est nulle et abusive. Pourquoi ? par ce quelle donne le bien des sujets étrangers sans le consentement et l'aveu du souverain et que cette donation est contraire au droit naturel, à celui de la couronne, aux libertés et franchises de l'Eglise Gallicanne.

Elle est nulle, par ce qu'elle n'est pas accompagnée de lettres patentes confirmatives et enregistrée au Parlement; formalités si essentielles selon notre droit et nos loix que tout acte fait par un Evêque ou commissaire du Pape sans cette précaution devient nul et de nul effet, et qu'on peut même le poursuivre extraordinairement.

Il faut remarquer qu'une bulle peut être reçue approuvée et exécutée en tout ou en partie, ce' sont les lettres patentes qui déterminent l'étendue de son exécution; de sorte que si ces lettres ne parlent que de quelques articles de la Bulle, tous les autres omis sont par là même rejettés.

Elle est nulle, Pourquoi? par ce qu'il fallait un procès verbal *de commodast incommodo* ; il fallait aussi au moins 2 commissaires, un du Pape et l'autre du Roi, on devoit faire assigner les Paroissiens, rendre un jugement contradictoire sur ce sujet et obtenir ensuite des lettres confirma-

tives de toute cette opération, or rien n'a été fait, aucune règle n'a été observée, donc ce qui auroit été fait auroit été nul quand même le chapitre eut alors existé. Elle étoit donc vaine et ridicule puisque le chapitre n'existoit pas.

Or si quelqu'un pretend que toutes les formalités n'étoient pas nécessaires, qu'on en donne des preuves certaines, si au contraire on prétend qu'elles ayent été observées, qu'attend-on pour le faire voir ?

On prétend qu'en 1681, le Roi donna ses lettres patentes confirmatives de cette Bulle, on se trompe ; ces lettres patentes ne concernent que la Bulle de translation faite en faveur de Monseigneur de Laval de l'Evêché de Pétrée à celui de Québec, et il n'est pas besoin d'autre preuve que celle de la lecture de ces Lettres où il est dit qu'après avoir examiné par notre conseil les Bulles Provisoires apostoliques octroyées par notre St Père le Pape au sieur de Laval sur notre nomination, et ne s'y étant rien trouvé de contraire aux libertés de l'Eglise Gallicanne, etc., là nous l'avons reçu à nous faire le serment de fidélité. Or qu'y a-t-il dans ces lettres en faveur du chapitre ? Le Pape n'a aucun pouvoir sur le temporel et quoique ce soit une Eglise dans laquelle les peuples s'assemblent pour chanter les louanges du Seigneur, Elle n'en est pas moins un fond réel qui appartient aux Paroissiens et dont aucun n'a le droit de les déposséder, sans leur consentement.

On est surpris pourquoi Monseigneur de Laval n'installa pas ce Chapitre aussitôt après son érection et qu'il différa jusqu'en 1684. On a demandé quelle avoit été la raison de ce retardement ; on répond simplement à cette question qu'on ne connoit pas la cause ; réponse politique : pourquoi ne pas dire la vérité en disant que Monseigneur de Laval savait très bien que cette Erection étoit nulle et que toutes les formalités nécessaires et indispensables manquaient.

Cependant, en 1684, 10 ans après la Bulle le chapitre fut bien ou mal installé, et on soutient que toutes les for-

malités furent alors observées, et on cite pour titre qu'en ce grand jour il y eut un grand concours de monde tous états et qu'il prit alors possession de son Eglise. Voila les titres qu'on cite à cette prise de possession. Quoi ! sont-ce là des formalités qu'on doit citer comme un titre incontestable ? un grand concours de monde assemblé qui pousse des cris de joie et d'allégresse marquant par là le contentement qu'il avoit de cette installation ; y a-t-il quelqu'un qui ignore combien le peuple est avide de nouveautés et curieux d'une cérémonie nouvelle, en Canada ? Mais la prise de possession de cette Eglise par le chapitre est quelque chose encore de plus fort, oui cela est vrai, mais de quelle espèce est celle-ci ? a-t-on fait signer aux Paroissiens qu'ils abandonnaient le droit de propriété qu'ils avaient sur leur Eglise pour la donner à ce chapitre ? quand cela seroit ces formalités seraient inutiles, il y avait des abus qui ne pouvaient être rectifiés. Mais cela s'est fait dans l'Eglise ; oui, on ne le revoque pas en doute, mais quel rapport cela a-t-il avec le fond ? il est nécessaire de savoir que pareilles cérémonies ne se font jamais que dans une Eglise, par ce qu'il faut un autel, une chaire, une cloche avec la corde et peut être autre chose qui n'est pas de mon état de connaître, ainsi qu'on ne soit donc point surpris ce n'est pas dans les places publiques qu'on peut trouver ces monumens respectables, qui ne peuvent être déposés autre part que dans les Eglises ; ainsi on n'a suivi dans cette cérémonie que l'ordre naturel et divin.

A la réception d'un curé toutes ces cérémonies se font également dans l'Eglise, où il prend possession de la cure, en résulte-t-il delà que cette Eglise lui appartient en propre ? il a un droit canonique sur cette Eglise qui ne préjudicie en rien au droit civil qui en assure la propriété aux paroissiens, mais le curé n'a et ne peut avoir aucune propriété sur le fond.

En suivant les principes de cette même Bulle, on sera surpris qu'en 1674, même année de la dite Bulle, qui

donne tout au chapitre sans exception, la compagnie des Indes à Paris donna par brevet à la Fabrique de Québec, 6 arpens de terre en fief pour en jouir en toute propriété comme seigneur. Pourquoi cette compagnie donne-t-elle à la Fabrique, puisque suivant la Bulle elle n'a plus rien, et qu'au contraire le chapitre est en possession de tout ? (on verra par la suite que le Roi même a fait d'aussi grande faute que cette compagnie). On peut donc répondre à coup sûr que le Roi n'a jamais approuvé cette Bulle, quant au point. et que la compagnie ne l'ignoroit pas.

En 1687.—Les Marguilliers et autres Paroissiens voyant que l'Eglise était trop petite pour contenir les Paroissiens qui avaient augmenté de beaucoup alors se déterminèrent à la faire alonger de 50 pieds, et à faire 2 tours quarrées aux deux cotés du portail, l'une desquelles fut poussée à sa perfection par des ouvriers que la Fabrique fit engager à Paris, et l'autre fut arrêtée à la hauteur des Bas cotés actuels ; on n'a pas de preuves certaines pourquoi elle ne fut pas mise également à sa perfection (mais on s'en doute). Il est surprenant que les paroissiens prissent sur eux de faire ces augmentations et que le chapitre laissât les Marguilliers et Paroissiens disposer librement et sans leur consentement d'une Eglise qui, aux termes de la Bulle, leur appartenait en propre, cependant ce chapitre ne dit rien, il pacifie tout, rendons-lui donc justice et disons certainement, quoi qu'on en dise, que ce chapitre était convaincu que cette Eglise ne lui appartenait pas et qu'il lui serait peu convenu de s'en meller.

En 1703.—La cession que les Marguilliers avait faite à Mrs du Séminaire en 1663, sans le consentement des Paroissiens, cette affaire assoupie depuis 40 ans se réveilla, et les parties furent prêtes d'en venir à procès, les Paroissiens réclamèrent un terrein dont les Marguilliers avoient disposé sans leur consentement, de sorte que Mrs du Séminaire, connaissant l'invalidité de l'acte, remirent à la Fa-

brique, dans une assemblée générale où assistèrent toutes les puissances ecclésiastiques et séculières, par une transaction en forme, le terrein qui leur aurait été cédé, ce qu'acceptèrent les Marguilliers au dit nom, (l'acte est dans les coffres.) Qui reclâme alors ? ce sont les paroissiens ; à qui rend-on ? aux Paroissiens ou à leur Fabrique. Que fesoit donc alors ce chapitre à qui tout appartient suivant la Bulle ? il n'a aucune surveillance sur ses droits, c'est lui qui devait réclamer, c'est lui qui devait accepter, il est donc aveugle sur ses propres intérêts, ou il est convaincu qu'il n'en a aucun sur l'Eglise ni sur les revenus de la Fabrique, etc. On répond actuellement pour soutenir les droits de ce corps qu'ils ne connaissaient pas leurs titres, qu'ils étaient dans les voutes du séminaire et on suppose qu'ils n'avoient pas les clefs des coffres qui les renfermoient. Est-il bien possible que depuis 19 ans, époque de son installation, que ce corps ait oublié ses droits ou qu'il ait même oublié qu'il n'existait plus ? qu'il est surprenant qu'un corps aussi éclairé que l'est pour l'ordinaire un chapitre, qui bien loin d'oublier ses propres droits cherche assez souvent à s'en arroger de nouveau et qui ne connait d'autres bornes que celle de l'impossibilité, je veux dire, en matière de religion.

Mais si enfin pour justifier les droits de ce chapitre qui ne dit rien on répond qu'il vivoit sans les connaître et que c'est par cette raison qu'il ne s'opposoit pas aux démarches des Marguilliers et Paroissiens touchant cette Eglise et ses revenus, en admettant cette réponse il faut donc convenir également que ce même chapitre qu'on suppose alors ignorer ses droits, qu'il lui convenoit donc bien peu de faire le maître dans une Eglise qu'il ne connaissoit pas pour lui appartenir, ainsi que de chercher des difficultés aux Paroissiens dans la personne de leur curé, difficultés réitérées très souvent et dont les plaintes se sont foit entendre jusqu'au pied du throne, il faut donc, dis-je, convenir qu'un chapitre est un corps remuant qui ne peut rester tranquille et

dont les difficultés lui servent comme d'aliment pour sa propre existence.

Mais ce chapitre est si convaincu de son inexistence primitive, c'est qu'en 1712 étant en procès avec Monseigneur de St-Valier, Evêque de Québec, les pièces ayant été remises à des commissaires nommés par le Roi, pour l'examen du Procès, les dits commissaires furent forcés de renvoyer le chapitre à obtenir des lettres patentes du Roi pour leur Erection, afin que les dits commissaires pussent statuer juridiquement entre deux corps réels et existans. Ils obtinrent en effet des lettres patentes qui sont favorables à ce corps, quant à son érection seulement, mais quant à l'égard de l'Eglise et des revenus de la Fabrique il n'en a pas dit un mot, donc le Roi n'a jamais approuvé la Bulle que pour son érection, et on peut à juste titre appeler ce temps l'époque de l'érection du chapitre, car auparavant il n'existoit pas.

En 1713.—Le Roi ayant été informé des tracasseries que le chapitre exerçait toujours contre les Paroissiens, fit qu'en 1714 il ordonna à son Intendant (Mr Begon,) de faire constater par inventaire tout ce qui appartenoit à la Fabrique de la dite Eglise et d'être présent au dit Inventaire, ce que le dit Intendant exécuta ponctuellement (l'Inventaire est aux coffres). Qu'on dise donc encore, s'il est possible et comme on veut le persuader que c'est dans ce temps ou l'année d'auparavant que Louis XIV, voulant mettre la dernière main à ce grand ouvrage, approuva la Bulle suivant sa forme et teneur, ainsi que c'était une affaire consommée où il n'y avoit plus à toucher ; quelle absurdité. Quoi ? un an après l'approbation de cette Bulle par le Roi, le Souverain ordonne qu'il soit constaté par Inventaire ce qui appartient à la Fabrique. C'est donc une preuve incontestable que le Roi ne l'a jamais approuvée excepté quant à l'érection seulement, puisque par la Bulle tout appartient au chapitre ; peut-on dire sans en imposer que le Roi ignoroit ce qu'il avoit approuvé un an auparavant.

En 1727.—Monseigneur de St-Valier mourut à la fin de l'année à l'Hôpital Général. Quoique la Fabrique fut intéressée à l'existence de ce Prélat, elle ne rapporte dans ses écrits aucuns traits particuliers de la vie de ce grand homme, qui mourut en odeur de sainteté ; elle a laissé ce soin à d'autres et surtout aux communautés qui tiennent des journaux en règle, et qui par conséquent sont plus en état que personne de rendre compte de ce qui se passa pendant sa vie, à sa mort, et de ce qui s'en suivit après. On dit seulement dans le monde qu'il s'était retiré à l'Hôpital-Général, qu'il protégeait beaucoup, et qu'il y vécut un grand nombre d'années.

En 1732.—Monseigneur Dosquet, Evêque de Samos, Coadjuteur de Québec, était ici, le chapitre mécontent des curé et Marguilliers qui ne vouloient pas donner plus de 500 livres par an au chapitre pour le soin de la sacristie, pendant qu'il demandoit 1000 livres d'augmentation par an. Ce chapitre fit donc une requête à mon dit seigneur Dosquet qu'attendu le refus formel des curé et Marguilliers qui ne vouloient pas donner les 1000 livres d'augmentation, qu'il demandoit à se séparer d'avec l'Eglise paroissiale et de se faire bâtir une cathédrale. Il demandoit encore qu'il lui fut permis d'emporter quelques vases et ornements à titre de prêt, jusqu'à ce qu'il en fit venir de France. Monseigneur Coadjuteur répondit la dite requête, par laquelle réponse il dit que sachant que cette séparation avoit déja été méditée par Monseigneur de Laval, d'heureuse mémoire, premier Evêque de Québec, et que d'ailleurs sachant qu'il y avoit eu des difficultés, et que pour éviter qu'il y en eut par la suite, qu'il consentoit à cette séparation, et qu'il l'autorisoit de sa pleine autorité.

Voila donc encore un chapitre égaré. Que dira-t-on pour le justifier ? Les titres sont ils toujours dans les voutes du séminaire ? (oui, sans doute) Il demande à se séparer de l'Eglise Paroissiale et se faire bâtir une cathédrale ; est-ce

nce ou par bonté d'âme qu'il demande à se séparer
ise qui lui appartient par la Bulle ? non ce ne
par bonté d'âme, par ce qu'il cesseroit ses tracas-
n'est pas non plus par ignorance, par ce qu'il
rien ; mais c'est par ce qu'il est convaincu qu'il n'a
it sur l'Eglise ni sur les revenus de la Fabrique
sse toujours, afin de parvenir à faire quelque ar-
t avec la Fabrique qui pût lui donner au moins
roit coloré.

t ses contretemps la Fabrique ne s'en rapportait
apitre pour l'entretien de son Eglise. Elle aurait
al entretenue, elle s'en occupait elle-même par le
des Marguilliers, soit pour réparations, entretien
issement, et quand elle ne pouvoit subvenir aux
nécessaires, les Paroissiens suppléoient par leurs
éralités, mais malgré ses soins assidus la charpente
lus de 100 ans était pourie et menaçait ruine.

4.—Monseigneur de Pont Briand, Evêque de

preneurs en présence de Mr Daine, Lieutenant Général civil et criminel, et de Mr Hyché, procureur du Roi, pour la construction d'une nouvelle Eglise Paroissiale, l'un des dits marchés fait en l'hôtel du dit Lieutenant Général et l'autre au palais épiscopal, en présence de Monseigneur de Pont Briand, qui a approuvé l'un et l'autre des dit marchés. On trouve très surprenant, que des marchés faits en présence de ce prélat, dont l'un dans son propre palais, il ait souffert que cette Eglise fut bâtie sous le titre d'Eglise paroissiale, plus même qu'il les ait autorisés et approuvés comme il est facile de le prouver aux incrédules. Mais pour quoi cette surprise ? pouvait-il au contraire l'empêcher ? par ce que cette Eglise est rebâtie à neuf pouvait-il lui donner un autre titre ? n'est-ce pas toujours l'Eglise des Paroissiens ? Le droit civil ne leur en assure-t-il pas la propriété comme autrefois ? et quelqu'un a-t-il pu sans leur consentement transporter leur droit à d'autres ? S'il en est ainsi, qu'on en donne des preuves incontestables. S'il en est autrement, peut-on supposer qu'un Prélat éclairé tel que l'étoit Monseigneur de Pont Briand, qui connaissoit les droits réciproques d'un chacun, eut souffert que le titre de cathédrale fut anéanti et qu'au contraire elle fut bâtie sous celui de Paroisse ? quelle raison de déférence avoit donc ce seigneur pour le souffrir ? Peut-on supposer qu'il agissait sans connaissance de cause ? Non, il était trop éclairé. Dira-t-on qu'il étoit en démence ? non, la sublimité de son esprit, qu'il a conservée jusqu'à sa mort, prouve le contraire. Dira-t-on enfin qu'il en vouloit à son chapitre ? non, il aimoit tout le monde sans distinction, la charité pour le prochain a toujours paru en lui une vertu éminente, et s'il s'est trouvé quelque fois forcé de faire sentir à quelqu'un le poids de son autorité c'est qu'il voulait se soustraire à ses ordres, et cesser d'être utile au public même par obligation, mais il a toujours moins agit en maître qu'en véritable père qui corrige ses enfants rebelles.

un a pourtant dit que Monseigneur de Pont
oit un grand politique, qu'en bâtissant cette
nme cathédrale que c'était à lui et à son chapitre
les frais, d'autant qu'il ne pouvait obliger la Fa-
les Paroissiens à les supporter, mais que lui ni
re n'était pas en état de supporter cette dépense,
cette raison il avoit toléré le titre d'Eglise parois-
l'y obliger par là les paroissiens et la Fabrique.

ponse est moins un trait de satire que de calomnie
oce à l'égard de ce Prélat. Peut-on le représenter
homme, qui cherchoit à tromper les Paroissiens à
oins 100,000 livres à la Fabrique que cette Eglise
? il auroit encore poussé sa mauvaise foi jusqu'à
unter plus de 30,000 livres aux Marguilliers et leur
r des obligations au nom de la Fabrique, pour
qui n'appartenoit pas aux paroissiens ; plus
moins 280 Messes de fondation, dont les fonds
ans cette bâtisse ; fondation dont la Fabrique

vent. Cette Eglise fut donc dans cette bâtisse allongée de 40 pieds et élargie par deux bas-côtés de 28 pieds chacun, les murs compris, c'est à dire telle qu'elle se voit aujourd'hui, et on commença pour la première fois à y dire Messe depuis son rétablissement le jour de l'Immaculé Conception, le 8 décembre 1748, fête Patronale de cette Eglise.

Le chapitre, toujours remuant à son ordinaire, ne resta pas toujours tranquille, et Mrs Jacquereau et Rescher, curés l'un après l'autre, eurent beaucoup à souffrir de leur mauvaise humeur, ils en vinrent même au point qu'ils poussèrent l'insolence jusqu'à refuser au premier des ornemens pour faire un mariage, ce qui l'obligea d'enfoncer une armoire dans la sacristie. Quelques années après, Mr Rescher, alors curé, allant pour faire un salut, un chanoine que je ne citerai pas, lui ôta la chape de dessus le dos, en entrant dans l'Eglise, en lui disant qu'il n'avoit pas ce droit. Le curé appela des personnes pour être témoins de ce qu'on lui faisait, (plusieurs existent encore) ensuite de quoi il en porta ses plaintes au conseil supérieur, qui en punit très sévèrement le chapitre, en le condamnant en 50 livres d'amende pour avoir troublé le curé dans ses fonctions, avec défense expresse de recédiver. (1) Si quelqu'un m'accuse d'en imposer, j'appelerai à mon secours les Paroissiens et spécialement ceux qui ont été les témoins des faits que j'avance.

Le chapitre n'en resta pas là, il continua toujours ses tracasseries envers le dit curé, qui était aussi Directeur du séminaire. Il attaqua ouvertement le dit séminaire pour la cure dont il avoit perçu les fruits, ainsi que pour bien d'autres chefs qu'il lui imputait ; enfin, pour résultat de toutes ces difficultées, il présente un mémoire de conclusion au Roi,

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Nota (1) Ce n'est point dans cette affaire, il n'y eu point de plaintes portées, c'est pour les poursuites que fit le chapitre pour déposséder le curé de sa cure que le dit chapitre fut condamné à 50 livres d'amende par le conseil, laquelle sentence fut confirmée par la cour.

il demande : Que l'Eglise Cathédrale lui soit
nsi que les chapelles et chapellenies, ainsi que
evenus de la Fabrique, et en outre il demande au
en dédommagement de ce qu'il lui devoit une
497,000 livres, en outre 30 ou 35 pieds sur le ter-
séminaire ; aussi que la petite terre de la Canar-
eroit laissé, qu'il prendrait également le terrein,
'Eglise, appartenant à la Fabrique, pour bâtir
s canoniales. Voila les prétentions chimériques
apitre se repaissoit. Ainsi quand on avance au-
que ce chapitre n'a jamais eu dessein de s'em-
evenus de la Fabrique, on est en état d'en don-
euves certaines par leurs propres écrits.

t, plus éclairé que son chapitre sur cette matière,
homme prudent, empêcher cette contagion qui
t à se communiquer dans tous les membres de
l en parla à un des chanoines qui résidait dans
et qui était le plus entêté de ces droits chimé-
chanoine bien loin d'écouter des avis aussi salu-

n'en ayent été les témoins. L'Eglise Paroissiale fut incendiée en son entier, ainsi que les retables, tabernacles et bien d'autres ornemens qui avoient coûtés soit aux Paroissiens ou à la Fabrique des sommes immenses. Enfin, à la fin du siége Québec capitula le 18.7bre 1759. Après ce dévastement général de la dite Eglise, ainsi que de la plus grande partie des maisons de la Ville, les Paroissiens qui, pour la plus grande partie, avoient perdu la majeure partie de leurs biens, étoient épars dans les campagnes. Le chapitre également dispersé ça et là ne s'interessoit pas beaucoup à sa prétendue Cathédrale. Plusieurs passèrent en France et peu restèrent en Canada. Le Prélat était sorti de Québec au commencement du siége, et après la prise de Québec il se retira à Montréal accablé de peines du malheur commun de ses ouailles. Il succomba enfin et tomba dans une langueur qui le conduisit au tombeau en l'été de 1760, que ce digne Prélat mourut regretté de tous ses Diocésains.

Comme la paroisse de Québec avoit été incendiée les Paroissiens ne savoient où s'assembler. M^rs^ les curé et Marguilliers, de l'avis de M^r^ Briand, alors Grand Vicaire, résidant à l'Hôpital Général, s'adressèrent aux Dames Ursulines pour les prier que l'office Paroissial se fit dans leur Eglise. Ces Dames eurent la générosité de l'accorder gratuitement, et la paroisse y a été déservie depuis l'automne 1759 jusqu'à la fin de 1764, sans qu'elles ayent jamais exigé un sol de la Fabrique, non seulement pour leur Eglise mais encore pour le logement de M^r^ le curé.

Pendant ses 4 années le Gouvernement avoit voulu s'emparer de l'Eglise Paroissiale, croyant qu'elle étoit Cathédrale, et sous ce rapport appartenante au Roi, mais les Paroissiens, toujours occupés de leur Eglise, quoique leurs facultés ne leurs permissent pas de la faire rétablir, expliquèrent au gouvernemeat la matière dont il était question et les Marguilliers firent enregistrer au secrétaire de la Province tous les titres de la Fabrique. Le Gouvernement instruit de la vérité du fait, se déporta de ses poursuites.

n de l'année 1764, Mr le curé, disant que l'Eglise
es Ursulines étoit trop petite alors pour contenir
ssiens, qui pour la plus grande partie étoient re-
n ville, la chapelle du séminaire avait été réparée
uparavant, c'est-à-dire de la même année, Mr
curé et directeur du dit séminaire, dit au Mar-
qu'il fallait transférer la Paroisse dans cette cha-
que laFabrique feroit des conditions avec ces Mes-
Les Marguilliers lui représentèrent que l'Eglise
PP. Récolets étoit plus grande que la chapelle du
re ; Que le Père Emmanuel, commissaire, en faisoit
is pour y faire l'office paroissial. Ces considéra-
ntes à l'incertitude des conditions que feroient Mrs
aire, auroient dû faire abandonner le dessein du
r cette chapelle, mais non, la Paroisse y fut trans-
nt qu'il y eut même aucunes conditions de faites.
ns ces conditions que firent Mrs du séminaire
'abrique le 30 décembre 1764, environ un mois
e la Paroisse y avoit été transférée, c'est par ces con-

Fabrique puisque ces Messieurs se réservoient la location des dits bancs.

Ces conditions, toutes dures qu'elles étoient, ont été une resource pour le rétablissement de la dite Eglise, je ne prétends pas par là justifier la conduite dure et intéressée de ces Messieurs envers la Fabrique, mais bien par la crainte qu'eurent les Paroissiens d'être encore plus mal traités par la suite, motif qui engagea les Marguilliers à s'occuper sérieusement du rétablissement de la dite Eglise.

Au commencement de 1766, Mr le curé se plaignit au Marguillier en charge du peu d'ornemens qu'il avoit pour la solemnité des fêtes, ce qui l'empêchoit de le faire d'une manière décente et convenable. Ce Marguillier lui répondit qu'il ne savoit pas où ils étoient, et que comme curé il devoit savoir où ils avoient été mis pendant le siége. Il lui répondit qu'ils étoient aux Trois-Rivières entre les mains de Mr St Onge, chanoine, mais qu'il fallait s'adresser à Mr Perrault, alors Grand Vicaire, pour les faire descendre. Effectivement le Marguillier, suivant les instructions du curé, s'adressa à mon dit sieur Perrault pour réclamer au nom de la Fabrique les ornemens qui lui appartenoient et le pria de les faire descendre. Mr le Grand Vicaire fit comme s'il eut été surpris de cette demande, il lui répondit qu'effectivement les ornemens de cette Eglise avoient été envoyés aux Trois-Rivières par le Préfet de la sacristie, mais qu'au reste Mr le curé et lui se trompoient fort de réclamer des ornemens qui tous appartenoient au chapitre et que la Fabrique n'en avoit point. Cette réponse, toute courte qu'elle étoit, n'étoit pas satisfaisante pour ce Marguillier, Elle découvroit d'une manière trop claire les sentimens du chapitre. Si les Paroissiens en eussent été informés n'auroient ils pas eu raison de dire : depuis quand la Fabrique est elle en Tutelle et que le chapitre en est tuteur, c'est-à-dire tuteur sans rendre compte ? n'avons nous pas des Marguilliers qui sont obligés en conscience de prendre autant de

os ornemens, etc., comme des revenus de l'Eglise
Fabrique, dont ils sont les administrateurs de la
desquels ils sont obligés de rendre compte ? un
e la sacristie, un chanoine et même tout le chapitre
emparer injustement. Voila à peu près les dis-
'auroient pu tenir les Paroissiens alors. Mais le
des temps, le triste règne ou nous étions et d'autres
nces déterminèrent la Fabrique à pacifier jusqu'à
de Mr Briand, qui étoit en Europe pour être
pour le recouvrement des dits ornements.

au mois de Juin, jour de la St Pierre 1766, Mon-
Briand, Evêque de Québec, arriva. Il fut reçu de
peuples, sans distinction, avec des acclamations de
allégresse, de sorte que peu après son arrivée la
lui ayant fait des représentations au sujet de ses
s, il donna ses ordres aussitôt pour les faire des-
ous ou telle partie qu'avoit été sauvée des Flammes.
des Paroissiens et Marguilliers pour le rétablisse-
cette Eglise ce réveilla fortement. Les dits Mar-

à ces mêmes députés qu'elle entendoit que les pierres, les murs et le terrein sur lequel étoit bâtie cette Eglise lui appartiendroit en propre et à son chapitre. On demande aux personnes éclairées si le droit canonique peut sans formalités anéantir le droit civil.

Les cinq députés firent leur rapport à l'assemblée générale où il fut question de savoir si en qualité d'administrateurs des revenus de l'Eglise et de la Fabrique, pour entrer dans les vues de Sa Grandeur, Nous pouvions ou nous devions rétablir cette Eglise comme Cathédrale, prise en ce sens qu'elle appartiendroit à Monseigneur et à son chapitre, et comme il s'éleva une contestation on recueillit les suffrages en la manière accoutumée, où alors la pluralité de dix contre quatre l'emporta, c'est-à-dire qu'elle seroit rétablie comme Paroisse, servant de Cathédrale et non Cathédrale, dans le sens qu'elle appartiendroit à Monseigneur et à son chapitre.

Cette délibération attira une protestation de la part de quatre membres de la Fabrique qui n'étoient pas de cet avis, ce qui réveilla le refus qu'un chanoine avoit fait de rendre les ornemens et par là acheva de dessiler les yeux aux paroissiens sur leurs propres intérêts.

Si ces 4 Messieurs eussent été plus prudents qu'ils n'étoient, ils auroient réfléchi qu'ils n'étoint pas en droit de protester contre les intérêts d'une Fabrique et des Paroissiens qu'ils devoient soutenir. Ils devoient encore envisager que dans le cas de quelque contestation dans une assemblée de la Fabrique, qu'on a pour règle générale de recueillir les suffrages et que la pluralité l'emporte toujours à moins qu'elle ne fut entièrement contre les intérêts de la Fabrique qu'ils doivent soutenir.

Enfin les Marguilliers, ne voyant aucune resource du côté de la Fabrique qui put les encourager à entammer ce rétablissement et craignant d'ailleurs de l'engager dans des emprunts considérables comme on avoit fait en 1744, proposèrent une souscription à tous les Paroissiens pour le

ment de leur Eglise. Le zèle dont les Paroissiens
imés pour cette œuvre pieuse flatta beaucoup les
guilliers, de sorte que par leurs pieuses libéralités,
secours de la Fabrique et les resources toujours
bles de la Providence, cette Eglise a été rétablie à
leux ans, c'est-à-dire prête à y célébrer les saints
sans que l'Evêque ni le chapitre y ayent contri-
en,—et plusieurs autres dont Mrs du Séminaire
ie.

donc cette Eglise rétablie. On toucha au moment
rer l'office divin, lorsqu'on fait des propositions aux
ns par la voie des Marguilliers ; c'est Mr Boyret,
Directeurs du séminaire, qui commence en ces

5 Mars 1771. A Monseigneur l'illustrissime et
dissime Jean Olivier Briand, Evêque de Québec.
ne :—

Citoyens de Québec, sensiblement affligés de la ré-
qu'a prise votre Grandeur de choisir une autre

doivent se faire à perpétuité les fonctions curiales, dans laquelle notre curé doit prendre son titre suivant l'usage, et comme notre Eglise Paroissiale premièrement édifiée par nos pères citoyens de Québec, nouvellement relevée de ses ruines à nos frais et dans laquelle doit se faire la déserte des âmes, où nous sommes obligés de nous assembler pour assister aux divins offices, pour participer aux sacremens, pour y recevoir l'instruction de nos Pasteurs, et enfin où nous avons droit d'être inhumés ou dans les cimetières qui en dépendent. Ce sont ces considérations qui nous engagent à contribuer de nos revenus à son entretien, à sa décoration et à fournir toutes les dépenses nécessaires qui peuvent servir à la sainteté et à la majesté du culte divin, c'est pour cet effet que chacun de nous remet selon l'usage la portion de ses biens, soit offrandes, soit rentes de bancs et autres casuels qu'il doit à titre de justice ou qu'il consacre à titre de piété entre les mains des Marguilliers qui sont élus pour les administrer sous l'autorité de nos seigneurs les Evêques, auxquels ils sont obligés de rendre compte de leur administration ; c'est sous ces différens rapports que nous regardons l'Eglise que nous venons de rétablir et dans laquelle nous supplions votre Grandeur d'entrer avec son clergé. Vous êtes notre digne Pasteur, conduisez vos ouailles dans la maison du Seigneur, dont vous nous tenez la place sur la terre. Vous êtes notre père en Dieu, ne nous laissez pas Orphelins, mais daignez nous regarder comme vos Enfans en Notre-Seigneur, qui se plaisent sous les yeux de leur père, qu'ils respectent, qu'ils aiment et qui prient votre Grandeur de leur accorder sa bénédiction."

Comme cet écrit n'est point conforme aux titres de la Fabrique, que le sentiment des Marguilliers et Paroissiens n'a jamais été d'empêcher Monseigneur d'entrer dans cette Eglise ; qu'il n'a de supplique que le nom, qu'au contraire il ressemble à tous égards à un procès verbal d'enquête, c'est pourquoi nous priâmes l'auteur de l'aller faire signer à

s qui peut-être savoient que cette formalité man-

l'autres propositions faites par sa Grandeur aux
iers :

de 1ère Prosterné en esprit devant la face du Sei-
genoux au pieds du crucifix, le cœur pénétré du
ent amour pour mes ouailles et du désir de la paix
ncère, je suis prêt d'assister aux divins offices dans
drale pourvu qu'on consente à inscrire sur les re-
acte suivant, non pas pour donner de la confusion
ne, mais pour fixer *une bonne fois* les droits réci-
de l'Evêque, de son chapitre et du peuple.

se 1ère Le droit des Paroissiens sur cette Eglise
ement établi suivant le droit civil depuis 1644.
s de la Fabrique le prouvent clairement.

Nous reconnaissons l'Evêque et le chapitre de
me de Québec validement établis et subsistans.

Que le chapitre et l'Evêque soient bien ou mal éta-

R. 4. Nous n'avons jamais vu d'exemple qu'on ait donné un autre titre à cette Eglise, les registres de la Fabrique en font foi, et nous n'avons jamais été autorisés à lui en donner d'autre.

D. 5. Désormais les Marguilliers se qualifieront Marguilliers de l'Eglise Cathédrale et Paroissiale de Québec.

R. 5. Nos Pères n'ont jamais été qualifiés de ce titre et nous aurions honte d'être les premiers à porter un titre si vain d'autant que les cathédrales n'en ont jamais eu; ce n'est pour l'ordinaire que des commis à gages.

D. 6. De notre côté nous reconnaissons ce que nous avons toujours confessé, que c'est en même temps l'Eglise du peuple où il a droit d'être déservi ; droit dont il ne peut être privé.

R. 6. Monseigneur reconnoit une chose que personne ne peut nier, mais c'est un droit attaché à l'Eglise paroissiale que nous voulons conserver.

D. 7. Nous promettons que les Marguilliers ne seront nullement gênés dans leur exercise ; qu'ils recevront dans l'Eglise les honneurs accoutumés, qu'ils continueront d'avoir la gestion du temporel de la Fabrique et d'être les dépositaires de tous les revenus.

R. 7. Monseigneur nous accorde un droit que personne ne peut nous contester, c'est un usage établi dans toutes les Fabriques, même par le droit canonique.

D. 8. Nous n'avons jamais eu dessein ni notre chapitre de nous en emparer. Nous nous opposerions de toutes nos forces à quiconque aurait de semblables desseins.

R. 8. Il n'y a pas d'exemple qu'aucun de ses Prédécesseurs ayent voulu s'en emparer, mais le chapitre a voulu le faire. Leur mémoire de conclusion présenté au Roi en 1753 le prouve dans toute son évidence.

D. 9. Ces revenus sont par tout uniquement destinés pour l'entretien de l'Eglise et du culte divin.

C'est la vérité toute pure. C'est précisément pour-
s ne voulons pas qu'ils passent entre les mains
titre pour lui servir de manse capitulaire.

...et l'usage de la sacristie qui doit être commune,
et le peuple ne formant qu'un seul corps sous son

Quoiqu'on soit réuni en esprit sous son Evêque,
as dit pour cela que les biens soient communs,
st maître de ce qui lui appartient.

Nous protestons ici devant Dieu que nous agis-
dol mi fraude, dans une entière sincérité pour la
ire de Dieu et le salut de mon peuple.

Nous n'avons jamais pensé que sa Grandeur eut
ssein de nous tromper, mais sans faire aucun titre
que chacun reste sur les siens sans y en ajouter
uer aucun.

Je déclare en outre que je n'ai jamais regardé les
iers actuels comme les auteurs des difficultés qui

demandent plus qu'ils ne faut. Trop malheureux enfin si nous ne pouvons acquérir cette paix qu'on nous promet qu'en l'achetant de notre propre bien. Voila enfin tous les motifs qui nous empêchèrent d'accepter les propositions susdites. Ne croyant pas que cette formalité fut nécessaire pour la conservation de l'Eglise qui appartient aux Paroissiens, nous nous contentames de faire la réponse suivante à Monseigneur l'Evêque, par les Marguilliers en exercice, au nom du corps. La voici :

Monseigneur,

Nous avons communiqué aux Marguilliers assemblés, suivant les ordres de votre Grandeur, la lettre dont elle nous a honorée ainsi que l'écrit qui y était joint ; ils nous chargent de vous dire, Monseigneur, que non-seulement ils ignorent les matières canoniques, mais encore que leur qualité de Marguilliers ne leur commet pas plus de pouvoir qu'un Tuteur n'en a sur les biens de ses mineurs. Ils espèrent que votre Grandeur voudra bien les dispenser d'entrer dans l'examen de la matière dont il s'agit ; ils la supplient de vouloir bien entrer dans son Eglise avec son clergé comme ont fait ses prédécesseurs, et avancer que les Prédécesseurs de votre Grandeur ont éprouvé des contestations, ce n'a jamais été de la part des Marguilliers ni de celle des Paroissiens. Québec, le 20 Mars 1771.

Signé à la minute : Marcoux, Perras et Dufau, Mers en exercise.

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ne inscription sur une plaque de cuivre, trouvée
s fondations d'un mur qui séparait le jardin du
u St-Louis du Fort. Québec, 1850.

D. O. M.

Anno reparatæ salutis
Millesimo sexcentesimo nonagesimo tertio
Regnante Augustissimo Invictissimo ac
Christianissimo Galliæ Rege
Rege Ludovico Magno XIIII
Excellentissimus ac Illustrissimus D'nus Dnus
Ludovicus de Buade
Comes de Froetenae, totius Novæ Franciæ,
Semel iterum Prorex,
Abissomet triennio ante rebellibus Novæ,—

# NOTES

SUR LE

## CHATEAU ST-LOUIS (Incendié en 1834) ET LE CHATEAU HALDIMAND OU VIEUX CHATEAU, QUEBEC.

PRÉPARÉES PAR ERNEST GAGNON, SECRÉTAIRE DU DÉPARTEMENT DES TRAVAUX PUBLICS, QUÉBEC.

(1875)

Je crois devoir vous présenter aujourd'hui un premier rapport sur les recherches que vous m'avez demandé de faire relativement à la propriété du château Haldimand ou Vieux Château.

Afin de bien saisir la portée des pièces consultées, et dont quelques-unes seront citées plus loin, il importe de se rappeler, au moins d'une manière sommaire, l'histoire de l'ancien château Saint-Louis et du château actuel.

Le *fort* Saint-Louis date de la fondation même de Québec. En 1624, Champlain faisait ouvrir un chemin commode pour remplacer l'étroit sentier qui conduisait de l'"Habitation" (basse-ville) au fort Saint-Louis, "sur la hauteur," et il faisait aussi *continuer* les travaux du fort.

M. de Montmagny, vers 1647, fit exécuter des travaux considérables an fort de Québec, et le refit presque à

M. de Frontenac lui fit aussi subir d'importantes
ions, et y soutint victorieusement le mémorable
la ville par la flotte de l'amiral Phipps.
rtifications de Québec étaient déjà considérables
Sans parler des redoutes, bastions, etc., dissé-
et là, et des retranchements qui ceinturaient la
*citadelle* existait à cette époque (voir Charle-
e fort Saint-Louis, qui était en même temps une
, dut perdre dès lors de son caractère exclusivement

régime anglais, le mot *fort* n'est plus employé
gner cet édifice, et les premières ordonnances pu-
rès *l'Acte de Québec* sont datées du *Château* Saint-
en la chambre du Conseil, au Château Saint-Louis,
e de Québec."
teau fut habité par les gouverneurs anglais aussitôt
cession du pays, et le Conseil Législatif, après
Québec de 1774, et le Conseil Exécutif, après la

fit recouvrir l'emplacement d'une plate-forme à laquelle on a donné son nom. Le gouvernement du Canada-Uni, en 1854, dépensa £4,209.9.2 à améliorer cette plate-forme ainsi que les murs du jardin avoisinant.

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Le château Haldimand (occupé aujourd'hui par l'école normale-Laval) fut bâti expressément pour les levers, les réceptions officielles et les bals donnés par les gouverneurs. Ses fondations furent commencées le 5 mai 1784, et, le 18 janvier 1787, jour de la fête de la Reine (Charlotte de Mecklembourg-Strelitz, femme de George III) il y eut grande réception pour la première fois dans le nouvel édifice. (1)

Pendant la restauration du château Saint-Louis (1809-10-11-12) le gouverneur habita le château Haldimand, qu'il avait déjà occupé auparavant, (2) concurremment avec le château Saint-Louis, et qu'il continua d'occuper par la suite.

Cette destination identique des deux châteaux et cette habitation simultanée pendant plus de 40 ans, est un fait important dans le cas qui nous occupe. Si l'on pouvait considérer les deux édifices comme ne formant qu'une *seule propriété*, pour des usages communs, il suffirait d'établir que

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(1) Every precaution was taken to prevent gentlemen's entering the new building with creepers on. For this purpose two aides-de-camps and two orderly sergeants were posted so as to examine every one that came in, and notwithstanding one has left the marks of creepers *in the best floor* (perhaps) *in all Canada.*

(2) " 17th December 1787. This morning Lord Dorchester and his family removed into the Garrets of the New Building, and yesterday the secretaries removed into the old Building to make room for the upper servants, &c., &c. (Journal de M Thompson.) M. Thompson appelle *Old Building* l'ancien château Saint-Louis, et *New Building* le château comme née en 1784, sous le gouverneur Haldimand. Après la restauration de l'ancien château Saint-Louis (1808-12), ce dernier, quoique de beaucoup le plus ancien, fut appelé *Château neuf*, et le château Haldimand *Vieux Château.*

l'une était une propriété du gouvernement civil pour conclure que l'autre devant l'être également.

M. F. Baillairgé, dans un rapport publié par le gouvernement, en 1867, dit que le château Haldimand fut réparé en 1851-2-3 et 4, et que cette réparation coûta $13,718.42. De nouvelles dépenses furent faites en 1857, lors de l'installation de l'école normale Laval et de l'école modèle annexe. La petite construction où se trouvent la chapelle et l'école modèle fut élevée entièrement aux frais de la province quelque temps après. La bâtisse à voûte qui sert de cuisine à l'école normale était un ancien magazin à poudre. (1) C'est la plus ancienne partie de l'édifice actuel.

Voici maintenant quelques pièces qui m'ont paru digne de fixer votre attention.

Le 26 juin 1793, le lieutenant-gouverneur Alured Clark adresse à la Chambre un message d'où j'extrais les paroles suivantes :—

" Je crois qu'il est nécessaire à ce moment de faire une plus ample communication des instructions royales sur le même sujet (la législation) pour l'information de la Législature, dont les articles sont dans les mots suivants : " Que " dans toutes les lois ou ordonnances *pour lever de l'argent* " ou imposer des amendes, confiscations, ou peines pécu- " niaires, *il soit expressément fait mention*, que le dit argent " est accordé, réservé pour Nous, nos Héritiers et Succes- " seurs, *pour les usages publics de la dite province* et le soutien " du gouvernement d'icelle, comme il sera ordonné par la " dite loi."

Or, en 1808, on prélève une taxe, on *lève de l'argent* pour

(1) Monday, 21st Aug., 1787. I have received his Lordship's (Lord Dorchester) orders to erect a platform on the roof of a *vaulted house*, originally a powder magazine, joining to the upper end of the *New Building*, for His Royal Highness (Prince William Henry) and his company (to) sit upon while the fireworks are displaying on an eminence fronting it below the old Citadel." (Journal de M. Thompson.)

payer la somme de £7,000, votée pour la restauration du château Saint-Louis. Cet édifice (et, *a fortiori*, le château Haldimand, qui n'a jamais eu le moindre caractère militaire) était donc *à l'usage de la dite province*. En effet, le 2d paragraphe de l'acte 48 George III, ch : 34, intitulé : "Acte pour réparer et améliorer l'ancien château Saint-Louis," se lit comme suit :

" Et attendu qu'il est nécessaire d'établir un fonds pour pourvoir à la somme ci-dessus mentionnée de Sept Mille Livres, argent courant de cette Province, et remplacer, de temps à autre, la somme et les sommes qui seront ainsi dépensées : Qu'il soit donc statué par l'autorité susdite que *sur chaque Acte* quelconque, de quelque description qu'il soit, qui, depuis et après le premier jour de Juin, dans l'année de Notre-Seigneur mil huit cent huit, sera exécuté ou passé avec minute ou en brevet, *devant un ou plusieurs Notaires*, par quelque personne ou personnes quelconques, *il sera payé* entre les mains du Notaire devant lequel tel Acte sera exécuté ou passé, avant l'exécution ou passation de tel Acte, *la somme d'un Chelin*, argent courant de cette province."

L'acte 48 George III, ch. 34, qui contient cette clause, fut sanctionné par le gouverneur, Sir James Henry Craig, le 14 avril 1808, et Son Excellence, dans sa harangue à la Chambre, la remercia de sa générosité en terme chaleureux. (voir Christie : *Hist. of Lower Canada*, vol. I, p. 273). J'ai dit plus haut que quatre ans après (le 19 mai 1812) une somme additionnelle de £7,980.19.1¼ avait été votée, par le Parlement du Bas-Canada, pour " la réparation et l'amélioration " du dit château Saint-Louis.

Relativement au coût *primitif* du château Haldimand et à la provenance des sommes y employées, s'il était encore possible de se renseigner sur ces choses, ce serait peut-être dans les archives militaires.

Les journaux de la Chambre des Communes d'Angleterre font connaître en chiffres ronds les sommes dépensées à Québec, mais ne donnent aucuns détails. Vers l'époque de la construction du château Haldimand, la province contribuait pour environ *un cinquième* dans les dépenses de la colonie ; mais on sait que, même après l'*Acte de Québec*, (1774) et l'*Acte Constitutionnel* (1791), et jusqu'en 1841, le gouvernement, qui était indépendant des Chambres, ne voulut jamais rendre compte de l'emploi des sommes votées par ces mêmes Chambres.

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Les droits du gouvernement du Canada sur le terrain du Vieux-Château (ou château Haldimand) et de l'ancienne terrasse Durham,—formant une superficie totale d'environ 70,000 pieds, mesure anglaise,—ainsi que sur les édifices ou bâtiments construits sur le dit terrain, ont été transférés au gouvernement de la province de Québec par Ordre du Conseil Privé (du Canada) portant la date du 14 février 1871.

[redacted]

NOT CIRCULATE